# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF THE LIVES and REIGNS Of All the *KINGS* and *QUEENS* OF ENGLAND,

From King WILLIAM the First, Called the *Conqueror*, to the End of the Reign of the late Queen *ANNE*.

To which is Prefixed

An ABSTRACT of the General History of each Reign.

Collected (chiefly) from *Original Manuscripts*, and the most valuable Private Memoirs, and Authentick HISTORIANS.

*By a* PERSON *of* HONOUR.

In Two VOLUMES.

The SECOND EDITION:

To which is added

A Compleat Alphabetical INDEX.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# TO THE
# Impartial Reader.

THE *Author of this* Secret History, *thinks himself oblig'd to inform the* Reader *with his Reasons for this Undertaking; and what he may, and may not expect to find in it. 'Tis design'd to be A* True Secret History of the Kings of *England*, from *William* the Conqueror, to the End of the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*. *The* Second Volume *contains the most Secret Transactions of the Reigns of King* Charles *the First, King* Charles *the Second, and the late King* James. *In which are inserted,* The several Secret Steps that were taken before, *and in the Managing the late* Revolution: *Some Private Essays about the Abdication; with many other Things, which have been hitherto kept Secret. And to render this* Secret History *Compleat, No Pains have been omitted, in Examining those* Secret Memoirs *now in the Hands of some Persons of Quality, who have generously lent 'em towards the Compleating this Work: So that the whole consists chiefly of* Original Manuscripts, *never Published till now.*

*Reader, I have here an open Field to display my* Sincerity *in; for when several Ages lie between Princes and their Historians, they are at liberty to use them as familiarly as they deserve; and to arraign their* Actions *with as much Freedom as those of their Subjects:*

*Nor can the Proſpect of the greateſt Preferment, tempt me to be a flattering Hiſtorian.*

*Some People tell us, that* Truth is not always to be ſpoken; *which perhaps might be ſo, while we were under the Arbitrary Government of the late King* James; *but we now live in a Reign,* where Truth does not paſs for Treaſon: *And therefore, as 'twas one of the Encomiums given to* Suetonius, *That he made Publick to the World, the Vices and Miſcarriages of the Twelve* Cæſars, *with the ſame Freedom with which they were once Committed; ſo I have follow'd his Example in this* Secret Hiſtory: *for Truth ſhou'd be bolder than Error. And if any of our* Engliſh Monarchs *have done thoſe things in Secret,* they ought not to have done, *'tis fit it ſhou'd be made Publick; for* A Cat may look on a King: *And if we ſpare Vice more in a Crowned-Head than in a meaner Perſon, (when 'tis our Duty to divulge it) we diſcover a mean Spirit; and the rather, as the detecting the* Secrets *of* Wicked *Kings, has ever been a Great Benefit to the Publick.— And ſo very fond are all* Engliſh *Men, of knowing what has been kept as a* Secret, *that no* Secret Hiſtory *was ever yet Publiſh'd, but has met with a kind Reception: Yet none of them pretends to give us the* COURT SECRETS *of any more, than Three or Four of our Kings. But this is* A General Secret Hiſtory *of all the Kings and Queens of* England. *And as there are ſuch* Secret Memoirs *in this Work as are not to be found elſewhere, ſo I ſhew not only the Events, but alſo the* Secret Cauſes, *the Intrigues, and the Means which have contributed to the Unhappineſs of our* Britiſh Monarchs. *And as there were ſeveral* Secrets *Communicated to me upon thoſe Heads, which the World is a ſtranger to; ſo they are now Publiſh'd with ſuch good Authorities, as may juſtly Entitle my Work,* The True Secret Hiſtory of all the Kings and Queens of *England,* from *William* the Conqueror. *And as it ſets all our Kings in a* TRUER *Light than they have yet been; ſo 'tis not doubted,*

*doubted, but 'twill meet with what it merits: For herein the Reader will ſee, that tho' the Conſtitution of our Government be a* Limited Monarchy, *wherein both the* King's Prerogative *and the* Liberty of the Subject *are Eſtabliſhed by Law, which is the Common* Boundary, *and* Superiour, *both of* King *and* People; *yet moſt of our Princes have fancied ſuch* Unaccountable Charms *to be in* Arbitrary Power, *that they never Eſteem'd all the Jewels of their Crowns, whilſt that was wanting, nor thought 'em to ſhine with any Luſtre without it. And yet it was* their vain Affectation of this Power *that has been the cauſe of all their* Misfortunes; *ſo that by their affecting a Power above what the Law intruſted them with, they came to be abridg'd of that which they might have lawfully exerted: And like the Dog in the Fable, while they have graſp'd at the vain ſhadow of* Arbitrary *and* Abſolute Dominion, *loſt the real Subſtance of the* Juſt Authority *and* Royal Dignity, *which both* GOD *and the* People *had inveſted them in. Here the Reader will likewiſe ſee the moſt* Wicked *and* Nefarious Deſigns *veil'd over with the* faireſt Pretences; *and how* Religion *and the* Publick Good, *have been made* Stalking-Horſes *for carrying on the moſt* Villanous Intrigues, *and for perpetrating the moſt* Barbarous Actions. *Here alſo the Reader will behold, in ſeveral Inſtances, how no* Ties of Blood *are ſo* near, *nor* Oaths *and* Vows *ſo* ſacred, *but they have been broken by ſome Princes, like* Sampſon's *Threads, when* Lawleſs Ambition *and a* Uſurped Crown, *has been the Prize they aim'd at. And here—But why ſhould I go on to multiply Particulars, and foreſtall the Readers? It is enough that they will have plenty of Examples, that tho' Princes have proſper'd in their Wickedneſs, and that the Earth has cover'd the Blood they have ſhed, and* Juſtice *was not to be had* below; *yet a* Divine Nemeſis *has at laſt overtaken 'em; and they have found*

*found in the Concluſion of all their* Unjuſt *(tho' ſometimes* Proſperous Enterprizes*) That* there is not only a Reward for the Righteous, but that there alſo is a God that Judgeth in the Earth.

*Having given this brief Account of my Undertaking, I ſhall further add, That the main Objection againſt* Secret Hiſtories *(that they are ſeldom True) is Satisfactorily anſwer'd in this Work; for as to the Truth of what is here advanc'd, 'tis either warranted by Authentick Authors, and Manuſcripts of Undoubted Credit, or communicated to me, by the Reverend Mr* W—, *who was a Spy in the* French Court, *and by that means took Minutes of the moſt Secret Tranſactions between* England *and* France *for many Years.*

*I ſhall only add, That to render this* Secret Hiſtory Compleat, I have (beſides the Aſſiſtance I had from Manuſcripts) interwove in their proper Places, *All thoſe Scarce and Valuable Pieces of* Secret Hiſtory *which were to be purchas'd; and what was not, I have conſulted in Publick and Private Libraries. And to make ſeveral Paſſages in this* Secret Hiſtory *the more Intelligible to the Reader, I have prefix'd to every King's Reign an Abſtract of their* General Hiſtory; *which in a few Lines preſents the Reader with a Scheme of their whole Reigns.*

THE

# THE True SECRET HISTORY OF ALL THE Kings of ENGLAND, &c.

## INTRODUCTION.

THAT the Writing of a True Secret History is a moſt neceſſary and uſeful Undertaking, appears from hence, That it both ſets things in a true Light, and ſhews the Secret Springs and real Cauſes from whence ſo many ſtrange and various Effects have proceeded; which oftentimes has been very different from what has been pretended: And as thoſe Pretences were only deſign'd for a Blind to obſcure the Obliquity of thoſe Actions which they endeavour'd to hide from the World, ſo the taking away of thoſe falſe Subterfuges, and bringing the Truth of things to Light, does both inform our Judgments, and rectifie thoſe Miſtakes which have ſo long been obtruded upon the World. It is indeed a difficult Work, both as well for the Antiquity of the things we are to treat of, in many of theſe Reigns; as alſo becauſe in thoſe that are nearer us, there has been ſo much Care and Caution us'd, to conceal the inward and particular Motives of their Actions from us: Yet according to our Collections of thoſe Ancient Remains that are left unto the World, and the Conferences, Acts and Inſtruments of late Times, we

ſhall deliver the Secret Tranſactions and Courſe of Affairs to the Publick View without Paſſion or Partiality; Endeavouring to be of no Side but that of Truth, as it ſhall appear to our Apprehenſion. And that we go no farther backward than *William* the Firſt, Sirnamed the Conqueror, is becauſe we think it but a needleſs piece of Curioſity to look farther back into the Times paſt, than we can well diſcern, and whereof we can neither have Proof nor Profit: For indeed, had we the particular Occurrents of all Nations and all Ages, it might more incumber, but not better our Underſtandings: We ſhall find the ſame Correſpondencies to hold in the Actions of Men; their Vertues and Vices the ſame, tho' riſing and falling according to the Worth or Weakneſs of Governours: The Cauſes of the Ruines and Changes of Common-Wealths to be alike, and the Train of Affairs, carried by the Precedent in a Courſe of Succeſſion, under the like Figures.

We have only this farther to inform our Reader, That tho' the Secret Hiſtory of each King, is the Principal Deſign of this BOOK; yet we ſhall introduce the Secret Hiſtory of each Reign, with a ſhort Abſtract of the General Hiſtory of each Prince. Which as it will not take up much of our Room, ſo it will give the Reader a better Idea of what he ſhall find in the Secret Hiſtory.

THE

# THE True SECRET HISTORY OF King *WILLIAM* the First, Called the CONQUEROR.

WILLIAM *the First, (by some called the Conquerour) was Bastard Son to* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *and after his Father's Decease succeeded him in that Dukedom; And upon the Death of* Edward *the Confessor, laid claim to the Crown of* England: *To obtain which, he prepar'd a Thousand Ships, furnish'd with Men, Horse, and all Warlike Provisions, and sailing for* England, *Landed on the Coast of* Sussex; *and after a bloody Battel at* Hastings, *obtain'd the Victory over King* Harold, *with the slaughter of near Seventy thousand men on both sides; wherein* Harold *himself being slain, Duke* William *came to* London, *and was Receiv'd and Crown'd at* Westminster, *by* Aldred *Archbishop of* York. *He used his Victory Tyrannically, dispossessing most of the* English *of their Lands, and giving them to the* Normans; *for which Oppressions he was continually molested; sometimes with the* Danes, *then with the* Welsh, *and at other times with the* Scots *out of* Ireland; *besides his Troubles in* Normandy *amongst his own People: He destroy'd and laid waste all the Country betwixt* York *and* Durham *for the space of Sixty Miles: And in* Hampshire *pull'd down Thirty six Churches, and destroy'd many Towns and Villages for the space of Thirty Miles, to make a Forest of, for Wild Beasts. And having Reign'd over* England *Twenty Years, Ten Months, and odd Days, he died at* Roan *in* Normandy, Sept. 9. 1087. *Aged Sixty four Years; and was with some difficulty buried at* Caen *in* Normandy; *having left the Dukedom of* Normandy *to his Eldest Son* Robert, *and the Kingdom of* England *to his Second Son* William, *who succeeded him.* Thus far his General History.

As for his Secret History, it began before his Birth, which was a Work of Darkness, and therefore a Secret thing: For *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, the Sixth in descent from *Rollo*, Ri-

ding through *Falais*, a Town in *Normandy*, ſaw certain young Perſons Dancing near the Way; and as he ſtay'd ſome time to behold their Paſtime, he particularly fix'd his eye upon a young Damſel named *Arlotte*, who was but of mean Birth, being but a Skinners Daughter; ſhe Dancing there among the reſt, the Duke was ſo taken with her Perſon and Dancing, that the ſame Night he caus'd her ſecretly to be brought to his Bed, of whom he then begot this *William*: And ſo laſcivious was this *Arlotte* reported to be in her behaviour, when the Duke approach'd to embrace her, that the *Engliſh* afterwards (adding an Aſpiration to her Name) from her, call'd every unchaſte Woman a *Harlot*.

This King being the firſt of the *Norman* Race, and coming in, as ſome would have it, by Conqueſt, and acting by his own Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure; is by ſome Writers of later years mightily cry'd up for making *Engliſh* Men Slaves, and entailing Slavery upon us even to this Day: For Dr. *Fulbeck* in his Pandects of the Law of Nations, *Chap.* 10. *p.* 69. hath theſe Words: *For* England *thus much I dare ſpeak, and under the Rule of Modeſty proteſt, That ſince the Univerſal Conqueſt of* William, *who firſt Commanded and Impoſed Tribute upon this Land, (for Conquerors may Command) Tribute and Subſidy have been as juſtly, both by the Law of GOD and the Law of Nations, paid in* England *as in* Jewry; *yea, and juſtly continued, as a Remembrance of a Conqueſt.* To the ſame purpoſe one *Blackwood* alſo Writes, concluding, *That we are all Slaves by reaſon of the Conqueſt.* But by theſe Gentlemens leaves, as much in love with Slavery as they are, the Caſe is far otherwiſe; nor did King *William* himſelf lay any claim to the Crown by Conqueſt: 'Tis true, he acted like a Conquerour in the Courſe of his Reign; and like ſeveral of his Succeſſors, trampl'd upon thoſe Laws he had ſworn to preſerve; depreſſing the *Engliſh* by all manner of ways, advancing his *Normans*, and ſupplying all Vacancies with them, both in Church and State; inſomuch that ſcarce any Noble Family of *Engliſh* Blood was ſuffered to bear either Office or Authority within the Realm: Seizing all the Foreſts and Chaces in the Kingdom into his own poſſeſſion; and not only ſo, but to make a great Foreſt near the Sea in *Hampſhire*, he diſpeopled Villages and Towns, laying all waſte for about the ſpace of Thirty Miles, to make a Deſart for Beaſts of Chace. The great end pretended for ſuch an unexampled piece of Tyranny as his deſtroying ſo many Villages, was, the great delight he took in Hunting: But its ſecret and true cauſe was, to make a place of Footing for his *Normans*, and other Friends out of *France*; in caſe the *Engliſh* (whom his Tyrannical Government had irritated to the higheſt degree) ſhould attempt a Revolt. And the more to enſlave the *Engliſh*, he cauſed the Laws to be turned into the *Norman* Language, which was a Barbarous and a Broken *French*, not well underſtood of the *French* themſelves, and not at all of the Vulgar *Engliſh*; and by

t'is

this means becoming ignorant of the Laws, many were thereby Extreamly intangled; and others for the breach of 'em rather made away, than juſtly Executed; which was his Secret Intention herein. Acting in this Caſe rather worſe than *Caligula*, of whom it is reported, That when he intended to make Advantage of his penal Edicts, he cauſed them to be written in ſo ſmall Letters, and the Tables of them to be faſtened ſo high, that it was impoſſible any Man ſhould read them. He alſo cauſed all the Monaſteries and Abbeys to be ſearched, upon the Specious pretence of the Rebels and their Aſſiſtants having conveyed their Riches into thoſe Religious Houſes, as into places priviledged, and free from Seizure; but the Secret Intent of King *William* was, under the Colour thereof, to diſcover what Treaſure they had, and then to Rob them of it; which he alſo did, ſeizing upon the Plate, Jewels and Treaſure of all the Monaſteries in *England*, taking ſeveral of thoſe Religious Houſes wholly into his own Poſſeſſion, and ſeizing upon the Liberty of others, which they were afterwards forced to redeem at very high and Exceſſive Rates: And ſeveral of the Strangers which he Entertained in his Pay, he diſperſed into many of theſe Religious Houſes, and ſome alſo among the Nobility; his Secret Deſign thereby being both to favour his own Purſe, and to have always a Watch over them of whoſe Allegiance he had any ſuſpicion: And for the common ſort of People, he diſarmed them, and by a Law Enacted that in all Towns and Villages they ſhould ring a Bell at Eight a Clock at Night, and that upon the ringing thereof, all the Inhabitants ſhould put out both their Fire and Candle, and go to Bed; ſecretly by that means deſigning to prevent their aſſociating together in the Night, leſt thereby any Plots or Conſpiracies ſhould be carried on againſt him: Compelling them to imitate the *Norman* Faſhions; inſomuch that their Children at School were taught their Letters and Principles of Grammar in the *Norman-Language*.

But tho' all thoſe Proceedings do ſufficiently ſhew him a Tyrannical and Arbitrary Prince, and one who deſign'd the intire ſubjecting of the Nation to the Will and Pleaſure of the *Normans*, yet did not the King ſo much as pretend to an abſolute Conqueſt, which will ſufficiently appear by the manner of his Coronation; which I will here inſert, it not being commonly to be met with.

Duke *William* being Couſin German to King *Edward* the Confeſſor, did after the Death of that King pretend, that the Right of the Crown truly devolved upon him; and not only ſo, but alſo that the ſaid *Edward* had deſigned him for his Succeſſor, and by his laſt Will had bequeathed the Kingdom to him: And this was confirm'd by the Conſent of the Nobility, and principally of *Harold* himſelf; who had ſworn to him, That he would aſſiſt him in the obtaining of the Crown of *England*, if ever *Edward* died without iſſue. But it ſeems Oaths

are but little regarded, when a Crown is in the way; for King *Edward* being Dead, *Harold* (inſtead of aſſiſting Duke *William*) ſet the Crown upon his own Head; which the Duke hearing, ſent over an Ambaſſador to him, requiring him to remember the Oath he had made to the ſaid *William* in the time of his Extremity; (for he was then his Priſoner in *Normandy*:) But *Harold* being now at liberty, and in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, return'd for Anſwer, *That as for him to take an Oath to deliver up the Inheritance of any Realm, without the general Conſent and Allowance of the Senate and People, could not but be a piece of great Preſumption; yea, altho he might have juſt Title ſo to do: Wherefore it was an unreaſonable Requeſt of the Duke now to require him to renounce the Kingdom, in which he was ſo well ſettled, to the good liking of and content of the People.* Upon the receiving of this unkind Return from *Harold*, by way of Anſwer to his Demand, the *Norman* Duke (that he might not be altogether his own Judge) refers himſelf to the Pope (which at that time was *Alexander* the Second) to decide the matter, and ſo reſolved that the infallible Chair ſhould determine who had the Juſteſt Right to the Crown and Kingdom, *Harold* or Himſelf: And the Roman *Pontiff* (like a good Old Gentleman, who would not be behind hand with him in Civility for ſo great a kindneſs as was the Appealing to him, and thereby flattering him with a Judicatory Power over Princes) was very eaſily induc'd to Pronounce Sentence on Duke *William's* behalf; Who being thus ſtrengthen'd by a threefold Claim, *viz.* His ſucceeding to King *Edward* in the Kingdom by Right of Inheritance, the Bequeſt of the Crown to him by the Confeſſor, and the Popes Definitive Sentence in his Favour, he reſolved to try what he could do to gain the Poſſeſſion of it by Force of Arms; for *Harold*, it ſeems, regarded not all theſe Pretences.

Duke *William* therefore convening his Parliament, or Aſſembly of three Eſtates, which conſiſted of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, the Nobility promis'd to ſerve him, and the Clergy and People to aid him with Money, according to their ſeveral Abilities. So that being thus ſupply'd, and aſſiſted, with ſeveral other of his Friends, makes for *England*, and arrived at a place in *Suſſex* called *Peveneſſy*, (now *Pemſey*) and was no ſooner on Land, but by his Proclamation he declared upon what occaſions he thus entered the Realm, and ſo prepared to give *Harold* Battel. And as Perjury ſeldom or never eſcapes unpuniſhed, ſo here was a viſible inſtance of the Divine Juſtice upon *Harold* for his Breach of Oath and Covenant to the Duke; for in the Battel of *Haſtings* he met with his Reward, loſing both his Crown and his Life at once; leaving *William* to finiſh the Day with Victory, over thoſe that were yet reſolved to diſpute the Cauſe with him.

And being thus rid of his Stubborn Enemy, in the heat of the Chace he got to *London*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom which he pretended was his own by Right before, from the

Titles

Titles we have already mention'd. Yet was it not in any such haughty and insulting way as many wou'd fain have us to believe, upon their bare Credit and Testimony: No, he chose the more grateful and complying Artifices of a Courtier, and setled himself in it by a mutual Agreement and expres's Compact, as will appear by the manner of his Coronation, which I before promis'd to insert, and to which this Account of his Claim and Coming-over, is but preliminary.

The Duke having gotten the Battel at *Hastings* on the 14*th* of *October* 1066. was the *Christmas* following Crown'd at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, (*Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, not being held to be Canonically invested in his See) At his Coronation, the Excellent and most Famous Laws of St. *Edward* being shewed to him, and he being asked, *Whether he would govern the Realm by these Laws?* He answered, *He would*: The Archbishop then asked the (English) People, *If they would Assent to have the Duke their King? And if he should then be Crowned?* To which they all with an Unanimous Consent, Answered, Yea, Yea. Whereupon he took the Coronation-Oath; the sense of which take as follows.

*This Scepter I most thankfully receive, and with it do most Solemnly Promise and Swear to Govern both Church and State in Peace. And I Vow to Rule my Subjects with that Justice and prudent Care as becomes a good King. I will (with the Advice and Consent of my Great Council) Enact* Right Laws: *Which done, be witness all ye Saints, that to the utmost of my Power, I will my self religiously observe and keep it: For what can be more vain and inconsistent with the common Reason of all Mankind, than for a Prince Publickly and Solemnly to ordain a Law, and the next moment after to break and abrogate it in his Closet? All Rapines I will forbid, and all False Judgements: No Illegal or Arbitrary Acts, under the Pretence of the Prerogative Royal will I suffer or permit, to the oppression of my* English *Subjects, between whom and my* Normans, *I will administer* Equal Right. *And that GOD, Angels, my* Normans, *and you, may all be Witnesses & Parties to the Sincerity of my Heart, That I will not take the* English-Mens *Inheritances by Injustice, or thrust them out of their Paternal Possessions by Wrong: That I have not, nor will not pretend to any Absolute or Despotical Power, over their Lives Liberties and Estates*; nor violate, break, or alter the Fundamental Rights of the Kingdom (*as Tyrants do who only design to inslave their People.*) *I do here Solemnly Promise and Swear in the Presence of all the mighty Powers, inviolably to observe and keep the Sacred Laws of St.* Edward *my* Kinsman.

Which being said, the Archbishop of *York* set the Imperial Crown upon *William's* Head: And thus of a Duke of *Normandy*, he was Created King of *England*.

And now, Reader, I will leave thee to Judge, whether Duke *William's* overcoming King *Harold* at the Battel of *Hastings*, looks like an absolute Conquest of *England*; or whether absolutely Disclaiming all Title by Conquest, or Despotick Power,

he was not admitted to the Crown by a Solemn Compact, and mutual Agreement?

If it be objected, That he acted contrary to what he had so solemnly promis'd and sworn, I readily grant it: And yet even the most arbitrary things he Acted, were done under the specious Pretences of Reforming the Laws; not being willing to own any Open violation of them: Nor did he so pertinaciously insist upon the Alterations he had made, but that upon Complaint made to him, he often redress'd their Grievances. And therefore after he had caused the Laws to be put into the *Norman* Language, the agrieved Lords and People of *England*, tendering their humble Petition, and beseeching him, in regard of his Oath made at his Coronation, and by the Soul of St. *Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, under whose Laws they were Born and Bred, that he would not add that Misery, to deliver 'em up to be judged by a strange Law they understood not: Whereupon the King gave Command to his Justiciaries to see that the Laws of St. *Edward* (which were so called, not that he made 'em, but that he Collected them out of *Merchen-Law*, *Dane-Law*, and *Westsex-Law*) should be inviolably observed throughout the Kingdom: Tho' after all, it must be confessed that that Command was rather given to quiet the People, with a show of the continuation of their ancient Priviledges, than that they did indeed enjoy them; for (as others of his Successors have done since) whilst he seemed to preserve and defend, he secretly was undermining their Liberty: Whereas had he kept strictly to the observance of his Coronation-Oath, he might have liv'd more belov'd, and dy'd more lamented. To conclude. I know no better Testimony of him that can be given, than out of his own Mouth: For lying on his Death-Bed, (where Men are most ready to speak the Truth) these were his Words: *The* English *I hated, the Nobles I dishonoured, the Commons I truly vexed, and many I unjustly disinherited in the County of* York, *and sundry other Places; an innumerable sort with Hunger and Sword I Slew; and thus that Beautiful and Noble Nation, I made desolate with the Deaths of many Thousands.*

But how he was forsaken at his Death, and with what difficulty his dead Body obtain'd a place of Burial, the Reader may be informed from those who have Written his General History.

THE

# THE True SECRET HISTORY OF King *WILLIAM* the Second, Sirnamed *RUFUS.*

WILLIAM *the Second,* (*ſirnamed* Rufus, *by reaſon of his red colour*) *was ſecond Son to* William *the Firſt, and was Crowned King of* England *at* Weſtminſter, *by* Lanfrank *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *his Elder Brother* Robert *being Duke of* Normandy, *who likewiſe claimed the Crown, but was pacified by the Mediation of King* William's *Friends, and the Promiſe of* 3000 *Marks a Year.* Robert *having left* England, *ſoon after* Malcome *King of* Scots *invaded it, burning and ſpoiling as far as* Cheſter: *And no ſooner was there Peace made between King* William *and* Malcome, *but he and his Brother* Robert *fell out again, and again were reconcil'd: Upon which* Malcome, *King of* Scots, *made another inrode into* England, *but being Encounter'd by* Robert Moubray *Earl of* Nothumberland, *the King and his Son were there both Slain.* William *and his Brother* Robert *falling out the third time, are after much trouble again reconcil'd, and then* Robert *went to* Jeruſalem, *and Conquer'd it. Many fearful things happened in this Kings Reign, as Earthquakes, Dreadful Lightning, Apparitions, Blazing Comets, Inundations and Deluges, to the Deſtruction of the People, and much Land was over-whelmed by the Sea, never to be recovered, among which were* Earl Goodwin's *Lands, now called* Goodwins *Sands. When he had reigned near Thirteen Years, he was Slain by an Arrow in* New-Forreſt, *by Sir* Walter Tyrrel *a* French *Knight, and being brought to* Wincheſter *in a* Collier's Cart, *was there buried* Anno. 1100. *on the* 2d *of* Auguſt.—— Thus far his General Hiſtory.

His Secret Hiſtory begins with the beginning of his Reign, for the Stepping into the Throne before his Elder Brother, was a Secret Contrivance; which he was ſo intent about, that he left his Father in a Dying condition, that he might be ready to Seize upon the Kingdom, before his Brother *Robert*: 'Tis true, he had it by his Father's Will; who by this Act deſtroy'd the Right of Primogeniture, and by a Secret Contrivance between him and his Father, his Eldeſt Brother was abſent in *Ger-*

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*many*, whilſt he poſſeſs'd himſelf both of the Kingdom, and his Father's Treaſure, and thereby diſappointed his Brother of making thoſe Efforts for the Recovery of the Crown, which he would otherwiſe have done: For, notwithſtanding his Father's Will, it was the Opinion of many, that the Right of Succeſſion lay in *Robert*; and that it was not in the Power of the King to diſ-inherit his Eldeſt Son, and to appoint another to ſucceed him.

And this gave him no ſmall Trouble; for notwithſtanding his Father's Will, he knew well enough he muſt both be put in, and hold Poſſeſſion of the Crown, by the Will of the Kingdom: And the way he took to purchaſe that, was by privately promiſing to the *Engliſh* the Redreſſing of their Grievances, and ſecretly bribing the *Normans* with large Gifts. This he thought was the ſureſt way to go to work; and therefore goes down to *Wincheſter*, where his Father's Treaſures lay, and profuſely ſquander'd away all that which with ſo much Care and Avarice his Father had amaſſed together: This he diſtributes amongſt his *Normans*, and yet obtain'd not altogether his End therein; for tho' he got the Love of many, yet he loſt the Love of more, not being able to content all. And afterwards failing of his promiſed Supplies to the *Normans*, (who expected he ſhould be always giving) and taking from the *Engliſh* thoſe Liberties he pretended to give 'em, it procured him a general Hatred, and forced him to all thoſe diſhonourable Shifts for raiſing of Money, that could be deviſed; inſomuch that he reſumed his own former Grants.

'Tis true, whilſt *Lanfrank* lived, who was a Prelate of great Piety and Vertue, (as the Times then went) he conceal'd his Vices, and kept himſelf in ſome good order; but he being dead, the King (as one got looſe from his Chain, and having the Reins upon his Neck) gave himſelf up to all Licentiouſneſs, preying upon all that ſtood in his way, eſpecially upon the Clergy, as thoſe amongſt whom he found the richeſt Booties: And where a rich Biſhoprick, or Abbey, became vacant, it was uſual with him to keep them in his own Hands; and one time he had no leſs than three Biſhopricks, to wit, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, and *Saliſbury*, and twelve Abbeys, all in his own Hands; all which he let out to Farm, and receiv'd the Profits; he firſt introducing that Cuſtom which has been ever ſince kept up by his Succeſſors, That the Kings of *England* receive the Temporalities of Biſhops Sees, as long as they remain vacant. The Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* he kept in his own Hand, after the Death of *Lanfrank*, Four Years; and would have done ſo longer, but that in a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs he had ſome Reluctancy of Mind, or Qualms of Conſcience about it; and fearing he ſhould die, he conferred the Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anſelm*, and the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two Eminent Men of that Time: But as ſoon as he recover'd his Health, he repented of the Good he had done in his Sickneſs, and wou'd not be ſatisfied, till he had caus'd *Bloet* to pay

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5000 *l.* and had alſo receiv'd conſiderable Summs of Money from *Anſelm*; which tho' he tranſacted ſecretly, came ſoon after to be publickly known, to his great Diſhonour: Which made one ſay of him, *That he repented not more in Time of Sickneſs of the Evil he had done in Health, than being in Health he repented of the Good he had done in Sickneſs: So that in him this Paradox was verified, That there was nothing made him Sick but Health, and nothing made him be in Health but Sickneſs.* But theſe were not all the ways he had of getting Money, as I ſhall preſently ſhew you; and indeed he had ſo many, and many of them ſo unjuſt, that it ſeemed he cared not how he got his Money, ſo he did but get it. Having once agreed to pay the King of *France* a great Sum of Money, he raiſed it in this manner: Under a Pretence of wanting Soldiers for his Wars in *Normandy*, he cauſed 20000 Men to be levied; and when they were juſt ready to take Shipping, the King lets 'em know, that whoſoever would pay Ten Shillings towards the levying of Soldiers in *Normandy*, ſhould be excus'd from going, and tarry at Home. This Offer appear'd ſo plauſible, that there was ſcarce a Man that did not accept of the Condition. This was one of the moſt innocent ways he took, but he ſtuck not at thoſe that were far worſe; for he not only uſually ſold all Spiritual Preferments to them which would give moſt, but he alſo took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication; and took Money of the *Jews*, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted, to renounce Chriſtianity, and return to Judaiſm; their Unbelief bringing him more Advantage than their Converſion. For a young *Jew* being converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and his Father being very much troubled at it, preſented the King with Sixty Marks, deſiring that he would order his Son to return to his former Judaiſm: Whereupon the King, being willing to earn the Money, ſent for the young *Jew*, commanding him to return to the Religion of his Nation, without any more ado. But the young Man, nothing daunted, very ſmartly anſwer'd, *That he wondred his Majeſty wou'd uſe ſuch Words; for being a Chriſtian himſelf, he ſhould much rather perſwade him to Chriſtianity:* With which Anſwer the King was ſo confounded, that he commanded the young Man to get out of his Sight. But the young Man's Father (the old *Jew*) ſeeing the King could do no good upon his Son, demanded his Money again: *No*, ſaid the King, *I have taken Pains enough for the Money, tho' I han't turn'd him; and yet*, ſaid the King, *that you may ſee how kindly I will deal with you, you ſhall have one half, and the other half you can't in Conſcience deny me.*— He alſo cauſed divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for very ſmall Tranſgreſſions, of which he had ſecret Notice given by ſuch Spies as he had lurking in every Place. He alſo ſet forth a Proclamation, forbidding any to go out of the Realm without his Licenſe; the Pretence for which, was, that they might not ſtir up Enemies againſt him abroad: But the ſecret Intent of it was, that they might pay well for their Licenſe: And this

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brought him in no little Gain; for many, by reaſon of the Oppreſſions they lay under at Home, were ſo diſcontented, that they choſe rather to content him for giving them Leave to go Abroad. And from hence grew the Cuſtom, or Law, *Ne Exeat Regno*; for, as one well obſerves, *Precedents of Servitude are ſure to live when Precedents of Liberty are ſtill-born.*

Hiſtorians tell us, That this King valu'd himſelf much upon keeping his Word, and being juſt to what he had promis'd; and that he often uſed to ſay, *That even God himſelf was obliged by his Word:* But his ſecret Deſign in ſo ſaying, was, That Men might be careful to keep their Words to him, rather than that he intended to keep his to them: Or elſe why did he not take Care to keep his Word to his Brother *Robert*, to whom he promis'd to leave the Kingdom of *England*, after his Deceaſe, but perform'd it not? Why elſe alſo did he not keep his Word to his *Engliſh* Subjects, to whom, in the Time of the Rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promiſed, That if they would now ſtick to him, they ſhould have their Ancient Laws reſtor'd, and be allow'd to hunt in his Foreſts; which Promiſe he kept not at all, or at leaſt quickly brake it? Nay, why did he not keep his Word with GOD himſelf, to whom (being ſick at *Glouceſter*, and in ſome Hazard of his Life) he made a ſolemn Vow, That if he Recovered, he would lead a new Life, and leave off his diſorderly Courſes; but being Recovered, he grew more diſorderly than he had been before? So that if we muſt make our Judgment from his greateſt Actions, it cannot be ſaid he was juſt to his Word. *But ſuch is the Privilege that Princes claim over their Subjects, that if they make a Promiſe, it muſt be believ'd; and tho' they break it, yet they will allow none to queſtion it.*

He is charged by ſome with being extreamly Laſcivious; but no particular Inſtances thereof appearing, I ſhall not ſay much thereunto; tho', if it be conſidered that he was a ſtrong-bodied Man, and never married, it may be probable enough that that Vice did not eſcape him; yet Probabilities are not always concluding. 'Tis true, he had one baſe Son, named *Burtrannus*, whom he advanced to Honour, and matched into a Noble Family: But, *as one Swallow does not make a Summer*, ſo neither is one baſe Son enough to denominate him an *extreamly* laſcivious Perſon.

Far more evident it is, that whatever Pretences he made to Religion, he ſecretly was an irreligious Man; as will appear by theſe Inſtances following: He appointed a Diſputation to be held between the *Chriſtians* and the *Jews*; the *Jews*, before the Day came, to the end they might have an indifferent Hearing, brought the King a Preſent; which the King not only receiv'd, but encouraged them to quit themſelves like Men; and ſwore by St. *Luke*'s Face, which was his uſual Oath, That if they prevail'd by Diſputation, he would himſelf turn *Jew*, and be of their Religion. At another time, Fifty Gentlemen being accus'd

cus'd of Hunting, and killing the King's Deer, which they denying, were condemn'd to the Ordeal, or Tryal by Fire; which, through the Divine Aſſiſtance, they paſſed through untouch'd: By which means the King being deceiv'd of thoſe Confiſcations he expected, ſaid, *How happens this! Is GOD a juſt Judge in ſuffering it? Now a Murrain take him that believes it:* Which was a very blaſphemous and irreligious Saying. And therefore his reſtraining of his Subjects from going to *Rome*, and with-holding the Annual Payment of *Peter-Pence*; whereby he ſeemed not ſo much to approve of the Pope's Proceedings, or the Romiſh Religion, as divers Kings before him had done, was rather attributed to his Covetouſneſs, and Irreligion, than to any right Notions that he had of Truth: Tho' he wou'd often ſay, *That they* (that is, the Popes) *follow not the Trace of St.* Peter, *but greedily gape after Gifts and Rewards*; and, *That they retain not his Power, whoſe Piety they do not imitate.* 'Tis certain he was no Bigot to the *Romiſh* Religion; for he wou'd often ſay, That *he believ'd not the Praying to Saints could avail any Man in the Sight of GOD*; and therefore ſaid, *Neither will I, nor any other that is wiſe, make Interceſſion either to* Peter, *or any other Saint for Help.*

As to his Death, tho' it comes not ſo properly within the Compaſs of Secret Hiſtory, being recorded by moſt Hiſtorians; yet ſince very few have given us all the Particulars thereof, I will here relate it; and ſo much the rather, as it ſhews the Secret Curſe of God that followed both the Father and the Son, for their deſtroying Towns, Villages, and Churches, and depopulating the Country for 30 Miles together, of which I have ſpoken in his Father's Reign. I will therefore firſt ſhew the manner of the King's Death, and then thoſe Remarkable Circumſtances that attended it.—— The King being reſolv'd on the Day after *Lammas-Day* (which is the firſt of *Auguſt*) to go a Hunting in the *New Foreſt*, about Dinner-time an Artificer came to him with Four very ſtrong Croſs-bows, of which he kept two himſelf, and deliver'd the other two to his Bow-Bearer, which was Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*, ſaying, *Here*, Tyrrel, *take you theſe two, for you know how to ſhoot to purpoſe.* And ſo going to Dinner, and there drinking more liberally than uſual, he afterwards rid out to *New Foreſt*, where, as he was hunting at a Place call'd *Charingham*, he ſlightly wounded a Deer with an Arrow; and the Deer running away, the King ſtay'd his Horſe to look after it, holding his Hand over his Eyes, becauſe the Beams of the Sun (which was then near ſetting) dazled his Sight; and another Deer at the ſame time croſſing the way, Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, before named, aiming to ſhoot the Deer, (as 'tis ſaid) by a Glance of the Arrow, ſtrook the King full upon the Breaſt, who only giving a heavy Groan, immediately fell down dead, neither by Speech, nor Motion ſhewing the leaſt Sign of Life; and only ſo much of the Arrow as was without his Body, was found broken, but

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whether with his Hand, or by his Fall, is not known. The Men that were near'ſt him (eſpecially *Sir Walter Tyrrel*) galloped away, ſome being amazed, and others thro' Fear: But ſome few collecting themſelves, when their Fear was a little over, turn'd back again, and taking up the Royal Body, laid it upon a Collier's Cart with one Horſe, which hapned to come by that way, and ſo convey'd it to *Wincheſter*, bleeding very much all the way, by reaſon of the jolting of the Cart, which going through a miry way, it broke in the middle, and the King's Body fell down into the Mud: And the next Day, without any extraordinary Funeral Pomp, it was interr'd in the Cathedral Church of St. *Swithin*, being laid in the Quire, under a plain Marble Stone. But afterwards his Bones were tranſlated, and laid by the Bones of King *Canutus*.

This Death of the King was not unattended with ſome extraordinary Preſages; for at *Finchamſted* in *Barkſhire*, near unto *Abington*, a Spring caſt up Liquor, for Fifteen Days together, in Colour and Subſtance like unto Blood, which tinctured and infected the next Water-Brook into which it run. And but the very Night before the King was kill'd, a Monk had a very ſtrange Dream, which was, That he ſaw the King gnaw the Image of Chriſt crucified; and that as he was about to bite away the Legs of the ſame Image, Chriſt with his Feet kick'd him down to the Ground; and that as he lay on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire, with abundance of Smoak. The Monk told his Dream to one *Robert Fitz-Mammon*, who related it to the King: *Pob!* ſaid the King, in a jeſting manner, *this Monk wou'd fain have ſomething for his Dream: Go, give him a Hundred Shillings, but bid him look that he dream more auſpicious Dreams hereafter.* But this was not all; for the ſame Night the King himſelf dreamed, that the Veins of his Arms were broken, and that the Blood iſſued out in abundance. Theſe things, one wou'd think, ſhould have deterr'd the King from going a Hunting the next Day: And indeed he ſo far took notice of the many Paſſages he had heard and obſerved, that he ſtaid within all the Forenoon; but going a Hunting in the Afternoon, fulfill'd the Event he was forewarn'd of: Which evidently ſhews, that no Warning can prevent a Man's Deſtiny; or, to ſpeak more like a Chriſtian, That there is no warding off the Stroke of Divine Vengeance, when the Meaſure of our Iniquities are full: For the Death of this King carries ſo much of *Digitus Dei* along with it, that a more pregnant Example of Divine Juſtice remains not upon Record: For this King having made a Law, That whoever kill'd a Deer, ſhould ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment as he that kill'd a Man, Is it not *Lex Talionis*, that this King ſhould be kill'd inſtead of a Deer? And that he who baniſh'd both the Service of GOD, and the Society of Men out of this Place, to make a vaſt Habitation for Savage Beaſts, ſhould himſelf periſh there like a Beaſt, and inſtead of one, does evidently carry the Finger of GOD along with it,

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and points out the Sin in the Puniſhment. Nor do theſe Reflections relate only to the Son, but the Father alſo, who firſt made it a Foreſt: And tho' the hand of Juſtice did not overtake himſelf, yet that *Richard* another Son of the Conqueror, a Prince of great Hopes, and that *William* his Second Son, and a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, ſhould all come to untimely Ends in this Place, ſhews the Veracity of that Word which tells us, *GOD will viſit the Iniquities of the Fathers upon their Children, unto the Third and Fourth Generation.*

To ſum up in a few Words the Whole of this King's Reign: He did not only oppreſs and fleece this Nation, but rather with importunate Exactions, did as it were flay off their Skins: His chiefeſt Conſorts were Effeminate Perſons, Ruffians, and the like; and himſelf delighted in continual Adulteries, and Company of Concubines, even before the Sun: None thrived about him but Treaſurers, Collectors, and Promoters: He ſold all Church Preferments, and took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication. Hunting in that moſt Remarkable *New Forreſt*, *Walter Tyrrel* ſhot him to the Heart, with an Arrow out of a Croſs Bow, whether of Purpoſe, or not, is no great Matter.

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# THE
# True SECRET HISTORY
# OF
# King *HENRY* the Firſt.

HENRY *the Firſt was the Youngeſt Son of* William *the Conqueror, and ſucceeded his Brother* William *in the Kingdom: He was a Prince of great Wiſdom and Learning, and for that Reaſon was called* Beauclerk. *He mitigated the Severity of his Father's and Brother's Laws, and ſwayed the Sceptre with more Moderation than either of them: But his Eldeſt Brother,* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *being offer'd the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *hearing his Brother* Rufus *was dead, refus'd that Kingdom, in hopes of obtaining the Kingdom of* England, *which was already poſſeſſed by his Youngeſt Brother: Notwithſtanding which, he claimed the Crown, landing at* Portſmouth; *but by the Advice of the Nobles on both ſides, it was agreed that King* Henry *ſhou'd pay to Duke* Robert 3000 *Marks yearly: Tho' this Agreement laſted not long, new Diſſentions ariſing again between 'em. After* Henry *had reigned with various*

*various fortune, Thirty Five Years, four Months and odd Days, he died in the Year* 1135. *being Aged 67 Years and was buried at* Reading. Thus much of his Reign in general. I now proceed to,

His Secret History: Which is indeed a Secret, for some Popular Vertues he had, and some good things he did, which very much obscur'd his Vices, and made them the less taken Notice of: The restoring to the *English* the Liberty of Fire and Candles in the Night, deny'd them in the two former Reigns; and his moderating that Law of his Brother, that if any Man kill'd a *Deer*, he should suffer Death for it; and instead thereof, Enacting that only the Wood wherein such *Deer* was kill'd, should be forfeited to the King, were very grateful things to the People; And above all, his instituting the form of the High Court of Parliament as it is now in use, gain'd him a great Reputation: For before his Time, the King called only some particular Men of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realm, to consult about the most important Affairs of State. —— But notwithstanding this, he has left such Marks of his Cloven Foot behind him, as sufficiently shew him to be a branch of the *Norman* Race; Hence some in his time Complained, *That his Kindnesses were nothing but Allurements to Mischief, his Gifts were but pleasant Baits to cover over and convey most dangerous Hooks, that his fair Speeches were only Sugared Poysons; and that whom he most tenderly Embrac'd, he Secretly design'd to tickle to Death.* And of this his Elder Brother *Robert* was but too sad an instance; as we shall shew you by and by.

*Henry* being in *New-Forrest* when his Brother King *William* was kill'd, stay'd not for Complements of Condolance to be paid him upon that unhappy Accident; but rid straight away to *Winchester*, and there seiz'd upon his Brother's Treasure, not without some opposition from the Keepers; who might possibly expect to be called to an Account for it by *Robert* the Eldest Brother; to whom they knew that by a Solemn Compact, confirmed by the Oath of the late King, the Kingdom was to descend after *William's* Death (and *Henry* himself knew this as well as they.) But, as 'tis opportunity that often makes a Thief; so it fell out in this Case; Duke *Robert* was now at *Jerusalem*; and the Throne was become Vacant; and *Henry*, without staying for his Brother, resolv'd to step up and fill it himself: To which End the getting of his Brother's Treasure he look'd upon to be absolutely necessary; for by getting the Treasure into his hands, he knew he cou'd get Friends; and having Friends, he did not doubt of obtaining the Crown. And tho' he knew it was his Brother's Right, yet Right and Wrong never troubles the Consciences of Princes, when there is a Crown in the Case. And yet because a Pretence of Right does well, to blind the Eyes of the People; therefore *Henry* had a Pretence at hand, and that was, That tho' *Robert* was the Eldest Son of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, yet *Henry* was the Eldest

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Son of *William* King of *England*; he being born after his Fathers Acceſſion to the Crown. And by this ſpecious Pretence he ſatisfy'd the People, which was as much as he car'd for, tho' he himſelf, knew there was nothing in it; and therefore it was that he caus'd it to be ſpread abroad that his Brother was choſen King of *Jeruſalem*, and intended never to return from thence: And leſt this Report ſhould loſe its Credit by the Truth of another, that ſoon ſucceeded, which was, That *Robert* was then in *Apulia* upon his return Home, he caus'd himſelf to be Crown'd with all imaginable Expedition; ſo that within four Days after his Brother's Death, he was Crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anſelm*, being then in Exile: This Extream haſte to be Crown'd, was no doubt from King *Henry's* Knowledge of that Old Proverb, that Delays are Dangerous: For had the News of *Robert's* being on his Return, been ſpread abroad before he was Crown'd, it was probable it might have hinder'd it.

Duke *Robert* having refus'd to be King of *Jeruſalem*, and finding that his Brother *Henry* had ſerv'd him as *William* did before him, was reſolv'd however to try his Fortune in a Battel, Landing with an Army at *Portſmouth*, and having many that reſorted to him; but being of a flexible Diſpoſition, agrees with his Brother to reſign his Right to the Kingdom for 3000 Marks a Year; and this Reſignation was perhaps the beſt Title that King *Henry* had to the Crown. But *Robert* coming ſome time after to the Court of King *Henry*, he very kindly Entertain'd him; Secretly hoping thereby to wheedle him out of his Annual Stipend; which fell out accordingly: For *Robert* being heated with Wine, and mightily taken with his Entertainment, releaſes to his Brother the Yearly Payment of the 3000 Marks: But Reflecting upon the folly of ſo inconſiderate a piece of kindneſs, when he was in *Normandy*, and complaining of his Brother for his ſo deſigning upon him, King *Henry* ſeems to be affronted thereat; and to make his Brother amends for his kindneſs, ſent over a great Army into *Normandy*, which foraged the Country, and Won many Towns and Cities from him; which was an odd ſort of Gratitude for the remiſſion of 3000 Marks a Year. For tho' we ſhou'd ſuppoſe that the releaſing of that Money was the Voluntary Act of Duke *Robert*, and not at all deſign'd by the King, yet *Robert* being a Loſer by it, Loſers ſhould have leave to ſpeak

However, *Robert*, by this proceeding of his Brother's, being made ſenſible of his Weakneſs, comes over into *England*, and throws himſelf upon his Brothers good Nature; intreating, rather than perſwading, that in regard of the Natural Obligation between them by Blood, and in regard of the many good Offices and Benefits wherewith he had endeavour'd to purchaſe the Kings Love, all Hoſtility and force of Arms between them might ceaſe; concluding his Speech thus: *I call you before the Seat of your own Judgment, to conſider whether the Relinquiſhing*

*of my Title to the Crown of* England, *whether the releasing my Annuity of* 3000 *Marks, whether many other Kindnesses so much undeserved, as scarce desired, should not in reason withdraw you from those Prosecutions, where War cann't be made without shame, nor Victory attain'd without Dishonour:* But the more desirous the Duke was of Peace, with the greater Disdain did the King refuse it; having another Secret Design than what he was willing the World should yet know; his Ambition grew with his Fortune, and the Kingdom of *England* would not content him without the Dukedom of *Normandy*; and therefore the Kings Business was to Exasperate his Brother, to give him the Fairer Pretention to Execute his Secret Design. D. *Robert* therefore finding that the King his Brother made use of Evasions to avoid all offers of Agreement, could not at last forbear saying, *I have cast my self so low as your haughty Heart can possibly wish; whereby I have wrong'd both my self and you; my self, in occasioning some suspition of Weakness; and you, in making you obstinate in your Ambitious Purposes: But assure your self, that this desire did not proceed either from Want of Courage, or of the Assistance of Friends: I can also be both Unthankful and Unnatural, if I am provoked: And if all other Assistance should fail, yet no Arm is to be Esteemed Weak, that Strikes with the Sword of Necessity and Justice.* The King touch'd to the quick with his Brothers Words, answer'd, He cou'd easily endure the injury of his Angry Words, but to Men of moderate Judgment he would make it appear that he intended no more in offending him, than to provide for defending himself. To which the Duke replying, with some few Words season'd with Anger and Disdain, left him, and went straight to *Normandy*, in order to defend himself as well as he could by Force; and the King soon after followed him with a great Army, now throwing off his Visor in a great Measure; and by his Money purchasing Intelligence amongst those that were neareſt to the Duke, and privy to his most Secret Councils, who betray'd 'em daily to the King: Nay, Pope *Paschal* himself, to shew he was as far from Justice as from Truth, that he might gain his own Ends by obtaining from the King the Investiture of Bishops, Encourag'd him in this his Unnatural Design, telling him he shou'd thereby do a Memorable Benefit to his Realm.

The Duke finding his Condition grow worse and worse, and that his Army daily declin'd, resolv'd to venture all at once, and either win the Horse, or lose the Saddle: And so he did; for the two Armies meeting shortly after, near the Castle of *Teneschbray*, after an obstinate Fight, wherein many of both sides were slain, King *Henry* obtain'd a compleat Victory, and the Duke, with many of his Lords, were taken Prisoners, and brought into *England*: And he that once stood fair for two Crowns, lost both, and his Dukedom too, and was confin'd a Prisoner to *Cardiff* Castle. Now tho' this War was very hard upon the Duke, and very unnatural in the King, yet we may

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obſerve a very evident Divine *Nemeſis* in this Revolution, for the Battel at *Tenechbray*, in which *Normandy* was ſubdu'd by *England*, was that very Day Forty Years in which *England* was ſubdu'd by *Normandy* at the Battel of *Haſtings*.

There is no doubt to be made but Duke *Robert* was very uneaſie under his Confinement, tho' his Reſtraint was at firſt ſomewhat favourable; and yet perhaps this was not deſign'd him as a Kindneſs by the King, but either by the Negligence or Corruption of his Keeper, or elſe, that by letting him have ſo much Liberty as to endeavour an Eſcape, the King might have the better Colour to confine him ſtraiter: And that this was the Deſign, appears by that which follows, to be very probable: For Duke *Robert*, by that Liberty which was allow'd him, being tempted to make his Eſcape, took hold of the flattering Opportunity, and fled for his Liberty, as if it had been for his Life; but was quickly purſu'd, and as ſoon taken again, ſitting on Horſe-back, his Horſe's Legs being lock'd faſt in deep and miry Clay. And now the unnatural King, for this attempted Eſcape, not only commits him to a cloſe and ſtrait Priſon, but moſt barbarouſly cauſes his Eyes to be put out, that he might not ſee his Miſery, and a ſure Guard ſet upon him. *Conſtantine* forbid that the Face of Man (foraſmuch as it was adorn'd with Celeſtial Beauty) ſhould be deformed for any Offence: What can we then think of King *Henry*, who cou'd inflict a Puniſhment ſo barbarouſly cruel upon one that was not only his Elder Brother, but one (which was perhaps his greateſt Fault) that had a Right to be his King? In this dark and diſconſolate Condition the Duke continued Seven and twenty Years, ſuffering (for it cann't be call'd enjoying) a Life more grievous than Death, even till the Year before the Death of King *Henry*: For ſo long was the Duke a courting of Death; and ſo long did the one Brother over-live his Good Fortune, and the other his Good Nature: And yet, forſooth! wou'd be thought Merciful, for indulging him that miſerable Life, and that the uttermoſt Extremity was not inflicted.

We have already ſeen King *Henry*'s Ambition and Cruelty; But theſe were not all the Vices he was guilty of, for Covetouſneſs had likewiſe a great Aſcendant in him: And hence it was that he alſo, as well as his Brother *William*, kept vacant Biſhopricks in his Hands for ſeveral Years together, receiving the Profits of them all that time to his own Uſe. And tho' it ſeem'd a great piece of Favour and Mercy in him, to change the Puniſhment of Mutilation of Members for ſeveral Offences, into pecuniary Mulcts, yet the true (tho' ſecret) Reaſon thereof, was to bring Money into his own Coffers. He alſo, at the Time when Marriage of Prieſts was forbidden in *England*, for Money permitted them to retain their Wives; and this was at firſt but only for ſuch as deſired it: But finding Money come in by this Means, he in a little time after ſet an Impoſition for that purpoſe on every Church throughout the Realm: And it

any Prieſt alledged, to excuſe himſelf, that he had no Purpoſe nor Intent to keep a Wife, it avail'd him nothing; for the King uſed the ſame Argument to the Prieſt, that a late Parſon did to a Quaker for the Payment of his Tythes; who, when the Quaker told him that he had nothing for it, for he never came to hear him: The Parſon reply'd, *You may if you will, for the Church Door's open.* And ſo might the Prieſt have a Wife, if he wou'd; and if he wou'd not, yet the King wou'd take care he ſhou'd pay for one.

The Laſciviouſneſs of King *Henry* is ſo manifeſt, by the many Baſtards of his begetting, that it can hardly be brought to bear as a piece of our Secret Hiſtory, but that Whoredom is in it ſelf a Work of Darkneſs, and acted generally as ſuch: For I find by an Ancient Author of good Credit, beſides *Mary* Counteſs of *Perch*, and *Richard* her Brother, who periſh'd in the fatal Shipwrack of Prince *William*, King *Henry*'s Son; and *Robert*, whom the King created Earl of *Glouceſter*, (and whoſe Actions (tho' he was baſe born) prov'd him worthy of that Honour) the King had twelve other Baſtards, whereof ſeven were Daughters, married to ſeveral Noblemen both of *England* and *France*; imitating therein a late Prince of this Nation, whoſe illegitimate Iſſue, adorned both with Stars and Garters, makes at this Day a conſiderable Figure in the Houſe of Peers. The Incontinency of King *Henry* being by ſo many indubitable Teſtimonies, too notorious to be denied, it is notwithſtanding thus palliated by Hiſtorians, with reſpect to King *William* the Second, That the Incontinency of King *William* was the baſer, and that of King *Henry* the more noble; for this Reaſon, That King *William* only took ſuch as he found, being conſtant to the Sin, but not to the Perſons with whom he committed it; whereas King *Henry* had certain ſelect Concubines, to whom he kept himſelf conſtant. I will not pretend to decide this Controverſie, well knowing, from an infallible Teſtimony, that an immoderate and unlawful Love of Women, is that which often proves the Deſtruction of Princes: And therefore the Advice of Wiſdom is, *Not to give our Strength unto Women, nor our Ways unto that which deſtroyeth Kings.* To ſum up all in a few Words: This King is branded with Covetouſneſs, intollerable Taxations, and Cruelty toward his Elder Brother, whom he kept in perpetual Priſon, and put out both his Eyes; and with notorious Leachery, leaving behind him fourteen Baſtards.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *STEPHEN.*

STEPHEN *Earl of* Mortaign *and* Bulloign, *the Son of* Stephen *Earl of* Bloys *and* Champaign, *by* Adela, *Daughter to* William *the First*; *being a Valiant and Warlike Person, was for that Reason fear'd, and acknowledg'd by the People, and Crown'd by* William Corbel *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *at* Westminster, *on St.* Stephen's *Day ( for the Auspice of it )* Anno 1135. *Taking the Government upon him by Usurpation, contrary to his Oath made to King* Henry *the First in the behalf of* Maud *the Empress*; *for which Cause his Reign was full of Troubles, and continually harrass'd with Wars: In which he was sometimes Victorious, and sometimes overcome: Till in the Conclusion an Agreement was made between* Maud *the Empress, and King* Stephen, *on Condition, that* Stephen *shou'd ordain* Henry *the Son of the Empress, his Heir, to Enjoy the Kingdom after him: And thereupon Peace was Established. This King Reigned Eighteen Years, Eleven Months, and Twenty Days: And was buried at* Feversham. *Thus much for his Reign in General.*

The Secret History of this Reign will be contracted into a little Room: for Men were now so little asham'd of the Works of Darkness, that they Acted them in the Light of the Sun: For the very first step that this King made towards ascending the Throne, was a Publick Violation of his own Faith, and that of the whole Nation: For *Henry* the First, Secretly suspecting ( and that not without Cause ) that some such foul play might be offer'd to his Daughter *Maud* the Empress, as had been play'd by himself with his Brother *Robert*, Caused the Lords and Commons in Parliament to take an Oath to be true to the Succession of her and her Sons: And this was first taken by *David* King of *Scots*, Uncle to *Maud*, and by *Stephen* Earl of *Bolloign* and *Mortaign*, Uncle to the King: So that *Stephen*'s Ascending the Throne, was a Manifest Perjury and Usurpation; and therefore as the Just Reward thereof, he got nothing by getting the Crown but incessant Troubles, and restless Toyl; and Labouring to leave it to his Posterity, was by an over-ruling hand of Providence at last forc'd to make Duke *Henry* the Son of

*Maud* his Heir; and ſtript of all his Royal Embelliſhments, left only to his Second Son *William* the Poſſeſſions which he held before he uſurp'd the Crown.

And yet *Stephen* ſet not the Crown upon his own Head, as *Harold* had done after the Death of *Edward* the Confeſſor; but Secretly acted ſuch a Part, as Engaged the States of the Kingdom both to Elect, and inveſt him with the Crown, within thirty Days after the Death of King *Henry*: For he underhand cauſed it to be ſpread abroad, that in a Nation whoſe Kings are anointed, a Woman ought not to be admitted to the Crown; and alſo, That ſeeing King *Henry* had Married his Daughter out of the Realm without the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, they might lawfully refuſe her: And *Stephen* having thus by his Emiſſaries Secretly cooled the Affections of the People to the Empreſs *Maud*; the next Point was how to Introduce himſelf to be acceptable to the States of the Kingdom; for he was altogether without any Title to the Crown: unleſs he ſhou'd claim a Right of Succeſſion, as being the Son of *Adela*; and in that Caſe *Theobald* his Elder Brother, who was Earl of *Blois*, ought to have been preferr'd before him: And *Henry Fitz*-Empreſs the Son of *Maud* was certainly to be prefer'd before either of them, (if they did not like to have the Mother) as being nearer in Blood to the right Stem. Seeing therefore none of theſe things wou'd do *Stephen*'s Buſineſs, he was reſolv'd to manage Matters another way: For being a Man of Poſſeſſions both in *England* and *France*, having one Brother Earl of *Blois*, a Prince of a great Eſtate, and another Brother Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and not only ſo, but the Pope's Legat in *England* alſo; which at that time of Day render'd him a Man of Eminent Power; being beſides very Populous for his great Affability, goodly Perſonage, and Activity of Body: Theſe things *Stephen* cauſed to be Secretly ſpread abroad; as ſo many Steps by which he might Aſcend to the Throne: But the chief point is yet behind, which did him the moſt Service, and that was, the Engaging of the Clergy to be on his ſide; which he brought about by the Secret Working of his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: For the Nobility being at that time mightily influenc'd by the Clergy, and they having ſhew'd their approbation of *Stephen*, the Nobility and Commons were eaſily brought to Comply: And if any ſhould ask how the Clergy came to be ſo much his Friends, ſeeing they alſo had Sworn to the Succeſſion of the Empreſs *Maud* and her Sons? I anſwer, They look'd upon it to be their Intereſt ſo to do; and that for two Reaſons: Firſt, They were of Opinion, That the leſs his Title was, whom they prefer'd, the greater wou'd his Obligation be to them that prefer'd him: And ſo they might much better ſecure their Liberties under ſuch a one, than under one that preſuming on his Hereditary Right of Succeſſion, might make their Liberties truckle to his Prerogative. For how much ſoever the Clergy pretend to the Kingdom of Heaven, they

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are for graſping as much of the Kingdoms on Earth as they can. Nor can they think they are ever well diſpos'd of, without they have a Finger in the Pye: And wherever they have, they will be ſure to mind their own Intereſt; as appears in the inſtance before us: For before they would give him a lift into the Throne, they made him privately take an Oath before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *That he would confirm the Antient Liberties of the Church*; nor wou'd they take his Oath without Security; and therefore made his Brother undertake betwixt God and him, for the performance of it. Nay, ſo ſtrict were they in this point, that when they ſwore *Allegiance* to him, it was with this Condition, *So long as He obſerv'd the Tenor of his Oath.*——And when afterwards the King had ſome difference with the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and ſeiz'd his Caſtles and Treaſure into his hands; it turn'd the whole Stream of the Clergy againſt him, inſomuch that his own Brother (who was then the Popes Legate) was for bringing in the Empreſs, and upon her taking an Oath, That all the great Buſineſſes, and eſpecially the Donation of Biſhopricks and Abbeys, ſhould be at his Diſpoſing, if he with the Church would receive her as Queen of *England*; the Biſhop made no ſcruple to acknowledge her for Queen, tho' ſhe never came to be ſo; and ſwore Fidelity to her as ſuch. Thus the Eccleſiaſticks can ſail with every Wind; and have no other Rule for Right and Wrong, but as it ſuits with or againſt their own Intereſt.

There is one thing which ſome Authors of very good Credit affirm, which muſt not be left out of the Secret Hiſtory of this Kings Reign and that is, That when a Battel was ready to be fought between King *Stephen*, and the Son of the Empreſs, Duke *Henry*; The Empreſs went privately to the King, asking him *how he could find in his heart to Fight againſt him that was his own Son? Or can you forget*, ſaid ſhe, *the Familiarity you had with me in my Widow-hood?* If this be true, we have had more Baſtard Kings than one, ſince *William* the Conquerour. And there is one or two things that makes this ſeem probable: Of which one is this: Duke *Henry* being on a certain time in ſome Straits for Money, ſent to the Empreſs *Maud*, his Mother, to help him to ſome; but ſhe ſent him Word that her own Straits were then ſo great, that ſhe could not do it; upon this the Duke ſent to his Uncle Earl *Robert*, to furniſh him; but he was as unable to help him as his Mother: Whereupon he ſent to King *Stephen* on the ſame Errand; who, tho' then an Adverſary, and ſtanding in terms of Oppoſition (for it was before the Peace was made) yet ſent preſently, and ſupply'd him with what he deſir'd: Which either ſhew'd King *Stephen* to be a Man of a very good Nature; or elſe that he had a greater reaſon for this kindneſs, than every Body was aware of. My other reaſon to think there might be ſome Truth in the fore-mention'd Report, is, That it is certain there was an Agreement then made between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*;

and that they afterwards continued in mutual Love and Concord, as long as King *Stephen* Liv'd; which, to ſpeak Truth was not long after; for of almoſt Nineteen Years that he reign'd, he ſcarce Enjoy'd ten Months in Peace: Leaving this Character behind him, That he was infamous for Perjury, a Hater of this Nation, whom he durſt never truſt, but oppreſſed the Land with Strangers; notwithſtanding he received the Crown upon Courteſie. He left behind him no legitimate iſſue, but two Baſtards.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Second.

*KING* Henry *the Second, Sirnamed* Shortmantle, (*becauſe he was the firſt that brought the uſe of ſhort Clokes out of* Anjou *into* England) *was a Prince of great Valour and large Dominions, for his Stile was, King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *Duke of* Normandy *and* Acquitain, *Earl of* Poictiers *and* Anjou: *He came to the Crown with univerſal Applauſe, and was three times Crowned; firſt at* Weſtminſter, *by the hands of* Theobald *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *next at* Lincoln, *and thirdly at* Worceſter. In his Reign, Owen *Prince of* North Wales *infeſted* England, *but was repuls'd by him tho' not without great loſs and Danger. After which, the King ſail'd into* Normandy; Lewis *the* French *King and he, being upon the point to bid each other Battel, a Peace was concluded between 'em. The King makes* Thomas Becket *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *who in requital becomes a Plague to the King; and being upheld by the Pope, brought the whole Realm into much Confuſion; till in the End,* Becket *having been ſuſpended by the King, and appealing to the Pope, he makes a feigned Submiſſion to the King then in* Normandy; *and ſo* Becket *return'd into* England *again, where by his haughty Carriage fomenting New Troubles, he is ſlain in his Cathedral Church of* Canterbury *by four Knights; for which the King's accus'd, but denying all knowledge thereof, does notwithſtanding afterwards do Pennance at his Tomb. The King Cauſes his Eldeſt Son to be Crown'd King of* England, *by which means, and the young Kings Inſolency, he creates himſelf New Troubles, till the Young King dies, repenting of his former folly. He Conquers* Ireland *by the hands of* Richard Strongbow *Earl of* Pembrook;

brook; *and going thither afterwards himself, Reduces that Country to Peace and Civility. The King's Love to his Concubines is made a Pretence for his Queen and Sons raising Arms against him; who are joined by the King of* France; *with whom the King makes an Agreement; And after having reigned* 34 *Years, Nine Months, and Five Days, he died at* Chinon *in* France, *July* 9. 1189, *and was buried at* Fonteverard *in* Normandy. So much for his Reign in general. I proceed now to his Secret History.

It sufficiently Evidenc'd *Solomon* to be endew'd with Divine Wisdom, and well acquainted with the Working of our Natural Passions, when he tells us, That the Heart of Man is never satisfied, but as his Possessions, so his Desires increase; of which our Second *Henry* is a remarkable Instance: For being the Eldest Son of *Geoffery Plantaginet Duke* of *Anjou*, he Succeeded his Father in that Dukedom; but his Father being a Prudent Man, and having two Sons besides *Henry*, that is to say, *Geoffery* and *William*; knowing that *Henry*, in right of his Mother, was heir to the Crown of *England*; he leaves to his Eldest Son *Henry* the Dukedom of *Anjou*, with this Condition That he should hold it no longer than till he came to be King of *England*, and that then he should resign it up into the Hands of *Geoffery*, his Second Son: And fearing (as indeed it afterwards fell out) that his Son *Henry* would be unwilling to part with the Dukedom of *Anjou* to his Brother, when he came to be King of *England*, he maue his Lords to Swear that they would not suffer his Body to be buried, till his Son *Henry* had Sworn to do it: *Henry* was very unwilling to take this Oath; but rather than his Fathers Body should be unburied, he takes it: But as far as we may guess by the Event, never intended to keep it: For *Henry* being afterwards invested in the Crown of *England* upon the Death of King *Stephen*, and *Geoffery Plantaginet* seizing upon the Dukedom of *Anjou*, according to his Fathers Will, *Henry* goes over into *France*, and not only takes from him the Dukedom, but also the Towns and Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodon*, and *Mirabel*, which his Father had left to *Geoffery*, to support him while his Brother enjoy'd the Dukedom: Than which nothing could be more unworthy or unjust; and yet to justifie himself therein, he pleaded, That it was no reason a forced Oath upon such an Occasion should bind him to let go the Inheritance of his Birthright, being all the Patrimony that was to descend to him from his Father: And that tho' he had recovered the Kingdom of *England*, that came not by his Father, but by another Right. And that tho' he held his Brother dear unto him, yet having Children of his own, he was to provide that what was his, should descend to them. And yet as specious as this Plea of his seems to be, he had some secret uneasiness in his own Breast, as being conscious to himself he had not acted either towards his Brother, or his Father, as he ought to have done; for had it not been so, what need had he to get a Dis-

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penſation from Pope *Adrian* for his Oath made in this Caſe.— And yet notwithſtanding the Pope's Abſolution, his Sin follow'd him all his Days: His Wife was a *Plague* to him, and his Children, who ſhou'd have been his greateſt Comforts, (and to whom he was above meaſure indulgent) were his greateſt Croſſes; nor were theſe the only Diſappointments he met with, but alſo a Servant of his own, rais'd by himſelf from a mean Condition, to be the chief Prelate of the Kingdom, gave him more Diſquiet than any one thing he met with in his Reign; and by his haughty Carriage, and intollerable Pride, made good the Proverb, *Set a Begger on Horſback, and he'll ride to the Devil*: The Man I mean is *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Story tho' it makes ſo great a Noiſe in our Chronicles, yet having found ſome private Paſſages relating to that Affair, which are but rarely to be met with, a brief Recapitulation thereof, may well enough be brought within the Compaſs of our Secret Hiſtory, without being guilty of a Digreſſion.

The Clergy in the Reign of King *Stephen*, having made good Conditions for themſelves, (as I have ſhew'd in the Secret Hiſtory of that Reign) tho' they thereby deprived King *Henry*'s Mother and himſelf of the Succeſſion to the Crown, was ſo much remembred by the King, after he came to the Succeſſion, that he Secretly Endeavour'd to Retrench their Exorbitant Power as much as he could; believing that they had Enlarg'd their Juridiction in this World, beyond what Men that pretended ſo much to another, ought to do: Nor was this the Opinion of the King alone, but the Nobility alſo (either being Emulous of the others Authority, or Secretly inſtigated by the King thereunto) complained heavily againſt them; alledging, That the Immunities of the Clergy took away ſo much from the Prerogative, that the Execution of Juſtice cou'd have no general Paſſage in the Kingdom; that the Church have their Dominion a part, and would be ſubject to no other Authority than their own; And ſo being exempt from Secular Puniſhments, many Enormous Crimes were committed by the Clergy, without any Redreſs to be had. Nor was this Complaint without Cauſe; for it was plainly made to appear before the King, *That ſince the begining of his Reign*, (which was not then above Six Years) *there had been above one hundred Manſlaughters committed within the Realm of* England *by Prieſts and Men in Orders.*

For the Reducing this Lawleſs Power of the Clergy, the King calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and there propounds to have it Enacted, *That all ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould be taken and Convicted of any heinous Offences, ſhould loſe the Priviledge of the Church, and be delivered to the Civil Magiſtrate, to be puniſhed, as other of the Kings Subjects were*: For if after Spiritual Puniſhment, no Secular Correction ſhould be uſed, there would be no ſufficient means to reſtrain them from doing Miſcheif. And

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therefore ſuch a Law muſt ſurely be highly reaſonable. But in oppoſition to this, *Becket* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the reſt of the Biſhops, (who it ſeems took it ill, that they might not have the Liberty of doing what Miſchief they would, with impunity) alledged that *they were not to yield to any ſuch Act, as being againſt the Liberty of the Church, which the King had ſworn to defend and maintain; and therefore humbly beſought him that he would not urge any thing to the Prejudice of their Juriſdiction, and ſuch Immunities they had hitherto Enjoyed under him and his Noble Progenitors.*

The King not at all liking this Anſwer, demanded, whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the Laws and Cuſtoms which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in the time of his Grandfather, *Henry* the Firſt, did obſerve? To this they made anſwer, *They would*; but with a Reſervation as bad as a Denial; which was, *Their Order, the honour of God, and holy Church, in all things ſaved.* The King diſpleas'd to ſee himſelf thus eluded by them, broke up the Parliament; nothing being then effected; for the King ſaw the Biſhops ſtuck faſt to one another, and that they were all animated by the Archbiſhop *Becket*, from whom he expected the moſt ready Compliance, as being a Creature of his own making. And therefore to be even with him in what he cou'd, not only denies him Acceſs, but alſo underhand countenances all ſuch as were his Oppoſites; and Secretly ſets on the Earl of *Clare* to conteſt with him about his Homage for the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, in which the Earl prevails: And by other private ways, brings off and ſeparates the Archbiſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and ſome other Prelates, from the Counſel and Company of the Archbiſhop, inſomuch that the *Pope* himſelf (as bad as he was) ſent a Meſſenger to the Archbiſhop, to exhort him to make Peace, with his Lord the King, and promiſe to obſerve his Laws without Exception. *Becket* mov'd by this Meſſage, and Urged by ſeveral of the Principal Perſons of the Realm, repairs to the King to *Woodſtock*, and there promiſes in good faith (ſays my Author) without any evil meaning, to obſerve the Kings Laws, ſo far forth as was requir'd.

The King believing now the great *Remora* was removed, and that things were prepared for the paſſing of that Law, Summons a Parliament to meet at *Clarendon*; where *John* of *Oxford*, the Kings Clerk, being Preſident, a charge is given from the King that they ſhould call to Memory the Laws of his Grandfather, *Henry* the firſt, and reduce them into Writing: Which being accordingly done, he ordered the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to ſet their Seals thereto: Which when the reſt were content to do, Archbiſhop *Becket* refuſed: Yet at length, by the perſwaſion of ſome of the other Biſhops (who were urgent with him to ſatisfie the King herein; as fearing there was evil intended againſt him, for the ruſhing of the King Servants

up

up and down, with threatning Countenances, made 'em ſuſpect that ſome Violence might be offer'd him) he complied, and took his Oath to obſerve the Kings Laws without any Reſervation. But ſoon after repenting of his ſo doing, he ſuſpended himſelf from the Service of the Altar; and inflicted ſevere Pennance upon himſelf, until he had obtain'd Abſolution of the Pope, for that abominable Crime of Conſenting to a juſt-Law, for the puniſhing of Wicked-Prieſts.

The Archbiſhop having by this proceeding Extreamly Exaſperated the King, gets out of the Land, and repairs to the Pope, giving him a Copy of thoſe Laws, which the King call'd his Grandfathers Laws; and which being read in the Preſence of the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates, *the Pope Condemn'd them for ever, and Curſed all thoſe who obeyed, or any way favoured them:* And that the Reader may ſee what theſe Laws were, it will not be a miſs to recite them:

*That there ſhould be no Appeal to the Apoſtolick Sea, without the Kings leave.*

*That no Archbiſhop or Biſhop ſhould go out of the Realm but by the Kings Permiſſion.*

*That no Biſhop Excommunicate any who held of the King in Capite; or interdict any Official of his, without the Kings leave.*

*That Clergy-men ſhould be liable to Secular Judgments.*

*That Laymen, (as the King and others) ſhould handle the cauſes of the Church, Tythes, and ſuch-like.*

Theſe were the Dangerous Laws at which the Pope and all the Clergy were ſo much diſturbed, and look'd upon as ſuch a Deſtructive Encroachment on their Liberties: Which too plainly ſhews the woful Tyranny of the *Romiſh* Clergy at that Day; and in what wretched Slavery they kept not only the Souls, but alſo the Bodies of Men: So that it may well be ſaid of that Age it was both the Hour and Power of Darkneſs. This Controverſie between the King and *Becket*, continued more than Six Years (for ſo long time was *Becket* in Exile. At length, through the Mediation of the King of *France*, the Earl of *Bloys*, and Divers Prelates and great Men, a meeting was agreed upon between the King and the Archbiſhop, as *Montmirial*, before the King of France; where the Archbiſhop kneeling at the Feet of his Soveraign Lord the King of *England*, ſaid, *He would commit the whole Cauſe in Controverſie between 'em to his Royal Order, GOD's Honour only Reſerved.*

The King (who had been often uſed to that Reſervation) turning to the King of *France* and the reſt, ſaid with an angry Countenance, *Whatſoever diſpleaſeth this Man, he would have to be againſt GOD's Honour; and ſo by that ſhift would challenge to himſelf all that belongs to me; but becauſe you ſhall not think me to go about to reſiſt GOD's Honour and him, in what ſhall be fit, look what the greateſt and moſt holy of all his Predeceſſors have done to the meaneſt of mine, let him do the ſame to me, and it ſhall ſuffice.*

This

This Answer of the Kings being so reasonable, and so much beyond the Expectation of all that were present, carried the Opinion of all to the Kings side: Insomuch that the King of *France*, said to the Archbishop, *Will you be greater than the Saints? Better than St.* Peter? *What can you stand upon? I see it is your Fault, if your Peace be not made:* To which the Archbishop repli'd, *That as the Authority of Kings had their beginning by Degrees, so had that of the Church; Which being now, by the Providence of GOD, come to that Estate it was, they were not to follow the Example of any that had been faint or yielding in their Places: The Church had risen and increased out of many Violent Oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers,* (said he) *suffered all manner of Afflictions, because they wou'd not forsake the Name of Christ; and shall I, to be reconcil'd to any Mans favour living, Derogate any thing from his Honour?*

This haughty reply of the Archbishop, to so condescending a Speech of the Kings, gave great offence to the Hearers, who look'd upon *Beckets* Stiffness to proceed rather from Obstinacy, than to that Zeal he pretended for the Glory of GOD. Upon which the Conference for that time broke up. But there were several other Meetings after that; and an Agreement at length being concluded between them, the Archbishop return'd into *England*; but with the same Imperious and Unquiet Spirit with which he had Carried himself all along; suspending all such Bishops as had upheld the Kings Cause against him. Which violent Proceedings of the Archbishop being related to the King in *Normandy*, He Passionately said, *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet in my own Kingdom, only for one Priest? Is there no Man will rid me of this Trouble?* Whether the King secretly design'd by these words, to put some body upon sending *Becket* out of the World, is uncertain; but that some Persons (to wit, Sir *Hugh Morville*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Britain*, and Sir *Raynold Fits-Urse*) took occasion from thence so to do, is certain: For these Gentlemen going over into *England*, and as some affirm, with a Secret Commission from the King, to see if they cou'd bring the Archbishop to reasonable Terms, and to use more Moderation in his Place; and also to desire him to take his Oath of Fidelity to the Young King, (whom *Henry* had caus'd to be Crown'd during his Lifetime) and to restore the Bishops to the Execution of their Functions; whereby the Church might have Comfort, and the Kingdom Quietness: and finding *Becket* not to answer their desires, but Peremptory and haughty, without regarding the Kings Message; first threatned him; and when they found that did no good, after giving him several Wounds and calling him Traytor, at last beat out his Brains at Divine Service, so that the Altar was Besprinkled with his Blood: And this was the end of that great *Boutefeu* of the Church. The Unfortunate Gentlemen, who had done the King so great a peice of Service, questioning (and not without reason) whether the King would

would acknowledge it as such, with-drew themselves and got beyond Sea, where leading a sort of Fugitive Life, they are reported within Four Years time to have all died Miserably: Tho' some affirm that they obtain'd the Popes Pardon, on the Condition of going on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem.*

But certainly, nothing can more Demonstrate the sordid Slavery, in which the Church kept the World at that Day, nor shew the meanness of King *Henry*'s Spirit, than his going afterwards to visit the Tomb of this *Pseudo-Martyr Becket*, not only Lighting off his Horse, but going three Miles on his Bare Feet, to his Tomb, which were made by the hard Stones to yield bloody Tokens of his Devotion on the way: And as a farther Pennance, suffered himself to be Whipt with Rods, by every *Monk* of the *Cloister*: And all this he did as to a Saint and Martyr, tho' himself knew he was a *Rebel* and a *Villain.*

But tho' King *Henry* was in the Right, with respect to the Controversie he had with *Becket*; yet he was much in the Wong in several other things; making little Conscience of what he said or did: As Witness that wicked Expression of his, when he heard the *French* King had taken *Ment*z, viz. *I shall never hereafter Love GOD any more, who hath suffered a City so dear to me, to be taken from me.* Witness also his unjust Dealings, with those whom he had Encouraged to go over into *Ireland* to assist *Dermot Mac Morrogh*; who after they had subjected many places there, he on a sudden sends for home, causing a Proclamation to be made, that no Vessel should carry any thing out of his Dominions into *Ireland*; and that all his Subjects should return from thence, and leave off their Attempts, or otherwise to forfeit their Estates at Home; which he had no reason for, but a Secret Design to Seiz upon what they had gotten at their own charge, and at the Expence of their Blood and Treasures, for himself. Witness also his Dealing with his Son *Richard*, whose affianced Wife *Adela*, being delivered into the Kings Possession, to keep her till She should be of Years Capable of Marriage; was kept by him many Years after, and refused to be given to his Son, whose betrothed Wife She was, and whose Years required the Consummation of the Marriage; but also that he designed to be divorced from his Wife Queen *Eleaner*, and to take the said *Adela*, to be his Wife; having discovered to a Confident of his, his Secret Intention herein.

But it is no Secret (tho' what he ought to be asham'd of) that he kept a Concubine called *Rosamond*, (or the Rose of the World) from her surpassing Beauty; she was Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*; whose Face and Features so dazled the Eyes of King *Henry*, as by his Gifts he got this Paragon of Beauty to his Bed; and to hide her the better from his Juno's Eye, he built a most intricate *Labyrinth* at *Woodstock*; into whose Closet, for its inexplicate windings, none cou'd approach: But Queen *Eleonar* (whose Jealousie had

furnish'd

furnish'd her with such a Piercing Eye as could find out a way through the most intricate Mazes) found a way to come to her by this Accident: The fair *Rosamond* sitting to take the Air, let fall out of her Lap a Clue of Silk; which running from her, the End of the Silk fasten'd to her Foot, and the Clue still unwinding, remain'd behind; which the Queen espying, follow'd till She had found what She sought: It is generally said that when the Queen came to *Rosamond*, She presented her with a Dagger, and a Cup of Poyson, and bidding her take her choice, she took the latter, wherewith she soon Expir'd: Others say, That when She saw her, being amaz'd at her Beauty, She only upbraided her with her unlawful Familiarity with the King and so left her; *Rosamond* telling her she would never be Guilty of that Fault again. But however that was, certain it is, that *Rosamond* liv'd but a short time after the Queen had made her that Visit.

King *Henry* had also another Famous Concubine, which was so much more Scandalous than that of *Rosamond*, as this was the Wife of another Man, *id est*, of Sir *Ralph Blewet*, Knight, by whom he had a Base Son, Memorable in History for this, That being to be made a Bishop of *Durham*; he went to *Rome* for a Dispensation (for without that, his being a Bastard made him uncapable of it.) But the Pope refusing to grant it unless he would own himself the Lawful Son of *Blewet*, and not the Natural Son of the King: He resolutely answer'd, he would for no Cause in the World deny his Father; choosing rather to lose so considerable a Bishoprick than the Honour of his Blood, as being the Son, tho' but Bastard Son, of King *Henry*. Of whom (to wit, of King *Henry*) I have said enough, when I have said, That tho' his Dominions were the greatest of all the Kings of *England* before him, yet none made himself so little as he; who became a Servitor to his own Son, and a Superstitious Worshipper at the Shrine of his own Rebel Subject. Leaving this Report behind him, That there never was such a horrid Exactor of Money from the Subject as this King; who became Infamous for his Perjury, Jealousie, and Leachery; Curses all Children on his Death-Bed, and so Dies, leaving behind him Three Bastards.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *RICHARD* the First.

*King* Richard *the First, firnamed* Cuer de Lyon, *or,* Lyons Heart, *was Crowned at* Westminster *by* Baldwin, *Archbishop of* Canterbury: *And soon after his Coronation, having rais'd a prodigious Sum of Money, he Committed the Government of the Realm to* William Longchamp, (*who was the Popes Legate, and Chancellor of* England) *and then sail'd with his Navy* (*in Company of the* French *King, and Duke of* Burgundy) *towards the Holy Land; and in his Passage thither, some of his Ships being shipwrack'd, and several dispers'd by a Tempest, near the Isle of* Cyprus, *and* Isacius *King of* Cyprus, *refusing to Harbour or relieve him; but on the contrary Pillaged and Abused him, King* Richard *Conquer'd the Island, Carrying him and his Daughter away Prisonors; and leaving the Kingdom of* Cyprus *under two Vice-roys, put to Sea again, then Conquers* Ptolemais *and goes to* Jerusalem; but *the* French *King and Duke of* Burgundy, *Envying his Honour, return'd back, and left him; by which means the King was forc'd to make a Truce with* Saladine, *the Emperour of the* Turks. *And then returning in Disguise like a Merchant, was discovered and taken by* Leopold *Duke of* Austria, *and kept Prisoner* 15 *Months, and then deliver'd by paying a great Ransome. His Brother* John *in the mean time endeavouring to set the Crown upon his own Head. But* Richard *returning again, forgave his Brother, and was again Crown'd at* Winchester: *Afterwards sailing into* Normandy, *and being there Victorious against the King of* France, *he was Slain with an Arrow at the Besieged the Castle of* Chaluz, *having reigned Nine Years, Nine Months and* 19 *Days, and was succeeded in the Kingdom by his Brother* John. Thus far his General History. I proceed to

His Secret History: It was no doubt a Subtile and Politique design of the Pope, to send the *European* Princes on a Fools Erand, to Endeavour the Recovery of the Holy Land, from Infidels (which was the great Business of this Age) that in the mean time he might Establish a Lawless and Absolute Domination at home; and by weakning themselves through the vast

vaſt Charges they were at to convey an Army to ſo diſtant a Countrey, made him ſo much the ſtronger to carry on his Deſigns againſt 'em. This Project of the Holy War (for ſo forſooth the Pope had chriſten'd it) was a fatal thing to our King *Richard* the Firſt; who tho' he had an almoſt immenſe Treaſure left him by his Father, (no leſs than Nine hundred thouſand Pounds, a Sum at that time of Day exceeding great) yet this was not thought enough; and therefore the King rais'd at leaſt 200000 *l.* more, by ſelling his own Eſtate, and uſing divers other ſecret and indirect Courſes; impoveriſhing his People without inriching himſelf: Or at leaſt, waſting all he got in a fruitleſs and unneceſſary Voyage. Amongſt other ways that he had to get Money, this was one: He ſecretly makes away his Great Seal, and then makes a New one, different from the former; putting out a Proclamation, That whoever had any Grants under the Great Seal, ſhould come and have it confirmed anew, or elſe it ſhould be void. This brought a great Sum of Money into his Treaſury, but a greater Diſhonour upon his Name; it being no better than a plain Cheat upon the Subject, who was thus forc'd to pay for one thing twice over. Having by theſe, and ſuch other ways, ſqueez'd what he could from his People himſelf, he went over into *Normandy*, in order to proſecute his Voyage; but before he went, he ſends over his Viceroy, the Biſhop of *Ely*, with as abſolute a Power as he cou'd give him, to provide Neceſſaries for his intended Expedition; and he, without any other Conſideration than how he might pleaſe the King, made many illegal Exactions upon the People; being only juſt in cauſing the Clergy to bear the ſame Burdens with the Laity: And tho' this mighty Expedition was pretended to be ſo much for the Service of the Church, yet the King ſecretly gets a Power from the Pope, by which he was enabled to diſmiſs from the Taking of the Croſs, as it was then phras'd, and cauſe to ſtay at Home whom he pleas'd; nay, tho' he had made a Vow to go: Which in plain terms was nothing but a Juggle between the King and the Pope to get Money: For this Power to abſolve and diſmiſs, was bought of the Pope; and the King ſtood in more need of Money than to give it away for nothing; and therefore, whoever obtain'd this Diſmiſſion and Abſolution, was ſure to pay for it: And many were ſo willing to be deliver'd from the Fatigue ſo long a Voyage threaten'd 'em with, that they were willing to excuſe themſelves, with no little Charge: For the King very well knew that this Power of Diſmiſſion was a Marketable Commodity, and therefore would not part with it under a good Price: And indeed it brought him in a great Treaſure in a ſhort time.

Let us ſee a little now what was the Iſſue of all theſe mighty Preparations; for certainly one would think ſomething conſiderable ſhou'd be done, to anſwer ſo great an Expence: To find this out the better, one thing is to be premis'd; which is, That *Phillip* King of *France* was to be King *Richard*'s Con-

ſociate or Co-adjutor in this Voyage to the Holy Land; he having ſolemnly ſworn upon the Evangeliſts to be ready with all the Princes and People of his Kingdom, who had undertaken the Croſs, at the City of *Tours*, preſently after *Eaſter*; and from thence to ſet forward for the Holy Land: But for all this mighty Flouriſh, it was not ſo much a joynt Zeal in theſe Princes, as a mutual Emulation; and a Jealous Eye; for whatever outward ſhew they made the Secret Cauſe, and real Truth was, That they knew not how to truſt one another; and the Event too plainly Juſtify'd the Truth of it: Well, the two Kings having ſettled all things relating to their Joynt Expedition, and ſworn to each other never to return back without mutual Conſent; proceeded on their Journey; with no other Deſign, as appear'd by their Articles, than that of Privateers, No purchas, no Pay: Whi h Condition, was'n't obſerv'd ſo well between 'em, as it wou'd have been between Perſons of a meaner Rank: For King *Richard* having appointed to meet King *Phillip* in *Sicily* at the latter End of *June* 1190. goes to *Marſeilles*, where after he had ſtaid Eight Days, expecting in vain the coming of his Navy, which was with-held by a Tempeſt, he was forc'd to hire twenty Gallies, and ten other great Veſſels to tranſport him into Sicily; and the King of *France* taking ſhipping at *Genoa*, was driven by Tempeſt into the ſame place, and arrived there before the King of *England*, where their two Armies, tho' deſign'd to be both of a ſide, fell foul upon one another; and the Kings taking part with their Subjects, and being of Equal Power, and alike Emulous of Honour and Revenge, by theſe Early beginnings ſhew'd what the Succeſs of their Enterpriſe was like to yield: However, the King of *France*'s repairing his wrack'd Navy, and the King of *England*'s long ſtaying for his, conſtrain'd 'em both to Winter in this Iſland, as well to the great grief thereof, as to the hindrance of their own Affairs.

At the Opening of the Spring, both Kings being again reconcil'd, and New Articles between 'em ſign'd and ſworn to, the King of *France* ſets firſt forward for the Holy Land; but *Richard* was not in ſuch haſte, having ſomething elſe firſt in his Eye; for *William* the late King of *Sicily* having Married *Joan* King *Richard*'s Siſter, whoſe Dowry was not paid, tho' *William* was dead, yet King *Richard* makes *Tancred* pay him 20000 Ounces of Gold for his Siſters Dower, and 20000 Ounces more of the ſame dazling Metal, for a Match between *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, Son to *Geoffery* his next Brother, (who was to ſucceed him in the Crown of *England*) if himſelf died without Iſſue, and the Daughter of *Tancred* the then uſurping King of *Sicily*.

After this, the King ſets forward with an hundred and thirty Ships and fifty Gallies, and was driven by Tempeſt to the Iſle of *Cyprus*; where being denied Landing; he makes no more ado, but aſſaults it on all ſides, Conquers it, and places

Garriſons

Garrisons therein: And here King *Richard* shew'd himself to have understood the Doctrine of Equivocation, long before the *Jesuites* broach'd it in the World; for the King of *Cyprus* having been taken Prisoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in Bonds of Iron, he promis'd he would not; and yet being resolved to put the King of *Cyprus* into Fetters, and at the same time keep his word, he puts him into Bonds of Silver. In this Island King *Richard* solemniz'd his Marriage, with his Queen *Berengaria*, Daughter to the King of *Navar*, whom his Mother brought to him into *Sicily*. Thus *Sicily* and *Cyprus* found such Treatment from King *Richard* in his passage to the Holy War, that they could hardly have met with worse from *Pagan*'s themselves: For he left not *Cyprus* till he had left *Richard de Canvile* and *Robert de Turnham*, as his Lieutenants; taking half the goods of the Inhabitants from them, and thought he had sufficiently gratified them for it, when he had in lieu thereof confirmed the use of their own Laws.

Well at last the King comes to *Ptolemais* (called also *Acon* or *Ascalon*) which having been two years besieged by the *Christians*, and defended by *Saladine*; he now finding the *Christian* Army much increased, rendred it up upon Conditions. Upon the Entrance of the *Christians* into this City, *Leopold* Duke of *Austria* had set up his Colours upon the Walls, which King *Richard* with great scorn caused to be thrown down, and those of his own to be set up: Which piece of Honour cost him dear in the Conclusion. For now the King of *England* and *France* begin to quarrel: The King of *France* claims half the Kingdom of *Cyprus* (which according to their Articles was indeed his Right) but to ballance the Account, the King of *England* claims half the Treasure and Goods of the Earl of *Flanders*, which the King of *France* had seized on; but either Party kept what they had, and yet neither was satisfied, but Secretly designing one upon the other: Untill a dangerous Sickness seized upon both; of which, tho' they recovered again, yet both lost their Hair, which was more than they got by their Voyage.

The King of *France* being weary of an Undertaking wherein he saw neither Honour nor Profit was to be got, pretended the Air of the Country did not agree with him; solicites King *Richard* for leave to go home, (for without leave of each other neither cou'd return) King *Richard* was very hardly brought to comply with his desires herein; but upon his Solemn Oath not to molest his Territories in his Absence, he complied, and yielded to his departure; tho' by that means all further hope of doing any thing against *Salladine*, was Cut off. For which King *Philip* was not at all concern'd; for seeing King *Richard* was like to go away with the Glory of all; he was unwilling to contribute any thing thereto. And therefore tho' he left *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy* his Lieutenant, yet he gave him Secret Instructions to avoid doing any

thing seeing another must carry away the Honour. And so by degrees things dwindled away to nothing; and tho' King *Richard* purchas'd the airy Title of King of *Jerusalem*, for the real Kingdom of *Cyprus*; yet he never could get possession of *Jerusalem*, tho' he Endeavour'd it with a vast Expence of Treasure: And hearing that the King of *France* and his Brother *John* were cantoning his Dominions in *France*, he made a Truce with *Saladine* for three years, upon the Dishonourable Conditions of Restoring *Ascalon* in the same State wherein he found it before the Siege. See here the Fruit of all the Treasures that King *Richard* so rapaciously scrap'd together for the Recovery of the Holy Land! His Treasure wasted, and his Honour lost. But this is not yet the worst of this Business; For leaving his Wife, Sister, and People to come after him as well as they cou'd, takes a Ship, with some few of his Followers, and Secretly returns from this Action, with as great Precipitation as he undertook it: Having consum'd therein all that mighty Treasure that was left him by his Father, and all that otherwise he cou'd tear from his Subjects, and Others, either by Violent Extortion, or Cunning Practises. And after all, to return in this Secret manner, cannot but denote much Inconsideration, and therefore was attended by an Answerable Event: For having taken up by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa*, for Three hundred Marks of Silver, under the Disguise of Pilgrims, his lavish Expences discover'd him to be some greater Person than what he was willing to appear; and a Rumour was spread that it was the King of *England*; and tho' upon Warning thereof, he presently left all his Company, and with one Man only takes Horse, and travelling Day and Night through all the Dangers of a wild Country, and a Rocky Desart, passes into *Austria*; where Fame, that was a speedier Post, and more swift than he was, got before him: The King, tho' lodg'd at a poor Inn in a Village near *Vienna*, finding himself discover'd, and no means possible to escape, puts off his Disguise, and puts on his Princely Apparel: Which Duke *Leopold* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: But King *Richard* refusing to yield himself to any but to the Duke himself, the Duke came, and led him to his own Palace; which tho' honourably enough, yet under a strong Guard; remembring now how he threw down his Colours at *Ascalon*. But as soon as the Emperor heard of the King's being a Prisoner with the Duke, he sent to him to send King *Richard* to him, on Pretence of keeping him more safely; but indeed, that he might come in for a Share of his Ransom.

Whilst King *Richard*, with the Expence of so much Treasure, has purchas'd himself nothing but a Goal, let us take a short Survey of his Life; and we shall find, that as he was the first, so he likewise was the worst of all the *Richards*: For such was the Unevenness of his Temper, that he was never well, neither full nor fasting; and the Unsteadiness of his Judgment made

made his Government very uneaſie and diſtaſteful to almoſt all ſorts of Men. That he was an ill Son, needs no other Proof than the Preternatural Reſentment of his dead Father, whoſe Corps ſo abhorr'd his Preſence, that it over-acted its Part, (if we may ſo ſay) to charge the Guilt upon the unnatural Offender; for the Blood guſh'd out of his Noſtrils, as he lay bare-fac'd upon his Herſe, as ſoon as his Son *Richard* approach'd with diſſembled Reverence to kiſs his Hand. That he was an ill Brother, appears by the ill Uſage of his Brothers, *John* and *Geoffery*; the firſt of whom, without any juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, he wou'd have forc'd to abjure the Realm; the laſt to quit his Biſhoprick; and whether his Unkindneſs or his Injuſtice was the greater, is not eaſie to determine. What kind of Husband he was like to prove, was manifeſt by his Deportment to her that ſhou'd have been his Wife, the fair Lady *Adela*, Siſter to the *French* King, whom he did not more deſire when he cou'dn't have her, than he ſlighted her when he cou'd; ſending her Home ſo unexpectedly, that 'tis hard to ſay, whether he more diſparag'd her, his Father, (who was his Paramour) or himſelf; making the Buſineſs the worſe, by the ſame means he thought to make it better: For his giving her many Jewels, was only to make the World think it a Recompence of that one Jewel ſhe had left behind, and thereby confirming the Opinion of the World, that the Father enjoy'd the Pleaſure, and the Son paid the Charges. Having thus found him an ill Man, we ſhall find him a worſe King; behaving himſelf more like a Projector than a Prince: For (as we have already mention'd) after he had rak'd up as much Money preparatory to his Voyage into the Holy Land, as if he intended to have ſpent all his own Dominions in Recovering thoſe, he found out ſo many Tricks to cozen and cheat the People of more, that at length, in deceiving them, he deceiv'd himſelf too: For thoſe whom he compell'd to pay new Fines for the Lands they had bought of him, upon Pretence of having loſt his old Seal, ſlipt in ſuch new Conditions, unperceiv'd, into their new Patents, that made them Gainers by the Loſs; whilſt his Covetouſneſs ſuffer'd him not to perceive it, or his Neceſſity not to prevent the Inconvenience. But that which renders him moſt unworthy the Affections of his Subjects, was, the not only making himſelf a Stranger to them, (for during his Reign of Nine Years and Nine Months, he was not above Eight Months with them in all) but leaving them to be govern'd by a Stranger, who, however a Man of the Church, had ſo little regard to Juſtice, Honour, or Religion, that he obſerv'd no other Law but that of his own Will. But to make his Injuſtice yet more inſupportable, after he return'd Home, he reſum'd all the Crown Lands he had Alienated for the carrying on his holy Deſign, without giving the leaſt Satisfaction to thoſe who had furniſh'd him with Money upon them: Which nothing cou'd have excus'd, had any body elſe ſuffer'd by it, but the Clergy-men that put him

first upon that Project. But lastly, To shew he had as little Sense of Honour as of Equity, he pitifully and meanly did depose himself, and deliver up his Kingdom to the Hands of the Emperor, after he was taken Prisoner in *Germany*; being not asham'd to attempt to make his People Slaves, on Condition he might be free himself. And wherefore was all this Toil and Charge, Embarassing himself and his Subjects, but only to hold up the Vain-glorious Reputation of his Courage, and make good that Bestial Adjunct of *Cœur de Leon*; which was not improperly given to him, if we consider, that the same Creature is as much noted for his *Voracity* as *Courage?* And yet the Excess of his Valour was mostly spent in Private Quarrels, as has been already related. And what was the End of his great Enterprize in the *Holy Land*, after having tarried above a Year there, but the Taking of one Town, and Besieging another; which, upon Notice of the Disorders at Home, (that a wise Man might easily have fore-seen and prevented) he quit with no less Disorder, leaving the whole Action with as much Precipitation as he took it up; insomuch that his Wife and Sister that accompanied him, and all their Attendants and Officers, were forc'd to shift for themselves, and get Home as they could; which Inconsideration of his, met with that pitiful Event before mention'd: To redeem him from which, his Subjects were fain to strain themselves beyond their Abilities, Lay-men and Clergy parting with a Fourth part of their Real, and a Tenth of their Personal Estate; all which was not sufficient to make up his Ransom, till they pawn'd and sold their very Chalices and Church-Ornaments.

Being thus as it were Un-king'd, and expos'd Naked to the Vulgar, stripp'd of his Honour, as well as Treasure, he thought himself not secure of the Faith and Reverence due to his Birth, by any other way, but by a Re-coronation; which being as Extraordinary as the rest of his Actions, (for he was the first we meet with twice Crown'd) was, notwithstanding the Poverty of the Nation, perform'd with that Solemnity, as shew'd he had the same Mind tho' not the same Purse, as when he began his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. How afterwards he fitted out a Fleet of One hundred Sail of Ships, to chastize the Rebellion of his Brother *John* in *Normandy*, and then how his Indignation was wholly diverted upon the *French* King, I will leave to the Writers of his General History: Only I cannot but take notice how Providence, having determin'd to put an End to his Ambition and Avarice, offer'd a Fatal Occasion, by the Discovery of some Treasure-Trove: For the Viscount of *Lymoges* having found a great Treasure of Silver and Gold in the Ground, voluntarily renders the King a Part, which tempted him to claim the Whole; and so eager was he of the Prey, that being deny'd, he besieg'd the Castle of *Challons*, where he suppos'd the Treasure was hid; from whence, by a fatal

Arrow

Arrow ſhot from the Hand of one whoſe Father and two Brothers he had kill'd with his own Hand, he was unexpectedly ſlain; leaving no Iſſue either of his Body or Mind, except Three Daughters which a Prieſt told him of; which in an Ancient Manuſcript I find thus related: Whilſt King *Richard* was in *France*, againſt King *Philip*; a *French* Prieſt, called *Fulco*, came to him, telling him, That *he had Three bad Daughters which he wiſhed to beſtow from him in Marriage*: and when the King marvelled who they ſhould be, knowing of none he had: *Yes*, ſaid the Prieſt, *thou cheriſheſt Three Daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Leachery*: Which the King ſeeming to take merrily, ſaid to his Lords, *This Hypocritical Prieſt hath found that I have three Daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Leachery, which he would have me beſtow forth; and if any ſuch I have, I have found out fit Husbands for them: My Daughter Pride I bequeath to the haughty Templars and Hoſpitallers, who are as proud as Lucifer himſelf; my Daughter Covetouſneſs I give to the White Monks of the Ciſtercian Order, for they covet the Devil and all; and as for my Daughter Leachery, I can beſtow her no where better than on the Prieſts and Prelates of our Time.* But however King *Richard* made a Jeſt of the Prieſt's Words, certain it is, that he rak'd more Money by unparallel'd Taxes upon the Nation, than any King before him: His Voyage to the *Holy Land* par'd it to the Bones, by many unjuſt ways; but his unlucky Return quite Ruin'd it. He died by a poiſon'd Arrow, and left two Baſtards behind him.

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King JOHN.

KING JOHN *succeeded his Brother* Richard, *tho' the Right of Succession was in* Arthur, *who was Son to* Geoffery *Duke of* Britain, John's *Eldest Brother: However,* John *was crowned at* Westminster, *by* Hubert *Archbishop of* Canterbury; *and afterwards in a Battel surprizing his Enemies, and taking among the Prisoners Prince* Arthur, *commits him to Prison; where he soon after dies, not without Suspicion of being murthered by King* John's *Privity: His Principalities in* France *are seized on by the* French; Wales *is in a Combustion,* Ireland *in an Uproar,* Scotland *preparing against him;* England *in Confusion, the King, the Peers, the Prelates, and Commons, at perpetual Division. The Pope thunders out his Excommunications against the King and all that Obey him; and Interdicts the whole Realm. The King goes into* Ireland, *and makes up the Breaches, and cements the Divisions there; and returning into* England, Lluelwyn *Prince of* North-Wales, *invades the Marches of* England, *but is Encountred and Conquer'd. The Pope gives the Kingdom of* England *to* Philip *of* France; *but King* John *making Peace with the Pope, surrendred his Crown to* Pandulphus *the Pope's Legate, and for Money and good Words is Absolved, and receives it again.* Philip *of* France *attempts to invade* England, *but his Fleet is beaten, scatter'd, and taken by King* John. Lewis *the Dauphin of* France *lands at* Sandwich, *comes to* London, *and takes the Oath of Allegiance of the Barons and Citizens at* Paul's *Church; and yet is afterwards forsaken of the* English *Lords. King* John, *being freed from Invasion and Foreign Assaults, is poison'd by a Monk in* Swinsted-Abby, *having reign'd Seventeen Years, and Seven Months; ending his Reign the* 19th *of* October, 1216. *and was buried in* Worcester. Thus far his General History.

His Secret History runs through his whole Reign; for all his Works were Works of Darkness; and he had a Secret Design in all he did, contrary to the Interest of the Kingdom, and his own Interest too: His Usurping the Crown was both unjust and unnatural, for he knew it was the Right of his Nephew

Prince

Prince *Arthur*: And as he obtain'd the Crown by Injuſtice, ſo by Injuſtice he govern'd; and embroil'd the State and himſelf in thoſe deſperate Confuſions, that made his Reign uneaſie, and his Death unpitied; making all his Actions ſubſervient to his own Ends; pretending faireſt where he intended fouleſt: Thus he pretends a Scruple of Conſcience; for marrying *Avice* his Second Wife, Daughter and Heir to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, alledging ſhe was Conſanguine in the Third Degree; when the True and Secret Reaſon was, That he had a Deſign to marry (as he afterwards did) *Iſabel*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Angoleſme*, (tho' ſhe was before betrothed to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, (a Peer of great Eſtate and Alliance in *France*) by Conſent of King *Richard*, in whoſe Cuſtody ſhe then was. But *Hugh le Brun*, who had his eſpouſed Wife thus taken from him by King *John*, finding himſelf touch'd in the moſt ſenſible part, combines with Prince *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poictou* and *Britain*, raiſes a ſtrong Party, with whom alſo joins the King of *France*, notwithſtanding all the Tyes he ſtood engaged in to King *John*; for finding his Intereſt would be of that ſide, he found alſo that Intereſt would not lye; ſo that he was now aſſail'd by the King of *France* on one ſide, that is, in *Normandy*; and on the other, by *Arthur*, and the Barons of *Anjou*; where King *John*, with great Secrecy, Expedition and Force, came unexpectedly, and defeated the whole Army of the Aſſailants, and taking many Priſoners; among whom were Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, *Hugh le Brun*, whoſe affianced Spouſe he had married, with the Barons of *Poictou*, and above 200 Knights and Men of Command: All which he carried away bound in Carts, and diſpers'd into divers Caſtles, both of *Normandy* and *England*.

This Victory, which brought thoſe into his Power which he had moſt Reaſon to fear, one would think ſhould ſufficiently eſtabliſh him in the Throne, and ſettle the Crown upon his Head; but inſtead of that it undid him; for he had ill Deſigns in all he did, and a Secret Curſe continually purſu'd him: And the ill Uſe he made of this Victory, ruin'd his Reputation for ever. Prince *Arthur* his Nephew, the right Heir of the Crown, was ſoon after ſecretly murthered in Priſon; and tho' he did what he could to clear his hands of it, yet was it generally laid at his Door; which, with the cruel Execution of many of his Priſoners and Hoſtages, ſo exaſperated the Nobility of *Britain*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, that they all took Arms againſt him, and ſummon'd him to anſwer what he had done, in the Court of Juſtice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeal; which he refuſing, is condemn'd both to loſe the Dutchy of *Normandy*, (of which his Anceſtors had been poſſeſs'd by the ſpace of 300 Years) and all his other Provinces in *France*, which the next Year after, either through Negligence, (being given over to the Pleaſures of his young Wife) or by the Revolt of his own Miniſters, (incenſed likewiſe againſt him) or rather through

that

that Secret Curſe which always follow'd him, he became wholly diſpoſſeſs'd of, tho' himſelf was all the while upon the Spot. ——But the General Hiſtory of this King ſufficiently declaring the Infelicities of his Reign, it would be but to hold a Candle to the Sun, to ſpeak further thereof. So many and ſo great were the Impoſitions laid upon the Nation by this King, that at length they refuſed to pay any more; and the Archbiſhop of *York* having ſolemnly curſed the Receivers thereof, ſecretly with-drew himſelf out of the Kingdom: The Barons alſo being ſummon'd to attend the King into *France*, they all by a general Conſent ſent him word, That unleſs he would reſtore to them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no Service out of the Kingdom. And this was the beginning of a miſerable Breach between the King and the People, both being out of order; the juſt Ligaments of Command and Obedience, that ſhould hold them together, being diſ-jointed; the reducing whereof into juſt Proportion again, coſt more Noble Blood than all the Foreign Wars ſince the Conqueſt: For this Contention ceaſed not, (tho' it often had ſome fair Intermiſſions) till the great Charter to keep the Beam right betwixt Sovereignty and Subjection, firſt obtained of this King *John*, and afterwards of his Son *Henry* the Third, (tho' never truly obſerv'd by either) was in the Maturity of a Judicious Prince, *Edward* the Firſt, freely ratified, in the 27th Year of his Reign, which was above Fourſcore Years after.

This being the firſt Civil Diſſention we find ſince *William* the Firſt, between the King and his Nobles, of this Nature; it will not be here amiſs to ſearch into the Secret Grounds and Cauſes thereof, and ſo we ſhall be the better able to judge of the Occaſions given and taken for the Riſe of it.—— It was now about 140 Years ſince *William* the Firſt had planted and ſettled here the *Norman* Nobility, whoſe Iſſue being now become meer *Engliſh*, were grown to be of great Numbers and Means, and of great Spirits, ever exercis'd in the Wars of *France*, where moſt of them were Commanders of Caſtles, or Owners of other Eſtates beſides what they held in *England*: And being now by this violent and unſucceſsful King, ſhut out from Action, and their Means Abroad, they began to think of preſerving what was left at Home, which by their martial Freedom, and the Priviledges of the Kingdom, (which now Neceſſity drove them to look more narrowly into) they were the more encouraged to Attempt, in regard they ſaw themſelves and the Kingdom brought almoſt to Ruine; being perpetually haraſs'd at the King's Will; which was againſt their Right, his Violence and Corruption having no Right to preſcribe upon them: Tho' it muſt be acknowledg'd, that their Cauſe was better than their Proſecution: For whilſt they ſtrive to recover what they had loſt, and the King to keep what by the Advantage of the Time, and the Peoples Sufferance, he had gotten, many unjuſt and inſolent Courſes were uſed on either ſide. But there were

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ſome particular Inſtances of King *John*'s Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Realm, which Secretly influenc'd the Lords to demand the Reſtitution of their Rights at this time: One of which was, his Endeavouring to baniſh the Earl of *Cheſter* only for adviſing him to leave his Cruelty and Incontinence: Another was, that he endeavour'd to Debauch a Daughter of *Robert Fitz-water*, call'd *Maud* the Fair; but ſhe not conſenting to the King's Luſt, a Meſſenger was ſent to give her Poiſon in a Potch'd Egg, whereof ſhe died. A Third was his Cruelty to the Family of *William de Brauſe*, a Nobleman; the Story is this: The King, to prevent the Defection of his Subjects, (which his own Conſcience ſecretly told him he had given Reaſon enough for) ſends with a Military Power to all the Potent Men of the Kingdom, to require Pledges for the Aſſurance of their Fidelity; wherein many of them ſatisfied the King's Will, ſending ſome their Sons, ſome their Nephews, and others the neareſt of their Kin: Among the reſt, *William de Brauſe*, a Nobleman, being deſir'd to deliver in his Pledge, his Wife preventing her Husband's Anſwer, tells the Commiſſioners, *That the King ſhou'd have none of her Sons to keep, who was ſo ill a Keeper of his own Brother's Son*, Arthur: For which raſh and inconſiderate Speech, the Baron ſharply reprehending his Wife, before the King's Servants, told them, *He was ready, if he had offended, to ſatisfie the King, without any Pledge, according to the Judgment of his Court, or that of his Peers, at any Time or Place whereſoever.* Upon the Report of this Anſwer, the King ſends down Secretly to apprehend the Baron; but he either having private Notice, or doubting what would follow, fled with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*; where afterward, this afflicted Lady is ſaid to have ſent Queen *Iſabel* Four hundred Kine, and a Bull; which yet could not obtain her Pardon, nor pacifie the King's Wrath; but was afterwards taken, with her two Sons, (her Husband eſcaping into *France*) and was ſent to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, where ſhe and her two innocent Children were famiſh'd to Death. And now I am ſpeaking of innocent Children, I cannot omit to mention another Bloody Action of this Wicked King's; which is, That at his Return out of *Ireland*, paſſing through *Wales*, he there ſubdued certain Rebels, and takes Eight and twenty Children of the beſt Families, as Pledges of their future Loyalty; but not long after, hearing that they grew mutinous, and rebelled again, he was ſo incenſed againſt them, that he would not go to Dinner till he had ſeen thoſe Twenty eight Children all hang'd before his Face; which was done accordingly: Thus cauſing the Innocent to ſuffer for the Guilty. But what elſe cou'd be expected from ſuch a Prince, who made his own Will the grand Meaſure of all his Actions, and who, to gain his own Ends, was ready to renounce Chriſtianity it ſelf, and turn Mahometan; for being in ſome Diſtreſs, he ſent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz Nichols*, Knights, to *Miramumalim*, King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with Offer of his

Kingdom

Kingdom to him, upon Condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himſelf become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chriſtian Faith. And the Truth is, conſidering how he acted, it was no Matter what Faith he was of: And moſt think he had none at all; for ſome Expreſſions of his, ſavour very much of Atheiſm: Witneſs, that after he had been reconciled to the Pope, and received an Overthrow in *France*, he very paſſionately ſaid, *That nothing had proſpered with him, ſince he had been reconciled to God and the Pope.* Not much unlike to which, was another Expreſſion he had upon the opening of a fat Buck: *See*, ſaid he, *how this Deer hath proſpered, and how Fat he is; and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs.* "Of this King, ſays one, we cannot reckon "ſo many Impieties as he had: Unnatural to his own Blood, to "the Wife of his Boſom; bloody to the Nobility and Clergy; "notoriouſly guilty of Perjury, often Swearing, but never "keeping his Word: Betraying his Crown and Kingdom to "the Pope; and rather than want his Will, wou'd ruine both "Church, Nobles, and the whole Nation: Sends an Ambaſſa-"dor to a Mooriſh King in *Africa*, to render him the King-"dom of *England*, to hold it from him as his Soveraign Lord, "and to renounce *Chriſt*, and receive *Mahomet*. In the Heat of "his Wars with the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, he re-"paired to *Swinſted-Abbey*, where he was Poiſoned, leaving "Three Baſtards behind him. His Character is ſumm'd up in a few Words by a late Hiſtorian, with which I ſhall conclude all I have to ſay of him; which is, *That he was neither fit for Proſperity, nor Adverſity: For Proſperity made him inſolent, and Adverſity dejected.*

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Third.

KING HENRY *the Third was the Eldeſt Son of King* John, *by* Iſabel *Daughter of* Aymer *Earl of* Angoleſm: *This* Henry *was born at* Wincheſter, *and firſt crown'd at* Glouceſter *by* Peter *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Joſſeline *Biſhop of* Bath; *and after Agreement with his Lords, he was again crown'd at* Weſtminſter *by* Stephen Langton *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: Gualo *the Pope's Legate, the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* William Marſhal *Earl of* Pembrook, *being the Protector of the King and Realm, the King being but Nine Years old; by whoſe Prudent Government,* Lewis *the Dauphin of* France, *with all his* French *Armies, being expulſed out of the Land: The King forgave all the Layety that had taken part with* Lewis, *but made the Clergy pay great Fines; then King* Henry *went with a great Army into* Britain, *againſt* Lewis *King of* France, *and ſpoiled the Country; till at laſt a Peace was concluded.* Richard *Earl of* Cornwal, *the King's Brother, was made King of the* Romans; *the King loſt all his Lands in* France, *except the Dutchy of* Acquitain; *an Inſurrection in* Wales, Ireland *in Rebellion,* England *in Confuſion. The King entertains* Poictovines *out of* France, *and gives them Places of great Honour in the Kingdom; which made the* Engliſh *Barons raiſe Arms againſt the King. The Earls of* Leiceſter *and* Glouceſter *took the King at the Battel of* Lewis: *The Lord Chief Juſtice was kill'd in* Weſtminſter-Hall. *But after all theſe Broils, the King died in Peace, having reigned 56 Years, and One Month; ending his Reign the 16th of* November, 1272. *and was buried in* Weſtminſter. Thus much for his Reign in General, I next proceed to

His Secret Hiſtory: His Father leaving him young, (for he was crown'd at Nine Years of Age) he was for ſome time under the Tuition and Governance of a Protector; and whilſt he was ſo, both himſelf and the Kingdom were happy: For all that time being under the Power of a Guardian, a Reſtraint was put upon his Natural Inclinations: But no ſooner was he come of Age, and had taken the Government into his own Hands,

Hands, but he quickly began to ſhew himſelf, and to let the World know that his Subjects were not beholden to him for that Eaſe and Quietneſs they enjoy'd in the firſt Years of his Reign: For he no ſooner came to take the Government upon himſelf, but he was ſecretly laying Foundations for raiſing up the late demoliſh'd Structure of Arbitrary Government and Abſolute Rule; heaping up one Grievance upon another, till the whole Frame of Government was again unhing'd: For the King being come to ſome Years of Underſtanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in behalf of the State, of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, upon the Peace made with *Lewis*, for Confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom, for which the War began with his Father, it being the chief Baſis whereupon both his own Good, and that of his People, muſt ſubſiſt; without which, the whole State would again fall in ſunder; and they would have him to know it betime, that he might the better avoid thoſe miſerable Inconveniencies which the Diſ-union of Rule and Obedience might bring upon them all. But this Counſel, as good and as profitable as it was, found ſome of the young King's Counſellers to oppoſe it, who urged it to have been an Act of Conſtraint, and therefore not to be performed: Yet was it notwithſtanding at that time promiſed by the King to be ratified, and twelve Knights, or other legal Men of every Shire, were by Writs charged to examine what were the Laws and Liberties which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and return the ſame by a certain Day; which Prolongation, for all the fair Shew that it carried, was no other than a Secret Deſign to elude the Force of thoſe Laws; For during the whole Reign of this King, which was Six and fifty Years, (the longeſt of any King of *England*) it was this put him to the greateſt Trouble, and moſt of all embroil'd his Affairs, making him ill-beloved of his People, and far leſs a King than he would have been, only by ſtriving to be greater than he ſhould; which indeed is but the juſt Reward of all Violations: For even this firſt Heſitation, upon the requeſting of their Liberties, was ready to turn the Blood, and ſhew'd how ſenſible the State was in the leaſt Stoppage of that tender Vein.

The next Year another Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, in which was required the Fiftieth part of all Moveables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the Recovery of thoſe Dominions in *France*, with held from this Crown by *Lewis* the now King, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe made here in *England* at his Departure: Which Motion, tho' it concern'd the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, (being the Inheritance of the King, and the Eſtates of moſt of the Nobility, and other of the King's Subjects, who had Lands and Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts, which doubtleſs they deſired to recover with their utmoſt Means) yet would they not yield to the Grant of this Subſidy, but upon Confirmation of their Liberties; which in the end they obtain'd,

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in the same words and form as King *John* had granted them in the two *Charters* before. And Twelve Knights or Legal Men are chosen in every Shire, upon their Oath, to part the Old Forests from the New; and all such as were found to have been inforested since the first Coronation of *Henry* the Second, to be dis-forrested, and dispos'd at their pleasure who were to possess them; whereupon they were laid open, Ploughed, and improved to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; whereby Men were sustain'd instead of Wild Beasts, and more room made for 'em to Employ their Industry.

All this while the King was in his Non-Age; and for that reason two years after, calling a Parliament at *Oxford*; wherein he declares himself to be of lawful Age, and free from Custody, he Cancels and Annuls the Charter of the Forests, which he had before granted; as having then no power of himself, or of his Seal, and so of no Validity: And the more to show himself, causes Proclamation to be made, That both Clergy, and all others, if they would enjoy those Liberties, should renew their Charters, and have them confirmed under his New Seal, for which they were constrained to pay, not according to their Ability, but the Will of the Chief Justice, *Hugh de Burgh*, upon whom the blame of all is laid; for it was very common with this King to give Secret Instructions to his Ministers to do what he had a mind to have done; and when thereby an Odium was rais'd upon the King, he would be sure to lay all the blame upon his Ministers. Not but that *Hugh de Burgh* was bad enough of himself; and therefore the fitter Counsellor for such a King. And now the King having taken the Castle of *Berkhamsted* from his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, and committed the keeping of it to one *Walleran* a *Dutchman*, several of the Nobility join with the Earl; for he having demanded the possession of the Castle to be given him, as of Right it ought, the Chief Justice advises the King to Apprehend the Earl, and to Commit him to safe Custody; which was indeed the justifying of one injury, by the doing of another; but the Earl either having notice, or else suspecting their Design, flies presently to *Marlborow*, where he finds *William* Earl Marshal, his Friend and Confederate by Oath; with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferners*, *Warwick* with divers Barons, and Men at Arms; from whence they send to the King, advising him to right the Injury done to his Brother; and besides, require Restitution to be made without delay, of the Liberties of the Forrests, lately Cancell'd at *Oxford*; otherwise they wou'd compel him thereto by the Sword; Which the King, not out of love to Justice, but to avoid the present Dangers, at last agreed to.

The King after this goes over into *France* to recover, what belong'd to him there (having first exacted great Sums both of the Clergy,

Clergy, and of the City of *London*, for the Redemption of their Liberties, (beſides the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*) And being met by the Nobles of *Poictou*, they with the Earl of *Britain* do homage to him; and after much Miſchief done in *Poictou*, *Xantongue*, and *Argonois*, where their Friends and Enemies ſuffer all alike, at length a Peace is concluded, and the King returns without Glory or Profit, bringing with him the Earl of *Britain* and many *Poictovins*, to receive Rewards for doing nothing; which notwithſtanding all their former Expence, muſt be ſqueez'd out of the Subſtance of his *Engliſh* Subjects: To which purpoſe he diſplaces ſeveral of his Officers and Receivers, calling them to accompt, and charging them with defrauding him in their offices; of whom *Ralph Breton* Treaſurer of his Chamber was the firſt, and he is both committed to Priſon, and grievouſly fin'd; the next is *Hubert de Burgh* his chief Juſtice, a man who had long rul'd all under him, in a Place always Obnoxious to Detraction and Envy, and he is call'd to account, for all ſuch Money as had paſs'd his Office; for which, tho he had the Kings Grant for it during Life, yet he is thruſt out, and very great Crimes laid to his charge, for no ſooner was this great Officer fallen into the Kings Diſpleaſure, but a whole Volley of Accuſations were diſcharged upon him: Which he to avoid, flies to a Church for Sanctuary; but it proves no Shelter to him, for from thence he was taken by force, and committed to Priſon; but the Biſhop of *London* complaining of Violence thereby done to the Church, he was again brought thither; but that could not ſhelter him from the Wrath of the King, who found out a way to make him leave the Sanctuary of himſelf; for cauſing a Strict Guard to be ſet about all the Avenues, that ſo no Suſtenance might be brought to him, Hunger quickly Compell'd him to come out, rather than lie there and Starve: And ſo committing himſelf to the Kings Mercy, he was ſent Priſoner to the *Devizes* and his Treaſure which he had left in the Cuſtody of the Templars, was brought forth, and Seiz'd into the Kings Hands, he Claiming that, and much more, as ſtolen out of his Exchequer. Now tho' the removing of Corrupt Miniſters, and calling them to accompt, be a good thing in it ſelf, and the way to have Juſtice Impartially executed, yet this was none of the Kings deſign herein; for what he ſecretly intended, was to bring Money into his own Coffers, and to gratifie the Poictovins and other ſtrangers, that he had brought with him out of *France*; for only ſtrangers were preferred in the room of all the Officers that were turn'd out; and theſe knowing they were plac'd there to get Money, made uſe of their time to that end, but to the great Oppreſſion of the Subject. The two Principal Inſtruments of all this diſorder, being (as 'tis ſaid) the Biſhop of *Winchester*, who was lately return'd from the Holy Wars abroad, to be the Author of unholy Diſcord at home; and one *Peter de Rivallis*, who was now a ſpecial Minion about the King; by whoſe means all the chief Counſellors,

Counſellors, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of the Kindom were removed, as diſtruſted, and Strangers preferred in their rooms.

Theſe Open Violations and Inſufferable Violences, ſo exaſperated the Nobility, that many of 'em (whereof *Richard*, now Earl Marſhal, upon the Death of his Brother *William*, was Chief) entered into a Combination for the Defence of the Publick, and boldly ſhew'd the King his Error, *and the ill-adviſed Courſe he took, in preferring Strangers about him, to the Diſgrace and Oppreſſion of his Natural Liege People, contrary to their Laws and Liberties; and that, unleſs he would reform this Exceſs, whereby his Crown and Kingdom was in imminent Danger, he and the reſt of the Nobility would withdraw themſelves from his Council.* To which the Biſhop of *Winchester* replied, *That it was lawful for the King to call what Strangers he pleas'd about him, for the Defence of his Crown and Kingdom, and thereby to compel his proud and rebellious Subjects to their due Obedience.* Which haughty Anſwer of the Biſhop's, caus'd the Earl, and the reſt, to depart with extream Indignation; vowing, That in this Cauſe, which concerned them all, they wou'd ſpend their Lives.

The King hereupon, both ſuddenly and ſecretly, ſends over for great Numbers of *Poictovins* to aſſiſt him; chuſing rather unworthily to be aſſiſted by Strangers, than to take the good Advice and Counſel of his own People; by which means, inſtead of healing the Breaches already made, he only made 'em wider. Soon after this, the King ſummons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuſed to come, as well becauſe they found themſelves deſpis'd, as becauſe of the great Numbers of Strangers that were about the King, which made them not look upon it to be ſafe. It was thereupon thought fit by the King's Council, that they ſhou'd be a Second and Third time ſummon'd, to ſee whether they would come, or not. But this not ſucceeding, a Parliament is ſummon'd likewiſe at *Weſtminſter*, whither the Lords ſtill refuſed to come, unleſs the King wou'd remove the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictovins*, from the Court; letting the King know, *That otherwiſe they would, by the Common Council of the Kingdom, Expel him and his Evil Counſellors out of the Land, and Create a New King.* Upon this Threatning, Pledges are requir'd of the Nobility, to be deliver'd by a certain Day, for the Security of their Allegiance; but no Act paſſed in this Parliament, by reaſon of the Abſence of the Lords: For tho' divers Lords came thither, yet in regard the Earl Marſhal, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and other Lords were not preſent, there was nothing done. After this, Writs were ſent out to all who held by Knight's Service, to repair to the King at *Glouceſter* by a certain Day: Which the Earl Marſhal and his Aſſociates refuſing, the King, without the Judgment of his Court, and their Peers, cauſes them to be proclaimed Outlaws, and ſeizes upon all their Lands, which he

gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their Bodies, wheresoever to be found in the Kingdom.

The Bishop of *Winchester*, (who was the King's Evil Counsellor, and chief Tool in all his Unjust Proceedings) that he might weaken the Party of the Earl-Marshal, buys off the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a Thousand Marks; and the King secretly makes great Offers to his Brother, so that he likewise left them. The Barons upon this, withdraw themselves into *Wales*, and join with *Lewellin*, and other great Men in that Countrey; whither also came *Hubert de Burg*, who had escaped out of Prison, and joins with them, each mutually swearing, that no one without the other should make any Agreement.

Soon after, the King with his Army engages the Barons, but comes off with Loss; and afterwards meets with no better Success with an Army of Foreigners. —— The King's Arms not prevalling, he secretly employs a Fryar of the Order of *Minors*, to see if he could perswade the Earl-Marshal to come in, and submit himself to the King's Mercy: The Fryar undertakes this Province, and tells the Earl-Marshal, *That he has heard the King say, That notwithstanding his great Offences, if he would submit, he would not only pardon, and restore him to his Estate; but would give him so much of* Herefordshire *as should conveniently maintain him:* Adding, *That it was the Desire of the King and his Counsellors, that this Submission should be made in Private*; using besides, all the Inducements he could to draw him thereto; telling him, *That it was his Duty and Interest so to do.* But all the Pains the Fryar took in this Matter, was but in vain, the Earl being not at all moved therewith; but on the contrary told the Fryar what Injuries he had receiv'd; and, *That he could not trust the King whilst he had such Counsellors about him as were void both of Conscience, Honour, and Honesty, and who only sought the Destruction of himself and his Friends, tho' they had always been the King's Loyal Subjects.* The Fryar still press'd the Matter further, answering the Earl's Objections, and telling him of the Greatness of the King's Power, his own Weakness, and the Danger he was in. To which the Earl reply'd, *That he fear'd no Danger; that he would never yield to the King's Will, that would be guided by no Reason; and that he should give an ill Example, to relinquish the Justice of his Cause, to obey that Will which wrought all Injustice; and that so to do, would be to declare he lov'd worldly Possessions more than Right or Honour.* And so nothing was done; but the War continu'd with much Effusion of Blood. At length the King carried on another Secret Design to be rid of the Earl-Marshal; and that was, by sending over a Secret Commission into *Ireland*, to seize upon all those great Possessions that the Earl had there, and which descended to him from his Ancestor the Earl of *Strongbow*, the first Conqueror of that Country; all which were spoiled, and taken from him, by virtue of that Commission: Which the Earl hearing, went over thither, and by seeking to recover his Estate, lost his Life, being circumvented and slain

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by Treachery. The Death of this great Man was lamented both by his Friends and Enemies: But the King (who was underhand the Cauſe thereof) diſavows the ſending of this Secret Commiſſion into *Ireland*, proteſting he never knew thereof, and charges it upon his Miniſters. This was but a pitiful Excuſe, and commonly the Shift of weak Princes, who are conſcious to themſelves of having done ill things, and then are aſham'd to own them.

The King, after going on in his own Evil Courſes, for two Years, and wanting Money extreamly, calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhops gravely admoniſh the King, by his Father's Example, and his own Experience, to beware of the Miſchief of Diſſention between him and his Kingdom, through the ill Advice of his Miniſters; and perſwade him to be at Union with his People, by removing from him Strangers and others, by whoſe Inſtigation, for their own Ends, theſe Diſturbances are fomented, and his Natural Subjects eſtranged from him, to the great Alienation of their Affections, which was of dangerous Conſequence: And therefore (after reciting the Grievances of the State, and the Abuſes of his Miniſters) they humbly beſought him to govern his Kingdom as other Nations did theirs; that is, by the Laws and Natives of the ſame: Otherwiſe they would proceed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, both againſt his Counſellors and himſelf.

The King ſeeing to what Condition his Extravagancies had reduc'd him, and that he had no way to ſubſiſt, but by temporizing; he makes a Vertue of Neceſſity, and more for his own Ends, than to ſatisfie his People, conſents to call home the Lords out of *Wales*, reſtores them to their Places and Poſſeſſions, removes the Strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, thereupon take Sanctuary; but the King having ſufficiently ſqueez'd 'em by great Fines, let them afterwards have their Liberty. It was the uſual way of this King, when he wanted Money, to promiſe to redreſs Grievances, and confirm the Peoples Liberties; but no ſooner was his own Turn ſerv'd, but he forgot all his Promiſes, and inſtead of Redreſſing, increas'd the Number of their Grievances: which was ſo notorious throughout his whole Reign, that it can hardly be accounted a piece of his Secret Hiſtory: But what the Temper of thoſe Times was, and what Reputation the King had with his Subjects, will beſt appear by the following Paſſages, not commonly to be met with; which I have therefore the rather inſerted.

During the Time of the Parliament, in which the King was ſo hot upon undertaking the Croſs, and going to the *Holy Land*; *Iſabel* Counteſs of *Arundel*, (Widow) came to the King about a Ward detained from her, in regard of a ſmall Parcel of Land held in *Capite*, which drew away all the reſt; and the King giving her a harſh Anſwer, and turning away from her; which

the Counteſs taking unkindly, thus addreſs'd her ſelf to him, *My Liege, why turn you away your Face from Juſtice, that we can obtain no Right in your Court? You are conſtituted in the midſt, betwixt GOD and us; but neither govern your ſelf nor us diſcreetly, as you ought: You ſhamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdom by all means you may.* The King having heard her, diſdainfully replies, *Lady Counteſs, have the Lords made you a Charter, and ſent you, becauſe you are an Eloquent Speaker, to be their Advocate and Prolocutrix? No Sir,* (reply'd the Counteſs briskly) *they have not made any Charter to me; but the Charter which your Father and you made, and ſwore ſo often to obſerve, and ſo often extorted Money from your Subjects for the ſame, you unworthily tranſgreſs, as a manifeſt Breaker of your Faith: Where are the Liberties of* England, *ſo often written, ſo often granted, ſo often bought? My ſelf* (tho' *a Woman*) *and with me all your Natural and Faithful People, appeal againſt you to the Tribunal of that High Judge above; and Heaven and Earth ſhall be our Witneſs, that you have dealt moſt unjuſtly with us; and the Lord GOD of Revenges avenge us.* The King being diſturb'd at her Words, ask'd her, *If ſhe expected no Favour from him, being his Kinſwoman? How ſhall I hope for Favour,* ſaid ſhe, *when you deny me Right? I therefore appeal before the Face of Chriſt, againſt thoſe Counſellors of yours, who only greedy of their own Gain, have bewitched and infatuated you.*

Nor was it only a Woman that durſt ſpeak thus to the King: For altogether as bold, tho' in fewer Words, was the Repartee made him by the Maſter of the Hoſpital in *Jeruſalem*, in *Clerkenwell*; who coming to complain of an Injury committed againſt their Charter, the King told him, *The Prelates, and eſpecially the Templars and Hoſpitallers, had ſo many Liberties and Charters, that their Riches made them proud, and their Pride made them mad; and that thoſe things which were unadviſedly granted, were with Diſcretion to be revoked*; alledging, *that the Pope had often recalled his own Grants, with the Clauſe* non obſtante; *and why ſhould not he vacate thoſe Charters inconſiderately granted by him and his Predeceſſors? What ſay you, Sir?* reply'd the Prior, (whom the King's Words had touch'd to the quick) *GOD forbid ſo ill a Word ſhould proceed out of your Mouth; ſo long as you obſerve Juſtice, you may be a King; and as ſoon as you violate the ſame, you ſhall leave to be a King.* More could not have been ſaid in ſo few Words; and this would have been ſufficient in another Reign to have coſt him his Head. But this King, by his often promiſing, and as often breaking his Promiſe, had made himſelf cheap to his People; as will further appear by the following Inſtance: The Fryars *Minors* had a Load of Freeze ſent by the King, to cloath them; but they return'd it back with this Meſſage, *That he ought not to give Alms of what he had rent from the Poor, neither would they accept of that abominable Gift.* With theſe, and many ſuch bold Incounters, was the King affronted: Which ſhews the ill Complexion of that Time; and withal,

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how miſerable a thing it is for a Prince to loſe his Reputation, and the Love of his People. And well might he loſe his Reputation, who ſo little valued his Word and Oath, taken perhaps in the moſt ſolemn manner as ever any Oath was taken; for it was taken by the King, Nobility, and Prelates, all cloathed in their proper Ornaments, with burning Candles in their Hands, to hear the terrible Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Infringers of the ſame. And at the lighting of thoſe Candles, the King having received one in his Hand, gives it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, *It becomes not me, being no Prieſt, to hold this Candle; my Heart ſhall be a greater Teſtimony*; and thereupon laid his Hand ſpread on his Breaſt all the time the Sentence was read: After which, throwing away their Candles, which lay ſmoaking on the Ground, they cried out, *So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and ſtink in Hell:* And the King with a loud Voice ſaid, *As GOD me help, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, and a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably obſerve all theſe theſe things.* Certainly never were Human Laws in any Nation confirmed with more Ceremony to make them Sacred and yet were ſoon after broken by the King; and his Breach of them defended by the Sword; by which means, a world of Noble, as well as Plebeian Blood, was ſhed; as the General Hiſtory of this Reign ſhews at large. But it is now time that I conclude King *Henry*'s Secret Hiſtory, after having given you ſome further ſhort Acconnt of the King; of whom I have this more to ſay, That he was neither conſtant in his Love, nor in his Hate; for he never had ſo great a Favourite, whom he brought not into Diſgrace; nor ſo great an Enemy whom he receiv'd not into Favour: Of which, *Hubert de Burgh*, Earl of *Kent*, was an eminent Inſtance, who was his Chief Juſtice many Years; but then turn'd out and proſecuted with the greateſt Rigour; and indeed he deſerv'd it, if that be true with which he was accus'd, which was, That to diſſwade a great Lady from Marriage with the King, he told her, *That the King was a ſquinteyd Fool, and a kind of Leper; deceitful, perjur'd, and more faint-hearted than a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Lady's Company*: And yet after all this, he was reſtor'd again to Favour, when the King had ſufficiently fleec'd him: This ſhew'd that the King lov'd Money more than Honour; which alſo further appear'd by ſelling his Right to thoſe two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou*. And yet had he not been more deſirous of Honour than Quietneſs, he had never contended ſo long with the Barons, about their Charter of Liberty; which on his part was but a Punctilio of Honour. To conclude all, The Sum of this King's long Reign, is in ſhort, no more than this: He was a Chip of the Old Block, for no Oath could ever bind him; always jealous of the Nobility, brings in Strangers, deſpiſeth all Counſel in Parliament, waſteth all the Treaſure of the Kingdom in Civil Wars; ſells his Plate and Jewels, and pawns his Crown.

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the First.

KING EDWARD *the First, Son of* HENRY *the Third, was Thirty five Years old when he began to Reign; being at the time of his Fathers Death in* Paleſtine, *called the* Holy-Land, *Engaged in Wars againſt the* Saracens; *ſo that he returned not home till the next year: He was of Stature higher than ordinary Men by the Head and Shoulders, and was for that reaſon ſirnamed* Longſhanks: *He was Crowned at* Weſtminſter *the 14th day of* December, *in the Second year of his Reign, by* Robert *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Stiled himſelf,* Edward *the Firſt, Duke of* Acquitain *and* Anjou, *Lord of* Ireland *and King of* England. *He brought* Wales *wholly into Subjection to the Crown of* England, *Eſtabliſhed Peace, cauſed all corrupt Judges and Officers of Note to be Exemplarily puniſhed, with Fines, Impriſonments, and Baniſhments: With a Navy of Sixty Shipe, he overcame and took Three hundred Ships of* France. *He created his Son Prince* Edward, (*an Infant*) *the firſt Prince of* Wales *of the* Engliſh *Blood. The* Scots *made War upon King* Edward, *who at the Battel of* Foukirk *ſlew Seventy thouſand* Scots *in one day; and the Wars between* England *and* Scotland *continued ſo violently, that there were more than One hundred and thirty thouſand Men ſlain on both ſides. He Reigned near Thirty five years, and was buried at* Weſtminſter, *Ending his Reign July* 7. 1307. Thus much for his general Hiſtory.

His Secret Hiſtory: We ſhall herein have leſs to ſay than in that of ſeveral other Kings: He being, for the moſt part, a Prince that acted above board, there was not ſo many Secret Intrigues carried on in his Reign, as in that of other Princes: But if there was no Secret Intrigues carried on by him, yet there was againſt him: For being at the time of his Fathers Death, in the Holy Land; and having reſcu'd the great City of *Acon* from being ſurrendred to the *Soldan*; out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim*, a deſperate *Saracen*, who had often been Employ'd to him from their General, being one time upon pretence of ſome Secret Meſſage he had to deliver to him, admitted alone into his Chamber, on a ſudden, with a Poyſoned Knife,

Knife, he gave him Three Wounds in the Body, Two in the Arm, and one near the Armpit; which were ſo dangerous, that his Phyſicians concluded them mortal, unleſs ſome humane Creature would ſuck away the Empoyſon'd Blood out of the wounds; at the ſame time declaring that ſuch Perſons wou'd run a deſperate hazard of loſing their own Lives: Upon this, the Life of the King being ſo Eſſential to all their Safeties, the thing was propos'd to ſeveral of the Courtiers; but they all wav'd this dangerous piece of Loyalty; and as well as they pretended to love the King, yet lov'd their own Lives better; and therefore with a Complement declin'd it: Which when the Vertuous Queen perceiv'd, and that the King muſt dye, for want of ſuch a kind Aſſiſtance, She with a Bravery worthy of her, declar'd ſhe was reſolv'd her ſelf to undertake this Cure; and venture her own Life to ſave the King her Husbands; and ſo accordingly ſuck'd all the Poyſonous matter from the Wounds, and thereby ſav'd the King: And Heaven, which did inſpire her with that generous Reſolution, preſerv'd her too, as a Reward for her great Conjugal Affection. But to return from this Digreſſion,

King *Edward* being return'd home and Crowned, by the Obſervations he had made of things in his Fathers time, found that the Power of the Clergy was too predominant; and therefore Secretly determined to Clip their Wings, ſo as both to keep them from further growing, and to reduce them to more moderation; And this he thought beſt to do by degrees: And therefore for a Trial of their Patience, ſoon after his Coronation he has a Tenth granted him of the Clergy for two years, and a Fifteenth beſides of them and the Temporalty: And in the Sixth year of his Reign he depriv'd many chief Monaſteries of their Liberties; and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Weſtminſter* the return of Writs, granted them by the Charter of his Father. And the next year after, he got to be Enacted the Statute of Mortmain, (or the Dead-hand) which was an effectual way to hinder the increaſe of their Temporal Poſſeſſions: For the King conſidering how the Clergy by being with ſick and dying Perſons at their laſt moments, eaſily perſwaded them to give their Eſtates to the Church, that their Souls might be pray'd out of Purgatory; thought by this means the moſt part of the Lands in the Nation, might become the Lands of the Church; which in the concluſion wou'd be a loſs to the King and Kingdom: For, it often happened that Temporal Eſtates for want of Heirs fell to the King; and ſometimes to the Lord; but if it was given to the Church, it cou'd never be reſumed again, but was held as it were by a dead hand, which never lets any thing go: Hence this Law was made to prohibit Perſons from giving their Lands to the Church; and providing that all ſuch Lands ſhould be forfeited to the King. How ſenſibly the Clergy were touch'd by the paſſing of this Act, appears by this, That the Kings Treaſurer, *Marchian*, acquainting him, that in

Churches and Religious Houſes there was much Treaſure to be had, the King made no ſcruple of Conſcience to cauſe it to be taken away, and brought into his Exchequer. But finding the Prelates extreamly diſguſted hereat, the King to pleaſe them again, bids them *ask ſomething of Him, and they ſhould ſee how much he favour'd 'em:* The Clergy glad of ſuch a Promiſe from the King, ask him *to repeal the Statute of* Mortmain, *which had been made ſo much to their hindrance:* Which ſhews plain enough that they were ſenſible where the Shooe pinch'd 'em. But the King was as fond of that Statute, as they were of having it aboliſh'd; and only anſwer'd them, *That that Statute was made by the whole Body of the Realm, and therefore it was not in his Power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done.* And ſo their great hopes of getting that Statute repeal'd, prov'd abortive.

If it be ask'd how the King came thus to intrench upon the Clergy? I anſwer, The Temporal Lords having been ſatisfied by him, in the beginning of his Reign, by the Enlarging of their Liberties. and granting them eaſier Laws, in the Parliament called of *Weſtminſter* the firſt, they were not ſo much ſolicitous for the Clergy, who had a kind of diſtinct Intereſt by themſelves. Tho' it muſt be confeſt, that whatever he did to them without the conſent of Parliament, was but a Proſecution of the old Deſign of his Father and Grandfather, of Exalting Arbitrary Power above the Law; and advancing his Prerogative above the People's Liberties: Of which, what he now did to the Clergy, was not the only inſtance in his Reign: For he ſeverely ſqueez'd 'em ſeveral other times: In the 22th of his Reign, they pay'd the Moiety of their Goods; which amounted to Six hundred thouſand pounds; a vaſt ſum of money at that time: And the next year he ſeized into his hands all the *Priories Aliens*, and their Goods; beſides which he had a Loan of the Clergy, which amounted to above One hundred thouſand pounds. But in the 25th year of his Reign, (altho the Citizens and Burgeſſes, in a Parliament held at St. *Edmondsbury*, granted of their own Goods an Eighth part, and of others a 12th part) the Clergy abſolutely refuſed to grant any thing; upon pretence of a Prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, That no Tallage nor Impoſition laid by any Lay-Prince, upon whatſoever appertained to the Church, ſhould be paid; which Prohibition is ſaid to have been procured by themſelves, in regard of the many Levies lately made upon the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtical: This Refuſal of the Clergy, the King took ſo ill, that he ſecretly reſolved to be even with them for it, and ſoon after puts them out of his Protection; Reſolving that they who would not be aſſiſtant to him in maintaining the Laws, ſhould have no benefit by 'em; for by putting them out of his Protection, they could have no Claim to any benefit by the Law, no juſtice in any of his Courts, but were to be look'd on as a company of out-

out-law'd Perſons: This was a ſtretching of his Prerogative beyond any of his Predeceſſors; which ſo amazed the Clergy, who by this means were Expoſed to all Offences and Injuries whatſoever, without any means of Redreſs, that the Archbiſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Durham*, *Salisbury* and *Lincoln*, agreed to give the King, the fifth part of their Goods towards defraying the charge of his Wars; and having hereby appeas'd the Kings Wrath, they were again receiv'd into his Favour, and the Protection of the Law: But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all that were animated by him to oppoſe the Kings Will, and ſtand out, had all their Goods ſeiz'd, and all the Monaſteries within the Province of *Canterbury*, ſo ſtanding out, were taken into the Kings hands, and a Warden appointed by the King to ſupply the *Monks* with what was barely neceſſary, and to convert all the reſt to the Kings uſe. By which Treatment, the *Abbots* and *Prieſts* being induced to give the King the fourth part of their Goods, they were thereupon reſtor'd likewiſe to the Kings Favour again.

The King having thus brought the Clergy to his Bow, wou'd Exert his Arbitrary Power upon the Temporal Lords alſo: To which end he calls a Parliament of his Lords at *Salisbury*, without the Admiſſion of the Churchmen; wherein he requires certain of the Great Lords to go unto the Wars of *Gaſcoign*, which requir'd a preſent Supply, upon the Death of his Brother *Edmund*, (who having ſpent much Treaſure and Time in the Siege of *Burdeaux*, without any Succeſs, retired to *Bayonne*, then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and there Ended his Life.) But the Lords all making their Excuſes, the King in a great rage threatned that they ſhou'd either go, or he wou'd give their Lands to others that ſhou'd. Upon which, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, High-Conſtable, and *Roger Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, declar'd that if the King went in Perſon, they wou'd attend him, otherwiſe not. At which anſwer, the King being more offended, and the Lords being urged again to go, The Earl Marſhal proteſted he wou'd willingly go thither with the King, and March before him in the *Vant Guard*, as by Right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, he ſhould go with any other, tho' he went not himſelf in Perſon; To which the Earl replied, I am not ſo bound, neither will I take that Journey without you. Upon which the King Swore, By GOD, Sir Earl, you ſhall either go or hang: And I ſwear by the ſame Oath, ſaid the Earl, I will neither go nor hang. And ſo immediately went from the Kings Preſence. For by the Law the Lords were not to go any where but whither the King went in Perſon, nor then neither, unleſs the King went into *France* or *Scotland*. The King therefore takes this Denial of the Lords, as well as he could at preſent,

preſent, but ſecretly reſolves to call it to mind another time: For he was now obliged to go over to *Flanders* to Aid the Earl thereof, againſt the King of *France*, who was coming againſt him with an Army of Sixty Thouſand Men. This made the King ſmother his Reſentments in his own Breſt at preſent; and ſeeing the Lords would not go with him, he thought it beſt to carry it fair to them, that they might not do any thing to his Prejudice during his Abſence; which he had the more reaſon to fear, becauſe being juſt ready to take Shipping, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, ſent him a Roll of the general Grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subſidies, and other Impoſitions; with his ſeeking to force their Services by unlawful Courſes; his late Impoſt of Forty Shilling upon every Sack of *Wool* (being before but half a Mark) eſtimating the *Wool* of *England* to a fifth part of all the Subſtance thereof: By this the Complexion of the Times may be beſt ſeen; by which it appears, that tho' the King had ſuch vaſt Subſidies given him by the Parliament, yet the King ſtretch'd his Prerogative to the oppreſſion of his Subjects, and exacted Money from them by indirect Courſes. However, the King in anſwer to this Complaint, return'd this Meſſage, That he cou'd not alter any thing without the Advice of his Council, which were not there about him; and Exhorting them to do nothing in his Abſence to the prejudice of the Peace of the Kingdom, promiſed upon his Return to ſet all things in good Order.

But, for all theſe fair Promiſes, there is reaſon to believe that had he proceeded in his Expedition, and his own turn ſerved; he would not have much concern'd himſelf with the Redreſſing of their Grievances, but rather have made their Yoke heavier; for it has been generally the Practice of our Kings, when they have had no Publick Deſign carried on abroad, to carry on ſome Secret Deſigns at home, in order to make themſelves Abſolute: But King *Edward*'s Succeſs was'nt anſwerable to his Expectations; For the Emperor *Adolph* failing of the Aid and Perſonal Aſſiſtance he had promiſed, put the King of *England* by his long delays to very great Expences; which forc'd him to ſend over for more Supplies of Treaſure; to which End he gave order for a Parliament to be held at *York* by the Prince, and ſuch others as had the Management of the State in his Abſence: Wherein, becauſe he would not be diſappointed, he condeſcends to all ſuch Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter, promiſing from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwiſe than by their Conſents in Parliament: and to pardon ſuch as had denied to attend him in this Journey: And for this the Commons of the Realm granted him the Ninth Penny of their Goods; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with the Clergy of his Province

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the Tenth Penny, and *York* and his Province the Fifth. Thus, by ſelling the People what was their own before, the King's Wants were ſupply'd.

But notwithſtanding the King's Condeſcenſions in this Parliament, the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* thought not themſelves ſecure againſt the Secret Deſigns of the King; and therefore, when he was afterwards going againſt the *Scots* with a great Army, theſe Earls urged upon him the Ratifications of the Two Charters of Liberty, and their Pardons; which they held not ſufficient, becauſe the King was out of the Realm at the late granting thereof. For it ſeems they knew the King ſo well, that they knew not how to truſt him; and the Event ſhew'd it: For, for all their Caution, the King was too hard for 'em, when his Affairs were better ſettled; for then beginning to ſhew his Reſentment of their former Carriage, he ſo terrified the Earl-Marſhal, that to recover his Favour, the Earl made the King Heir of all his Eſtate, reſerving only to himſelf 1000 *l.* Penſion *per Ann.* during his Life, tho he had a Brother living. Of others he alſo got great Sums for the ſame Offence; but the Earl of *Hereford* indeed eſcaped by Death, and ſo was beforehand with the King. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (whom he accus'd to have diſturb'd the Peace in his Abſence, he ſends over to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, (who ſucceeded *Boniface*) that ſo he might be cruſh'd by a double Power. This Pope was a Native of *Burdeaux*, by which he was the more inclinable to grant the King's Deſire, and the King more confident of his Favour; which that he might be the more ſure of, he takes the right way to obtain, by ſending him a ſet of Veſſels to furniſh out his Chamber, all of maſſy Gold; which tho' he gilded over with the ſpecious Pretence or Affection and Duty to the Apoſtolick Chair, yet the Secret and True Reaſon was, That the Pope might ſo help him to cruſh the Archbiſhop, that he might make of him double the Value of what he ſent the Pope; and likewiſe, that the Pope might Abſolve him from the Obligation he lay under to his Subjects, with reſpect to the Charters he had given them, and confirmed by his Oath: All which the Pope accordingly gratify'd him in. Which ſhew'd as little Piety in the Pope, as Conſcience in the King; who thinking he ſhou'd now have no more need of his Subjects, diſcover'd with what little Sincerity he formerly granted thoſe Liberties, which now he is at ſuch Charge that he may again infringe.

Among other Examples of this King's Secret Deſign to make his Power equal to his Will, the Caſe of Sir *Nicholas Seagrave* is a Remarkable Inſtance, who being accus'd of Treaſon by Sir *John Crombwel*, offers to juſtifie himſelf by Duel; which the King refuſes to grant, in regard of the preſent War then in hand: Whereupon *Seagrave*, without Licenſe, and contrary to the King's Prohibition, leaves the King's Camp, and goes over-Sea to fight with his Enemy; for which the King, as againſt one that had not only contemn'd him, but as much as in him lay,

lay, expos'd him to Death, and left him to his Enemies; wou'd have Juſtice to proceed againſt him: Three Days it was before the Judges cou'd come to a Reſolution, and at laſt adjudg'd *Seagrave* guilty of Death, and all his Moveables and Immoveables forfeited to the King: Notwithſtanding, in regard to the greatneſs of his Blood, they added, *He went not out of* England *in Contempt of the King, but only to be revenged of his Accuſer; and therefore it was in the King's Power, in this Caſe, to ſhew Mercy to him.* The King having heard what the Judges had ſaid, reply'd in a great Rage, *Have you been all this while conſulting for this? I know it is in my Power to confer Grace, and on whom I will to confer Mercy; but not the more for your ſakes than a Dog's.* But tho' the Knight was in *terrorem* committed to Priſon; yet after this, giving the King good Security for his Forth-coming, he was ſet at Liberty, and reſtored again to his Eſtate.

However, We muſt do him this Juſtice, to tell the Reader, That before he dy'd he liv'd to ſee his Error, and reform it; and to acknowledge that the Love of his People was his chiefeſt Strength. How after this he again entered *Scotland*, laying waſte the Countrey, and growing ſo inexorable to the *Scots*, that he ſpared none, of what Degree ſoever they were, ſhewing unexampled Severity upon Perſons of the greateſt Quality, I leave to thoſe Hiſtorians who have writ the General Hiſtory of his Life at large; and ſhall only acquaint my Reader, That after a Reign of Thirty four Years and eight Months, in the 68th Year of his Age, he fell ſick of a Diſſentery, and died in *Scotland*, at *Borough upon the Sands*; as if he had thereby deſign'd to ſhew on what Foundation he had built all his Glory in this World; leaving behind him this black Character: He govern'd his Will by his Power, and ſhed more Blood in this Kingdom than any of his Predeceſſors; he counted his Judges but as Dogs; and died as full of Malice, as he lived full of Miſchief.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the Second.

KING EDWARD *the Second, Sirnamed* Carnarvan, *becauſe born in* Carnarvan-Caſtle *in* Wales, *was Crowned at* Weſtminſter *by the Hands of* William *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, (*as Deputed by* Robert *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *then in Exile*:) *He was a Prince extreamly addicted to follow the Council of light and vain Perſons: He loved* Pierce Gaveſton *to that Exceſs, that he thereby diſguſted the Nobility, and broke the Oath his Father on his Death-Bed caus'd him to take, never to recal him.* Gaveſton *was by Birth a mean Gentleman of* France, *of good Parts, but always ill apply'd; by which means he became the Cauſe both of his own Deſtruction, and of the King, whom he had miſguided. This* Gaveſton *was Three times baniſh'd, and upon his Third Return,* Guy *Earl of* Warwick *took him, and caus'd him to be beheaded in* Warwick-Caſtle; *which ſo inrag'd the King, that he vow'd Revenge upon all that were the Cauſe of his Death.* Robert Bruce *King of* Scots *gives the King a mighty Overthrow at* Bannocksbourn, *where the* Engliſh *and their Confederates loſt* 50000 *Men, the King himſelf being in great Danger to be taken. Famine, Sword, and Peſtilence, afflict* England *at once, ſo that the Living were ſcarce able to bury the Dead. The King prepares for Revenge againſt his Lords, Raiſes the* Spencers *from a mean Eſtate, and prevailing againſt the Barons, cauſes Twenty two of them to be Executed in divers Parts of the Kingdom; but in the Concluſion, the* Spencers *are taken and hang'd, and the King himſelf depoſed, and afterwards cruelly murthered, when he had Reigned Nineteen Years, ſeven Months, and four Days.* Thus far his General Hiſtory.

As for his Secret Hiſtory, it runs through his whole Reign; which was nothing elſe but a Secret Deſign to undermine the Laws of the Nation, and the Liberty of the Subject, and to ſet up himſelf and his Minions both in Oppoſition to 'em, and Above 'em: Which made the Reign of this King but one continued Scene of Folly and Misfortune. Nor was it like indeed to be otherwiſe: For how can we expect much good from a

King

King who began his Reign with the Breach of his Dying Father's Admonitions, and the Obligations he lay under by him in Matters of Duty? Nay, tho' thoſe Commands were given him in Charge by his laſt Words, on Pain of a Curſe for his Diſobedience: For the very Beginning of his Reign ſhew'd how much he had forgotten his Father's Commands, and purſu'd the more pleaſing Remembrance of his own looſe Will, and ungovernable Inclinations. As will appear by this Inſtance: The Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Walter de Langton*, who was likewiſe Treaſurer of *England*, had in his Father's Life-time, like a juſt Servant, reprov'd him for thoſe Lewd and Vicious Practices in which he indulg'd himſelf; and complain'd of *Gaveſton*, as the Author, or at leaſt the Encourager of the Prince in thoſe Courſes that were ſo unbecoming his Dignity; for which afterwards the King confin'd the Prince, and exil'd *Gaveſton*: And now Prince *Edward* coming to be King, having ſecretly harbour'd a Grudge in his Mind againſt the Biſhop, reſolv'd in the firſt place to ſhew his Reſentments, by puniſhing a Man that ſo early durſt tell him the Truth; and thereby let the World ſee how little he lik'd that troubleſome Vertue; and therefore caus'd him to be arreſted by Sir *John Felton*, Conſtable of the *Tower*, and committed to Priſon, ſeizing upon all his Goods, and making a new Treaſurer of his own.

But this was not all; for before his Father's Funeral, he ſends for *Gaveſton* from Exile, in direct Oppoſition to his Father's Dying Commands, and his own Oath; and ſo haſty he was in this Action, that it look'd as if he ſecretly deſign'd to diſturb the Peace of others, before he had laid his Father's Bones at reſt. *Gaveſton* is no ſooner return'd, than he is made Earl of *Cornwal*, and Lord of *Man*, being both the Demains of the Crown, and advanc'd to be his Chief Chamberlain. Thus the King's Favours were his Markets; and it may well be ſaid, He wore the very Jewels of the Crown: Nay, he had ſo great an Affection for him, that he was not aſham'd to declare, That if it lay in his Power, *Gaveſton* ſhou'd ſucceed him in the Kingdom.

This Exceſs of Favour in the King, made *Gaveſton* as proud and haughty as the King was kind; ſo that he look'd upon all the Nobility below him; his Inſolency and Preſumption ſcorning them as much as they hated him; and to let them know he did ſo, he wou'd frequently give 'em Nick-Names, calling *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, tho' of the Royal Blood, *The Stage-Player*; terming *Aymer de Valance*, Earl of *Pembrook*, *Joſeph the Jew*; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, *The Black Dog of Ardern*: Which Scoffs do generally leave behind them a Sting of Revenge, eſpecially where they touch; as *Gaveſton* ſoon found: For this ſo enrag'd the Nobility, that they preſs for *Gaveſton*'s Baniſhment, at a time when all things were prepar'd, and ſeveral Royal Gueſts arriv'd, to ſee his Coronation; which, without the King wou'd baniſh *Gaveſton*, they threaten'd to hinder. The King,

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purſu'd always with a fatal Unſteadineſs, to avoid ſo great a Diſgrace, yields to their Demands, and faithfully promiſed to do what they demanded in the next Parliament: And yet after he had promis'd the Baniſhing of *Gaveſton*, (which to be ſure he ſecretly intended never to perform) he permits him to carry the Crown of St. *Edward* before him at his Coronation: Which aggravated the Lords ſo much, that the next Parliament they proceeded much higher; and purſuing their Advantage, the King not only grants them Power to draw Articles, but takes his Oath to confirm whatever they concluded. And *Gaveſton* was again baniſhed, being ſent by the King into *Ireland*, not ſo much an Exile, as Lord-Lieutenant of the Countrey: But the King being impatient of his Abſence, and not enduring to be without his Company, appear'd himſelf, whilſt *Gaveſton* was abſent, more like one baniſh'd than he; and never ceas'd ſecretly working, till he had found means to recall him again; and when he came, receiv'd him with that Exceſs of inconſiderate Joy and Kindneſs, that it ſeem'd as if *Gaveſton* brought always ſuch Charms along with him, as were more powerful than any Divine or Human Obligation.

But this Return of *Gaveſton*, with a ſtill greater Increaſe of Favour, rekindled ſuch a Fury in the Barons, that they plainly told the King, *That unleſs* Gaveſton *were immediately Baniſhed, they wou'd proceed againſt him as a perjured Prince.* And that which ſo much Emboldened the Lords, was, That they had found the King was moſt inclin'd to grant, when he was moſt afraid to deny: Which Diſpoſition was not only very dangerous to himſelf, but to his Favourite too: And this *Gaveſton*'s frequent Baniſhments, and at laſt his Ruine, clearly juſtify'd: Tho', to ſpeak the Truth, 'tis hard for any Prince, tho' more reſolv'd than *Edward* of *Carnarvan*, to ſecure the Condition of an Envy'd Favourite againſt the Weight of a diſpleas'd and injur'd Nation.

It was this juſt Reſentment of the Barons againſt *Gaveſton*, and their ſharp Proceedings with the King, that procur'd his laſt Baniſhment; ſo much worſe for *Gaveſton* than the former, as that now *Ireland* was to be no more a Place of Refuge to him: Nor cou'd he hope for any Entertainment in *France*; Queen *Iſabel* having complain'd to the *French* King her Father, That *Gaveſton* had withdrawn the Affections of the King her Husband from her; and with his Love, a conſiderable Part of her Allowance had been likewiſe took away: Of which, the *French* King had complain'd to his Son-in-law in vain, ſo powerful an Aſcendant had this Favourite over him. And therefore *France* did of all Places ſeem the moſt unſafe, by reaſon of the Power and Intereſt of the King of *France*, who wou'd be ſure, whene'er he came within his Reach, to Revenge his Daughter's Injuries upon this Powerful Favourite. And it ſeems *Gaveſton* himſelf was ſenſible enough of this, whilſt in his Baniſhment; and found all Places ſo unſafe, that tho' he knew there was a Law

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againſt him, by which, if he were found again within the Kingdom, he was to ſuffer Death as an Enemy to the State; he rather choſe (when he had lurk'd a while in *Flanders*) to return back to *England*, and there ſeek for a Shelter in the Boſom of the King, (a Sanctuary which he hop'd wou'd not be violated) than to expoſe himſelf to Foreign Dangers: And into *England* back again he comes; and is again (according to his Expectations) receiv'd with all th' Exceſs of inconſiderate Joy the King cou'd ſhew: The Satisfaction of having *Gaveſton* again, o'er-ballancing with him all the Diſturbance that it cou'd create throughout the Nation; yea, tho' it made his Subjects as careleſs of their Duty and Affections, as they had found him of his Oaths and Promiſes: And that he might the better ſecure his welcome Favourite, he carries him into the North, hoping that there the Eye of Envy might not find him out.

It was at *York* this Year that the King kept his *Chriſtmas*, where all the great Rejoycing ſeem'd to proceed from his enjoying *Gaveſton* again: Which ſo inflam'd the Lords, for all the Diſtance, who now look'd on themſelves to be deſpis'd and injur'd to the laſt Degree, that they reſolv'd ſtraight to betake themſelves to Arms; and for their Leader, chole *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was the Son of *Edmond* the Second Son of *Henry* the Third; and who was likewiſe Earl of *Leiceſter* and *Ferrers*, and by Marriage, of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury* too; a moſt powerful and popular Subject. Upon which, the Barons aſſembled at *Bedford*, making the Earl of *Glouceſter Cuſtos Angliæ*; and then taking care to guard the Seas, leſt Strangers ſhould come in to aid the King, with their united Power they march'd to *York*, where *Gaveſton* was left; who fled from thence to *Scarborow*, where they cloſely beſieg'd him: Who having now no Means of Safety, but the Hopes of getting once more into the Preſence of the King, he delivers up himſelf upon thoſe Terms; the Earl of *Pembrook* undertaking upon his Honour that he ſhould; and in order thereto, brought him to a Manor of his between *Warwick* and *Oxford*: But the very next Morning, the Earl of *Warwick* comes, and by Force takes him away, and carries him to *Warwick-Caſtle*; where, after ſome Conſultation among the Lords, he was brought to a Place then called *Blacklow*, and there in their Preſence he was beheaded; the King interceding, tho' to no Purpoſe, to have the Fatal Blow prevented. And this was the End of *Pierce Gaveſton*; who being the firſt Privado we have yet had to do with in our Secret Hiſtory, it will be no Digreſſion, we preſume, to enquire a little what this great Favourite was, and what were the Reaſons of the King's Affection to him, and of the Barons Averſion.

*Pierce Gaveſton* was born in *Gaſcoine*, and for the great Services his Father had done to the Crown of *England*, was entertain'd and bred up by King *Edward* the firſt, in the

the Company of his Son the Prince; being of a Perſon very Charming, of a ſharp Wit, an undaunted Spirit, and of great Courage, as ſufficiently appear'd by the Turnament, which he held at *Wallingford*, wherein he Challeng'd (after his haughty manner) the beſt of the Nobility, and foil'd 'em alſo; which made him inſupportably imperious; and that inflam'd the Anger of the Lords againſt him. For being rais'd to Power, he grew from all Evenneſs of Temper, and was as Inſolent as he was Great. And his Mind and Frame being equally fitted for Luxury, by how much he was the more acceptable to the King, by ſo much he was abhorr'd by the Nobility; as one who by his Senſuality, drew King *Edward* from the thought of all great Enterprizes; whilſt himſelf revelled in the Exceſs of outward Delights, waſting the Riches of the Kingdom, or converting it to his own private Uſe: It was from the Obſervation of this Luxurious Temper of *Gaveſtone*, and the vicious Exceſſes into which he thereby drew the Prince, that King *Edward* the Firſt baniſh'd him the Realm, and enjoyn'd his Son upon his Death-Bed never to recal him. But *Gaveſtone* had got too great an Intereſt in the King, by the likeneſs of his Temper and Diſpoſition to that of the Kings, for him to obſerve what his Father enjoyn'd him; or otherwiſe he wou'd have ſuffer'd him to tarry abroad, at leaſt till his Father's Funeral was over, that his own Perjury might not be ſo apparent. But one great Reaſon of the Kings Fondneſs to *Gaveſton*, was, That having been let into the Kings Secret Deſigns, and Knowing how irregular his Inclinations were, he was willing to flatter him therein: For thoſe of the looſeſt and moſt debauch'd Principles, are apteſt to feed the humours of thoſe Princes, who love to be nouriſh'd by ſoft Flatteries: For ſuch even tempt their Tempters, by ſuffering them to creep into Power, who are perpetually whiſpering to 'em, how they may Enlarge theirs: It was by this *Gaveſton* came to have ſo great a ſhare in his Princes Favour, being a greater Counſellor to his Humours than his Intereſt: And by his perpetual Flatteries betraying him to the Temptation of unlimitted Power: And this Violent Driving of Things into Extreams, was the Fall of King *Edward*, who when he had Power, ſhew'd no Moderation; and when he wanted it, betray'd as much Dejection. But enough has been ſaid of the Favour and Fate of *Gaveſton*.

Soon after this, the King (who could not live without a Minion) takes the two *Spencers* into his Favour; Men for more Vicious than *Gaveſton*; and conſequently were quickly as much hated, or rather more; for in them not one good Quality cou'd be ever trac'd: They were Men never ſatisfied with Wealth, nor ever ſatiated with Revenge: The Riches of the Nation ſeem'd but enough to ſatisfie their Ambitions, and the Deſtruction of it to ſecure their Safeties: They

firſt juſtly made Men their Enemies, and then deſtroy'd them for being ſo. The younger *Spencer* had been bred in an unbecoming Familiarity with the King, (to ſay no worſe of it) and had obtain'd an abſolute Empire over him, ſucceeding *Gaveſton* in an almoſt-unlimited Favour and Power: Which firſt appear'd at the Siege of *Berwick*, which being ready to be taken from the *Scots*, the King openly declar'd (what he had before ſecretly deſign'd) that the young *Spencer* ſhou'd be Governour of it. Upon which, the Earl of *Lancaſter* withdrew his Forces, with whom the Lords preſently took Arms, and declar'd the Cauſe to be for the Removing the *Spencers*: Nor was it without Reaſon that the Earl of *Lancaſter* declar'd himſelf againſt the *Spencers*, when they had ſet on ſo mean a Perſon as one *Richard St. Martin* to claim the Earl's Wife, as having lain with her, and to take her away by Force; claiming likewiſe by her the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*: Which, had he not been ſecretly ſupported by the Power of the *Spencers*, he durſt never have done; conſidering how great a Perſon the Earl of *Lancaſter* was, as being of the Blood-Royal, and the King's near Kinſman.

The Lords with their Forces advance towards the King, and boldly demand the Baniſhment of the *Spencers*: To which the King, being not ſtrong enough to oppoſe them, ſeems willing to comply; ſecretly deſigning only to gain time; and therefore declares he is willing they ſhou'd be puniſh'd, ſo it be by Form of Law; but wou'd not baniſh them unheard, but promiſes they ſhould anſwer to any Charge; and ſwore (what he never intended to perform) that he would never pardon their Offences, if prov'd. But this Equivocal Anſwer of the King's, did not ſatisfie the Lords; who therefore continu'd their March to *London*, where the King grants whatever he had before deny'd. But his After-Actions apparently ſhew'd he had at the ſame time ſecretly reſolv'd no longer to keep his Word, then till he had an opportunity to break it; retaining ſtill his former Inclinations: For he had ſo us'd himſelf to act indirectly, that he did it without force; and rather proceeded in a way familiar to him, than from any New Neceſſity; practiſing as much from Nature as Occaſion. For tho' the *Spencers* by an Edict publiſh'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by the Earl of *Hereford*, were baniſh'd the Realm; yet in a very little time, (when the Lords were return'd home) the Edict was revok'd in a Council held at *London*; over whom the King had ſuch a Secret influence, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* declar'd the Judgment of Baniſhment againſt the *Spencers* was Erroneous.

But this was not all, the King had a Secret deſire of Revenge lay boyling in his Breaſt, againſt the Lords, for what himſelf had granted; as if all his Favours were his Errors, and his Severity his prudent Juſtice: And therefore now that the Lords were all retir'd, and thought themſelves reſtor'd to Peace, the King prepares for War; and on a ſudden raiſing

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Forces, purſues the Barons, many of whom revolt to him; the reſt made what Preparations ſo ſhort a time wou'd give 'em leave, and ſtaid with their Forces at *Burton* upon Trent: But perceiving the Kings Army very much Exceeded theirs in Number, the Earl of *Lancaſter* thought it Wiſeſt to retreat till thoſe Forces he had ſent Sir *Robert Holland* to raiſe among his Tenants were arrived: But this Retreat of the Lords, being judg'd by the Kings Army to ariſe from Fear, increas'd their Courage; who falling upon 'em, after ſome Reſiſtance, put 'em to flight; the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen, being taken Priſoners.

As ſoon as theſe mighty Enemies were in the Kings Power, the *Spencers* (now grown big with Revenge) urg'd ſtrongly for their ſudden Execution: And tho' *Valence* Earl of *Pembrook* interceded for Mercy, yet it rather haſten'd than retarded their Fate: For *Spencer* was ſo apprehenſive that the Kings Mercy to any, would be a Cruelty to him, that he prevail'd for a quick Execution: and thereupon the King with other Lords (among whom was *Hugh Spencer*, now Earl of *Wincheſter*) ſat and gave Judgment upon the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was preſently beheaded, and many other Lords beſides, in their ſeveral Countreys, that the Terror of their Arms might be diſpers'd the further; above twenty Men of Quality being put to Death at this time; which, what ever was pretended, the King Secretly deſign'd as a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Ghoſt of *Gaveſton*, as well as to ſecure himſelf and his New Favourites: Tho' the Event was far otherwiſe: For, how high ſoever the Streams of Court-Flattery might now riſe to the King, applauding his Choice of ſuch Favourites as the *Spencers*; yet they ſoon found the Uncertainty of a Violent Proſperity, which they might aſſure themſelves wou'd now be watch'd over by the Unwearied Searches of Envy and Revenge: And indeed it needed not a very piercing Eye to foreſee that their Violent Actings cou'd not continue long; for being puff'd up with their Succeſs, they ſhew'd too plainly what thew wou'd be at; Law now lay contemn'd under Power; and Will and Pleaſure were the only Meaſures of their Government; any Actions favouring of Juſtice and Moderation, being thought to reflect Shame and Diſhonour on the Prince: So perfectly was all he did, the Reverſe of what he ought to do. But this was but an ill choſen Ground of Safety in it ſelf, and therefore very improper for a Prince, whoſe unſteady Judgment, and ill uſe of Power, had already prepar'd Mens Minds by their Miſtruſt, not to be cozen'd into Slavery.

The Kings Power being now ſwell'd by the Breath of his Flatterers to ſo great an heighth, that he was made to believe nothing was able to reſiſt him: He Reſolves to March with his Forces from *York* into *Scotland*, with what might indeed be call'd a great, but not a Powerful Army; for their Numbers being without Diſcipline and Proviſions, render'd 'em ſo weak,

that they needed not an Enemy to deſtroy them: And this the *Scots* were aware of, who therefore only keeping them from Proviſions, left them to overcome themſelves; as they very quickly did: for their Wants increaſing, they were Beaten without Blows, and return'd back again purſu'd by Want and Diſhonour, as well as by the *Scots*: Who Entering after 'em into *England*, return'd home again with great Spoils.

Upon this Diſhonourable Retreat, the Kings Reputation ſunk Extreamly, and he had now leaſure to think more Calmly upon what he had done; and ſo it appears he did; by the Anſwer he gave to ſome who ſolicited him to pardon one of the Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Followers, but a Man of a mean Condition; *What unjuſt and wicked Counſellors are ye*, ſaid he in a great Paſſion, *to urge me ſo much to ſave the Life of a notorious Varlet, and yet wou'd not ſpeak one Word to ſave the Life of my near Kinſman the Earl of* Lancaſter, *who had he liv'd, might have been uſeful to me and the whole Kingdom.* It was the Kings Misfortune thus gave Him the leiſure of ſo cool a Reflection, which in the Streams of Succeſs he wou'd hardly have Entertain'd: This being rather an unſteady than a firm Return to more Prudent Thoughts and Counſels; for his Nature was ſtill the ſame, which made his Favours or Diſpleaſure equally dangerous: Of which Sir *Andrew Herley*, rais'd to the Earldom of *Caliſle* for taking the Earl of *Lancaſter*, was an inſtance: For growing great enough by his new Honour to give ſome cauſe of Jealouſie to the *Spencers*; or, as ſome will have it, Combining with the *Scots*; hurry'd on thereunto perhaps by the Divine *Nemeſis* that follow'd him, he loſt his New-Enjoyed Honours and his Life together, being firſt Degraded, and then Executed.

Thus far things ſtill went well with the *Spencers*, who having made an abſolute Conqueſt of the King, their Eyes were ſo much dazled with the Wealth and Glory they Enjoyed, that they could not ſee how they were laying the Foundations of their own Ruine, as well as that of the King their Maſter: they had overcome their Enemies, and were ſecure from any Competitors in the Kings Favour,; the Heaven of their Happineſs was all Serene and Calm, nor was there any the leaſt Cloud that threaten'd them with a ſucceeding Storm. And tho' fair Weather is often ſucceeded by foul; yet had not the *Spencers* leiſure to conſider it; the Fortunate and the Ambitious rarely contemplating the Inſtability of Fortune. And hence it was that not contented with the depreſſing of ſo many Noble Men, nor with the Spoils of the Kings Enemies; tho' they had the Sale of his Favours to his Friends to boot, and that all Favours and Honours were purchas'd of them, as in a Common Market, and every thing expos'd as they thought fit; yet it ſeems all this was not enough, but they muſt ſtill farther ſupply their Wants, to the Queens Prejudice, leſſening both her Attendance and

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her Maintenance; by which they ſoon began to raiſe a Storm that was moſt likely to diſturb their proſperous Courſe: For now the Queen that had been hitherto rather a Support, and a means of Compoſing Differences, being touch'd in ſo ſenſible a part, meditated nothing but Revenge for the Injury receiv'd. And by being ſent by the King into *France* to mediate with her Brother about ſome Differences that had aroſe there, ſhe had the better opportunity to meditate Revenge againſt her Husband and the *Spencers*: And manag'd her matters ſo Politickly, that ſhe made it appear neceſſary to the King, to have the Prince ſent over to her, in order to bring things to a fair Accommodation; which being obtain'd, ſhe ſoon began to diſcover that Secret deſire of Revenge which had ſo long been rak'd up in Embers: This being made known to the King by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, the Queen and Prince were Summon'd into *England*: but delaying to return, ſhe and the Prince were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom; and having receiv'd private Intelligence of a Secret Deſign to have the Prince murder'd, and that great Sums were offer'd upon that Account, the Queen withdrew with her Son to *Heynalt*, and there contracting the Prince to *Philippa*, Daughter to the Earl, procur'd both Forces and Money: 'Tis true, her Forces were inconſiderable, but ſhe rely'd more on what ſhe ſhould find in *England*, than on what ſhe brought with her; being well aſſur'd that any thing wou'd be welcome to the *Engliſh* that brought but the leaſt ſhew of Redeeming them from the Oppreſſions they ſuffer'd under: Upon theſe Conſiderations ſhe ventur'd to Sea, and Landed near *Harwich*; where ſhe ſoon found all he Conjectures true, many Lords and others immediately repairing to her. And now the King too late began to ſee the dire Effects of thoſe ill Counſels he had taken; but tho' he ſaw it, yet 'twas too late to repair thoſe Misfortunes which his Errors had brought him into: Where-ever he went, he found no Subjects, for he had loſt their Hearts before: But led by as uncertain Counſels as thoſe he had govern'd his Life by, knew not where to fly, but only fled; not knowing what Place to propoſe for himſelf, where he had not reaſon to expect certain Enemies, or at leaſt uncertain Friends: What he had laſt reſolv'd on, was for the Iſle of *Lundy*; taking with him the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and (the Author of all his Misfortunes,) the *Spencers* and *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and ſome few others, with whom he takes Shipping: See here the ſtrange Extreams of Fortune! They that before cou'd not content themſelves with ſo much Plenty and ſo large Dominion, ſhew'd now no more Ambition than what a Small and Naked Iſland cou'd Satisfie; where Safety was their only Hope, and a Choſen Priſon their Liberty.

The Queen with ſtill-increaſing Forces, purſues her flying Husband; and from *Oxford* marches to *Glouceſter*, and from

thence to *Briſtol*; where the King had put the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Spencer* the Father, to defend the Place: Which tho' fortify'd as well as time wou'd give leave, ſoon yielded to that Succeſs which ſeem'd to deny all hopes to the Kings declining Condition: And here *Spencer* was taken, and Executed (being hang'd and quarter'd) with all the Rigor that cou'd be ſhewn by perſons bent upon Revenge; taking that Life away by Violence, which muſt in a little time have reſign'd to Nature; being then above Fourſcore years old: But this is particularly obſervable in his Death, That as he and his Son had all along bid defiance to the Law; ſo he was now Executed in contempt of it, being condemn'd without any Tryal.

There was about this time Proclamation made, That if the King wou'd come in, and conform himſelf to the Laws and Government, he ſhou'd be reſtor'd by the General Conſent of the People: But the King either wou'd not, or his Favourite *Spencer* durſt not, let him truſt this Declaration. For being Conſcious of his own guilt, and knowing his Condition deſperate, he held his King the faſter, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by the ruine of his Prince. But the King, not Complying with this Proclamation, was ſtill eagerly purſu'd by the Queen, and ſoon after taken Priſoner with his Favourite *Spencer*, (as if, the King muſt always appear inſeparable from the Cauſe of his Misfortunes) by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to him that was beheaded at *Pomfret*.

*Spencer* was carried along to grace the Queens Marching Triumph; and as the Chief Cauſe of her taking Arms, was render'd as contemptible a Spectacle as poſſible; and Expos'd in a fitting Poſture to increaſe the Scorns and Reproaches that uſe to attend ſuch miſerable Objects; and at laſt hang'd upon a Gallous fifty Foot high, in his Coat Armour, whereon was Written, *Quid gloriaris in Malitia?* Pſal. 52. 1.

The King was convey'd to the Caſtle of *Kennelworth*, where he continued till *Candlemas* following; at which time a Parliament was held at *London*, where it was adjudg'd, *That* Edward *the Second was no longer fit to wear the Crown; and for his Male-Adminiſtration of the Royal Authority, was therefore Deſpoſed, and his Son to be Elected King.* To this the Biſhops conſented, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Preaching upon this occaſion, choſe for his Text, *Vox Populi Vox Dei.*

The Queen with a Counterfeited Sorrow, when ſhe heard of this heavy Sentence of Depoſing the King her Husband, ſeem'd to ſink under the Weight that he was to bear; and ſo to act the part of a good Wife, in ſharing the Misfortune of her Husband: But ſhe that had by force ſo eagerly purſu'd him, till ſhe had brought him into that Condition, cou'd now hardly with Counterfeited Tears and feigned Lamentations perſwade any to believe that ſhe really deplor'd it. Eſpecially conſidering that unlawful Paſſion for *Mortimer*,

*timer*, which had ſo long and violently govern'd her. However her pretended Grief had that real Effect upon the Prince her Son, that he declar'd he wou'd never accept the Crown but by his Fathers Conſent: Upon which, Commiſſioners from the Parliament (or Convention) were ſent to the King, (which conſiſted of three Biſhops, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Warren*, two Juſtices, two Barons, four Members for the City of *London*, and three Knights for every Shire, to repreſent the Counties, with a certain Number of Burgeſſes, eſpecially of the Cinque Ports) to declare to him the Election of his Son, and to require of him the Renuntiation of his Crown and Royal Dignity: The King was firſt privately acquainted with this Meſſage by the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*,; who alſo went to perſwade him to Reſign the Crown; aſſuring him he ſhou'd live more happy than before; and that he ſhou'd only Reſign his Cares, enjoying an undiſturb'd and quiet Plenty. Threatning alſo, that if he were vainly obſtinate, not to grant what the People were reſolv'd to take, and which was deſir'd of him to ſatisfie the Prince his Son, he wou'dn't thereby prevent his own Fate, but only bring a Misfortune upon his Poſterity; for in that caſe the People wou'd chooſe a King that had no Relation to his Blood.-

The Commiſſioners being arrived that were to receive his Reſignation, the King came forth before 'em in a Mourning Robe, (ſuch as beſt Suited with that ſad Solemnity) and at the firſt ſight of them, the Buſineſs about which they came, ſtruck ſuch a damp upon his Spirits, that he immediately ſunk down; which created ſome Compaſſion in moſt of the Beholders: But being in a little time reviv'd again, the Biſhop of *Hereford* deliver'd the Subject matter of their Commiſſion; which was, *That the Commonwealth had found his Government to be grievous and oppreſſive, which had been prov'd by many Particulars before the General Aſſembly of the States of the Kingdom at* London, *for which they had reſolv'd he ſhould be no longer King over them: But yet they were willing to Elect his Son to wear the Crown; which if he ſhou'd refuſe to Reſign to him; they were reſolv'd not only to Reject Him, but wou'd chooſe a Man that might be proper for the Support, of the Goverment, and Defence of the Kingdom, without any Conſideration of being related to his Blood.*

After the King had thus heard the Reſolution of the General Aſſembly at *London*, deliver'd to him, he receiv'd the heavy Tidings with a Grief proportionable to its Cauſe. But fearing leſt his denying to reſign his Crown, ſhould involve his Son and his Poſterity in his own hard Fate, he told Them, *That he ſubmitted to all things with the more Patience becauſe he had indeed been miſguided* (the common Excuſe of a poor Spirit) *and done many things, whereof now he repented; and which if he were to govern again, he wou'd avoid;*

*but how culpable soever he had been, yet it cou'd not but aggravate his Calamity, to find his People were possess'd with such a hatred to him, that they wou'd no longer Endure him for their Sovereign, nor suffer him any more to Reign over them: But that under these hard Circumstances, if his Condition cou'd admit of any Consolation, it must proceed from the Kindness they had still retained for his Son; and thank'd them for that Testimony of it they had given him, in Electing him their King.*

After this Speech of the Kings, they proceeded to the Ceremony of his Resignation, which consisted chiefly in the Surrendering up the Royal Ensigns: Which being done, the Commissioners caus'd a formal Renunciation of his Royal Power, to be drawn up, and afterwards pronounc'd by one of the Judges, whose Name was *William Trussel*, which he did in these Words:

**Unto thee, O King, I** William Trussel, **in the Name of all Men of this Land of** ENGLAND, **and Prolocutor of this Parliament, Resign to thee** EDWARD, **the Homage that was made to thee some time: And from this time forth, I Defie thee, and Deprive thee of all Royal Power: And I shall never be Attendant on thee as King, after this time.**

Which being pronounc'd, Sir *Thomas Blount*, Steward of the Kings House, by breaking his Staff, Resigned his Office, and Dissolv'd the House-hold. And then the Commissioners with the Royal Ensigns return'd to *London*; and reported to the Convention the Kings Resignation, who presently Elected his Son, by the Name of *Edward* the Third, for their King.

The unhappy *Edward* of *Carnarvan* (now no more a King) was kept in Confinement with a Small Allowance; that he might not in any thing resemble a Prince: And suffer'd now for his unsteady Errors, as much by the wounding Reflection of their Memory, as by what he Endured for them: Seeing, when too late, the Unhappyness of his losing those Friends that cou'd preserve him, and keeping none but such as cou'd help only to destroy him. Princes are too apt to believe that the Right of Power shou'd preserve them, how unjustly soever they use it; but they will find at last, that the injur'd People will Revenge their Wrongs with as much want of Tenderness as they have shewn in their oppressing of 'em. And so King *Edward*, to his cost found it. For those that had taken away his Crown, were not Satisfied whilst he liv'd,

liv'd, I mean his Queen and *Mortimer*; who conſulting with her Oracle the Biſhop of *Hereford*, caus'd him to be remov'd from his Kinſman, the Earl of *Leiceſter's*, where they thought he was us'd too kindly; and committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Gurney* and *John Matravers*, with a Commiſſion to carry him where they wou'd, and probably to deſtroy him how they pleas'd. Being beſides Encourag'd by a dark Sentence writ by the fore-mention'd Biſhop, which was,

*Edvardum Regem Occidere Nolite timere bonum eſt.*

Which being not pointed, at once gave an Encouragement to them, and conceal'd an Excuſe for himſelf. For ſoon after the Receipt thereof, they brought him to *Berkly Caſtle*, where he was wickedly Murthered by them, with a hot Iron thruſt through a Pipe behind into his Bowels, that the Marks of their Violence might not be perceiv'd.

And yet as cruelly as he was murther'd, his Death was not perhaps more miſerable or grievous to him than his Life; being forſaken of all his Subjects, Friends, and Allies in general; and particularly of his own Wife, Son, and Brother; and even of himſelf too, conſidering with what ſtrange Abjection of Spirit he firſt reſign'd his Crown, and then his Life. —— He was the firſt that caus'd the Royal Blood of *England* to be ſhed upon a Scaffold, in the Perſon of his Kinſman, *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*; and ſhed more Blood of the Nobility by Publick Executions, than all the Kings that were before him ſince *William* the Firſt. No wonder therefore he ſhould loſe his Kingdom, even before it was taken from him; ſince by betraying himſelf firſt, he taught others to do it afterwards. He was a Man given up to his Pleaſures, and obſtinately Wedded to his own Will: Under apprehenſions of Danger, he wou'd Vow and Swear to any thing; and when he thought the Danger was over, he wou'd break all his Oaths and Promiſes with the ſame Facility as he had made them; as was but too Evident by the many Prejuries he was guilty of, with reſpect to his Favourite *Gaveſton*. In ſhort, he was the Diſgrace of the Nation while he liv'd, and brought nothing but Diſhonour to it by his Death. Having this Character long ſince given him, "That he was a Man given to all ſorts of unworthy Va-
" nities and ſinful Delights: The Scourge and Diſgrace of
" this Nation in *Scotland*, againſt a handful of Men with the
" greateſt ſtrength of *England*. After ſo many Perjuries about
" his Favourite *Gaveſton*, and Slaughter of the Nobility, he
" is Depos'd and Murdered.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the Third.

EDWARD *the Third was Born at* Windſor, *and being Elected King of* England, *after his Father King* Edward *the Second was Depoſed; was Crowned at* Weſtminſter *by* Walter Reignolds *Arhbiſhop of* Canterbury, *being but Fifteen years of Age: A Diſhonourable Peace is made with* Scotland; *a Parliament meet at* Nottingham, *wherein* Mortimer *is Arraign'd for High Treaſon, Condemn'd, and Executed, being brought to* London, *drawn to* Tyburn, *and there Hang'd. King* Edward *is Summon'd by* Philip de Valois *of* France *to do him Homage. After great Contentions between* England *and* Scotland *a Peace is concluded, and* David le Bruce, *the young Prince of* Scotland, *is Married to* Jane, *King* Edwards *Siſter. The King Marries* Philippa, *the Earl of* Heynault's *Daughter, at* York, *with whom he lived 42 years. A great Battel at* Hailidown Hill, *in which were ſlain of the* Scots *Eight Earls, Four hundred Knights and Baroners, Four hundred Eſquires, and Thirty five thouſand common Soldiers. The King lays claim to the Crown of* France, *and with Two hundred Ships fight with Three hundred Ships of the* French, *and kills Thirty three thouſand of their Men. He firſt inſtitutes the Honourable Order of the Garter: Fights the famous Battel of* Creſſy *in* France, *in which the King of* Bohemia, *and Ten other Princes, with many Knight, Baronets, Eſquires, and Thirty thouſand Soldiers of the* French *were ſlain. After which, the* Scots *were defeated by the Queen, and* David *King of* Scots *taken Priſoner. The King ſoon after beſieges* Calice, *and at laſt takes it; and the* Black Prince, *King* Edwards *Son, beats the* French *Army at* Poictiers, *and takes* John *King of* France, *and his Son* Philip, *Priſoners; with a vaſt ſlaughter of Noblemen, Knights, Eſquires, and common Soldiers; after which the King goes over into* France *with a great Army, Subdues many Places there, and Quarters the Arms of* France *with thoſe of* England. David *King of* Scotland, *after Eleven years Impriſonment, is ſet at liberty, paying One hundred thouſand Marks Sterling for his Ranſome; and ſo likewiſe is* John *King of* France, *after four Years Impriſonment, upon a Peace concluded, and Ten hundred thouſand Pound paid for his Ranſome.* Edward *the* Black Prince *dies, leaving his Son* Richard *behind him; who was by his Grand-*

*father*

*father created Earl of* Chester *and* Cornwall, *and then Prince of* Wales, *and afterwards succeeded to the Crown*: *King* Edward, *having had by his Queen* Philippa *Seven Sons and Four Daughters*; *after a Reign of Fifty Years, died at his Manor of* Sheen (*now* Richmond) *in* Surrey, *the* 21*th of* June 1377. *in the Sixty fourth year of his Age.* Thus far his General History.

His Secret History; Amongst all the Kings of *England* from *William* the First to this Day, there is no Prince more celebrated by Historians than this our Third *Edward*; occasion'd Principally by the many Victories with which Providence favour'd him, over *Scotland* and *France*; both whose Kings are his Prisoners in *England* for a considerable time: And then the Extraordinary Vertues of the truly brave *Black Prince* his Son, caus'd the Vices of the Father to be less taken notice of. Notwithstanding all which, this very Prince has left marks enough behind him to show whose Son he was, and that he was a Descendant of the *Norman* Race; one that was for exalting his Prerogative, to the Depression of the just Liberties of the Subject; and cou'd to that end be as forward in Promising, and as ready afterwards to break his Promises, as any of his Predecessors: Which was so much the worse in this King than in another, as one that had the Example of his Father recent before him; And in which himself was thought to be so much concern'd, that it left a Blemish upon his Memory; and such a one as cou'd not be purg'd away by all the After-Glories of his Reign: For however he was at the time of committing that horrid Fact of his Father's foul and most unnatural Murder (a Crime no less odious for the circumstance, than the boldness of the cruelty) under the Government of his Mother, as she was under that of her Minion *Mortimer*; yet being then Master of so much reason as to pause, as he did, upon the first motion of the offer of the Crown, it cannot but be presum'd that he was Master of so much Power as to have prevented the haste of the Execution, since it was a violation of the Law of Nature. And tho' some wou'd argue his Piety from the early Execution of *Mortimer*; yet considering how *Mortimer* liv'd with his Mother, and had Usurp'd the Administration and Management of all Affairs, it will to an impartial Judge look more like a piece of Revenge than Justice: And serv'd only to throw the Odium of that Murder upon another, the Guilt whereof lay upon himself; his Father's Death putting an end to those Factions & Sidings which his Life mght have occasion'd, and making him sit more securely (tho' much more guiltily) upon his Throne. And that which makes this more than probable, is the Fate of his Uncle *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, Brother to the Deposed King his Father, who was Accus'd and Condemn'd upon his Confession, for intending the Restoration of his Brother, and conferring with divers great Men concerning the same; tho' nothing was acted therein. For this offence he

was

was brought to the Block; the unfortunate Earl being forc'd to ſtand upon the Scaffold from One of the Clock till Five, before an Executioner cou'd be gotten to diſpatch him, ſo much was he beloved; at laſt an abject Fellow was releas'd out of the Priſon of the *Marſhalſea* to be his Executioner, by whom he was Beheaded; and the Royal Blood of *England* a Second time ſhed on a Scaffold. And this Kings Reign dy'd with the Blood both of a Father and an Uncle.

And now to the Diſhonour of the Kingdom, and its irrepairable loſs, a Peace is concluded with the *Scots*; but ſuch a Diſhonourable one, as has left an indelible ſtain upon his Memory; for by the Secret workings of the Queen Mother, the King ſurrenders to the *Scots*, by his Charter, his Title of Soveraignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and reſtores divers Deeds and Inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties; with the Famous Evidence call'd *Ragmans Roll*; and many Ancient Jewels and Monuments, amongſt which was the Black Croſs of *Scotland*, *&c.* and any *Engliſh*-man is prohibited to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unleſs he dwelt there. And in conſideration of all this, King *Bruce* was to pay Thirty thouſand Marks: A Price ſo ſmall, in compariſon of the Value of what we parted with, that King *Edward* ſold them a very lumping Pennyworth: And *Mortimer*'s ignominious Death, who was charg'd to have procured this Peace, (tho' his Body hung upon the Gallows (*Tyburn*) for Two Days and Two Nights) was no ſufficient compenſation.

This King ſpent moſt of his time in the Wars of *France* to make good his Title to that Crown; which his poor Subjects felt in their Eſtates and Families; And it was a happineſs to them that he was ſo much abroad, for whenever he came home, as he wanted Money, ſo the People got ground to urge their Priviledges; by which means *Magna Charta* was at leaſt Twelve times confirmed in this Kings Reign, and ſtill as often broken: For tho this King is ſo much cry'd up for a good Prince, and the beſt that Reign'd ſo long and ſo well; yet the following Inſtances will not ſhew him to be ſuch; or will at leaſt ſhew us, if he were ſo, that bad's the beſt: The Inſtance we ſhall mention, is concerning his Engagements to perform the grand Charter: This King, in the Parliament held in the Fifteenth year of his Reign, had granted and given the Royal Aſſent to divers wholeſome and ſeaſonable Laws, which he engaged for himſelf and his Heirs, That they ſhould be firmly kept, and remain inviolable for ever, for the Ratification of *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws formerly Enacted; and that all the Officers of State, as Chancellors, Treaſurers, Barons of the Exchequer, Judges, *&c.* ſhould at that preſent in Parliament, and for ever after, take a ſolemn Oath, before their Admiſſion to their Offices, to keep and maintain the great Charter and the Charter of the Foreſt, *&c.* But no ſooner was the Parliament Diſſolved, but the very ſame year he publickly revoked

voked these Statutes, pretending that they were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and to his Prerogative and Rights Royal; *Wherefore we are willing* (saith he) *providently to revoke those things we have so improvidently done*; *because* (saith he) (mark the Dissimulation of Princes, even in Parliaments) *we never* REALLY *consented to the making of them*; *but, as then it behoved us, We* Dissembled *in the Premises, by Protestations of Revocation*; *if indeed they should proceed to secure the Dangers which by denying the same we feared to come.* The sum of which words is this: The King wanted Money; the Parliament wou'd give none without their Liberties (contain'd in the great Charter, and Charter of the Forest) were confirmed: This the King was unwilling to confirm, because it took from him the Power of unjustly oppressing his Subjects at his own Will and Pleasure, (and Arbitrary Power is such a Tempting Bait to Princes, that no former Experience of its fatal Effects, nor consideration of what may be the following consequence, can keep 'em from Nibling at it.) But finding without Conceding to the Desires of his People in the Confirmation of their Liberties, (which yet was no more than his Coronation Oath oblig'd him to) no Money was to be had, which was the thing he chiefly wanted, he Dissemblingly passes those Laws, with a Secret Design soon after to break 'em; as indeed he did. Now what can be more base and unworthy of a King, than thus to Dissemble with his People!

The Publick Transactions of this King abroad, I will leave to the Writers of his General History: only let me observe, That when King *Edward* had besieg'd *Tournay*, and *Philip de Valois* the *French* King was, in order to relieve it, preparing to Engage with King *Edward*, the Eyes of all Christendom looking to see the Event of so considerable an Action, *Jane de Valois*, the Sister of King *Philip*, and the Mother of King *Edward*'s Wife, mediating between her Brother and her Son-in-law, caus'd a Truce to be concluded for a year; both the Kings dissolving their Armies, King *Philip* going to *Paris*, and King *Edward* and his Queen returning for *England*: Now tho' King *Edward* pretended to yield to the making of a Truce, solely at the Desire and Mediation of his Mother-in-law, the Secret and true Reason was, the want of fresh Supplies, his Treasure being Exhausted, notwithstanding those mighty Impositions which were laid upon his People, to furnish him for his undertaking, or else he would not so easily have condescended to a Truce.

The King upon his last going into *France*, had in great Displeasure remov'd his Chancellor, and imprisoned his Treasurer, with several other Officers, whereof most were Clergy-Men; which were very much Employed by this King in the chief Places of Trust; not so much out of love to them, as to himself; for the King thinking by reason of their Vow of Celebacy, they wou'd be more free from Temptations to defraud him, than those that had Families to take

care

care of, and Children to provide for; generally made uſe of 'em where the greateſt truſt was requir'd: And he had another Secret deſign therein likewiſe; which was, That if he ſometimes made them refund what they had gotten under him, perhaps too by the Oppreſſion of his Subjects; they had neither Wife nor Children to Clamour againſt him: And thoſe who had been oppreſs'd by 'em, wou'd think 'em well enough ſerv'd, having much rather the King ſhou'd have it than they. But to return to what I was about to relate. The King having (as I ſaid before,) impriſoned ſeveral of his Officers, where they ſtill remained, *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (whom the King chiefly blam'd for the Neceſſities he now lay under) writes him a Letter which fully diſcovers the face of thoſe times, and ſhews what were the Grievances which the Subjects then lay under; boldly and plainly letting him know that it was for the Safety of Kings and their Kingdoms, to uſe grave and wiſe Counſellors, laying many Examples out of Sacred Writ before him, by which he might ſee the happineſs of thoſe that took ſuch a Courſe, and their Infelicity that follow'd the Contrary: And then bids him remember how his Father led by Evil Counſel had almoſt ruin'd the Kingdom; putting to Death divers of the Nobility, contrary to the Law of the Land; and then adviſ'd him to conſider how fatal the iſſue of it was at laſt. Then he tells him how he himſelf at firſt had through Evil Counſel almoſt loſt the hearts of his People; but that by the great Circumſpection and Care of his Prelates and Nobles, his Miſcarriages were retriev'd, and the Love of his People recovered to that degree, that both Clergy and Layety have given him their Aſſiſtance, beyond what they had done to any of his Progenitors; whereby he had triumph'd over his Enemies, the *French* and *Scots*, by which means he has obtain'd the greateſt Reputation of any Prince in Chriſtendom. But notwithſtanding all that, he tells him that at this preſent, through the wicked Counſel of ſome that are about him, who ſeek their own Profit, more than his Honour, or the Welfare of his People, he had cauſed both Clergy-Men and others, to be arreſted and kept in Priſon by undue Proceedings, contrary to the Laws of *England*, (which he was bound by his Coronation Oath to obſerve) and againſt *Magna Charta*, which whoſoever ſhall preſume to infringe, are to be by the Prelates, (according to the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Fourth) Excommunicate: So that hereby he incurred both Danger to his Soul, and Detriment to his Eſtate and Honour: He then likewiſe tells him, That if he proceeded further in this manner, he wou'd quickly loſe both the hearts of his People, and their help; whereby he wou'd be unable to proſecute the War he had undertaken, and be forc'd to ſubject himſelf to the Will of his Enemies, to the Overthrow

throw of his Honour and the Kingdom: And adviſes him therefore to aſſemble the Nobles, and prudent men of the Land, and to conſult with them concerning what was amiſs, that it might be rectified. And whereas (continued the Archbiſhop) certain Perſons near about you by their Adulation and Flattery, falſly betray and deceive you, We here denounce them Excommunicate, and beſeech you, as your Spiritual Father, that you hold them ſo: Concluding, That whereas through the negligence of his Miniſters, the City of *Tournay* was hindred from being taken, it was neceſſary that that matter ſhou'd be Examined in Parliament; and Enquiry made to whoſe hands from the beginning of the War, the Wools and Moneys were committed to be beſtowed; and in whom the fault lay, that the City of *Tournay* was not taken, but came to be left ſo. And that as an Equal and Wiſe Prince, he wou'd chaſtiſe ſuch as were found Culpable; and not condemn his Subjects without ſufficient Tryal.

But the Archbiſhop finding but little effect of this Letter to the King, writ alſo to the Chancellour, *Robert Bouſer*, ſhewing him what large Contributions the Clergy by their free Conſents had yielded to the King, and that none other were to be Exacted of them. Requiring him to do nothing prejudicial to the Law of *Magna Charta*; and that if any Writ, Commiſſion, or Precept, had gone out of the *Chancery* contrary thereunto, or to the Priviledges and Liberties of the Church or Kingdom, he ſhould within ten days after the Receipt of theſe his Letters (as, ſaid the Archbiſhop, the Chancellor was bound to do) revoke and annul theſame.)

But it ſeems neither the King nor the Chancellour gave that regard to the Archbiſhops Letter that he Expected, and therefore he ſends a third Letter, which he directed to the King and his whole Councel, declaring, That whereas, contrary to the Priviledges and Liberties of the Church and Kingdom, contained in *Magna Charta*, *John de* St. *Paul*, *Michael de Wath*, *Robert Chickwil*, *John Thork* and *Henry Stratford*, were Arreſted, committed to Priſon, and there detained, without being indicted or convicted of any notorious Crime; and that whoſoever were aiding or counſelling to this proceeding, had incurred the Sentence of the Cannon, which he had cauſed to be publiſhed both in his own Dioceſs, and in all other of his Suffragans; and therefore he beſought the King and his whole Councel, without delay, to deliver the ſaid Priſoners; otherwiſe, that according to his Paſtoral charge, he muſt proceed to the Execution of the Sentence, concluding how notwithſtanding it was not his Intention to include therein the King, Queen, or their Children, ſo far as they might by Law be Excuſed. Thus we ſee the King was for hearkening to Evil Counſellors, and oppreſſing his People, contrary to his Oath, and to the Laws which he had himſelf ſo often confirmed.

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In the 50th year of his Reign, A Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter*, which had the Name of the good Parliament; the Occaſion of its being called, was to Cure the Diſeaſes of the State; for (ſays my Author) *the King is miſled, his Treaſure Exhauſted, and his Affairs ill managed*; in this Parliament the Kings Wants are opened, and Supplies required: But the whole Body of the Aſſembly, weary, of bearing theſe continual Burthens, inſtead of Contributions, Exhibit Complaints, charging the Kings Officers with Fraud, and humbly craving that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlain, and *Dame Alice Pierce*, the Kings Concubine, (*Anglice*, *Whore*) and one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be remov'd from Court. And theſe Complaints of the Commons are ſo vehemently urg'd by Sir *Peter dela Mare* their Speaker, that the King choſe to comply therewith, rather than not not be ſupply'd: And thereupon all theſe Perſons were preſently put from Court. But the Death of *Edward* the Black Prince happening ſoon after (a Prince of that Solid Wiſdom and Vertue, that his Death prov'd a greater Loſs to the Nation, than all the Treaſure that was Squander'd away in *France*) the face of Affairs was quickly chang'd; and the late Excluded Perſons return again to Court, and to their former Places there: And that impudent Strumpet, *Alice Pierce*, working upon the Dotage of the King, cauſes Sir *Peter Dela Mare*, the Speaker of the Parliament, to be committed to perpetual Impriſonment at *Nottingham*; which was an Act without all Preſident and Example in former Times: And the higheſt Affront that cou'd be put upon the People. But that haughty Whore, *Alice Pierce*, had ſuch an Aſcendant over the King, that ſhe did what ſhe wou'd; and grew ſo inſolent, that ſhe was not aſham'd to intermeddle with Courts of Juſtice, and other Offices; and even to ſit there her ſelf, to effect her Deſires; by which ſhe render'd her ſelf the ſhame of the Kingdom, and the Diſhonour of the King. For at the Kings Death, (which follow'd not long after) before his Breath had left him, he was left by all his Attendance; this Concubine of his leading the way; and firſt packing away what ſhe cou'd ſnatch, even to the very Rings of his Fingers, left him; and even his other Attendance by her Example, ſeizing whatever they cou'd faſten on, ſhifted away; and all his Councellors and others forſook him in his laſt Agony, when he had moſt occaſion for 'em, leaving his Chamber quite Empty: Which a poor Prieſt in the Houſe ſeeing, as he paſs'd by accidentally, approach'd to the Kings Bedſide; and finding him yet breathing, call'd upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask Mercy for his Offences; which was a greater Piece both of Piety and Compaſſion, than all his Courtiers ſhew'd him: for they ſtill flatter'd him with hopes of Life, even when they ſaw the Pangs of Death upon him: Which

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renders the Condition of Princes truly miſerable; the Adulation of their Courtiers not ſuffering them to know themſelves nor their own State, neither in Health nor Sickneſs: Making them neglect thoſe Spiritual Cogitations fit for a Dying Chriſtian, But the King ſtirr'd up by the Voice of this poor Prieſt, ſhew'd ſome ſigns of Contrition, his expiring Breath uttering the Name of JESUS as it left him.

Thus have we ſeen this once Puiſſant and Victorious King, after a Series of Fifty Years, Ending his Reign as poorly and inglorioufly as he begun it: Who having ſtept into the Throne before he ſhou'd, out-liv'd that Reputation he had once acquir'd in the World: Nor is it any wonder he ſhou'd, having out-liv'd the beſt Wife that any Prince (except his preſent Majeſty King *William* the Third) cou'd ever boaſt of; and the beſt Son likewiſe; and indeed, at laſt out-liv'd himſelf: Being ſo unfortunate, after all his great good Fortune, as to ſee his Glory unravell'd, as well as his Happineſs: There being nothing left him of all his Gettings abroad, purchaſed with ſo much Travel, Expence and Bloodſhed, but only the poor Town of *Calais*. But we muſt look on't as a Curſe that he inherited with his Crown, not to be permitted to dye, till he ſaw himſelf (like his Father) forſaken of every Body, but a poor Prieſt, who only tarry'd to torment him with the Remembrance of his Sins; and left him at laſt, as he left the World, in ſuch a State of Uncertainty, that our Hiſtorians are yet to ſeek, whether to place him amongſt the Rank of of our Fortunate or Unfortunate Princes. The fatal Diviſions of his Poſterity, to which his Weakneſs gave their firſt riſe, being ſo pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themſelves, that if the Deceas'd know any thing of what is done among the Living, he need no other Hell to torture his guilty Spirit, than the Viſion of thoſe Murther'd Princes of his own Blood, whoſe Ghoſts juſtled one another where-e'er they met. I will conclude his Secret Hiſtory with a brief Account of what one, that didn't love to flatter Kings, long ſince ſaid of him: *viz.* "*Edward* the Third, to his "Everlaſting Stain of Honour, ſurrenders by his Charter his "Title of Soveraignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; reſtores "the Deeds and Inſtruments of their former Homages and "Fealties, (tho' after the *Scots* paid dear for it) to ſupply "his Want. Whatever he yielded to in Parliament, was for "the moſt part preſently revoked: And in that Parliament "which was called, The Good, they deſire the King (ha-"ing abundantly ſupply'd his Wants) to remove from Court "four Perſons of ſpecial prejudice to his Honour and the "Kingdomes, with one Dame *Alice Piers*, the Kings Con-"cubine, an Impudent troubleſome Woman: But no ſooner "ended this Parliament, having gotten their Moneys, but thoſe "four forbidden return to Court, and their wonted Inſolen-"cies: The Speaker, who had preſented the Kingdom's Grie-

vances, at the ſuit of *Alice Piers*, is committed to perpetual Impriſonment.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *RICHARD* the Second.

KING Richard *the Second was the Son of* Edward *Prince of* Wales, *commonly called the Black Prince; and was known by the Name of* Richard *of* Bourdeaux, *from his being born there: He came to the Crown at Eleven years of Age, and was Crowned at* Weſtminſter *by* Simon Sudbury *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *Soon after which,* 50 French *Ships arrived at* Rye *in* Suſſex, *who burnt and ſpoil'd that Town, and divers other parts of the Kingdom, coming as far as* Graves-End, *which they burn'd and rifled: The Commons aroſe in Rebellion in divers Places, as* Kent, Eſſex, Surry, Norfolk, Cambridge, the Kentiſh Men (*being* 50000) *came to* London, *where they Committed many Barbarous Outrages under the Command of* Wat Tyler *and* Jack Straw, *who were animated thereto by one* John Ball *an Excommunicate Prieſt; but* Tyler *being kill'd by Sir* William Wallworth, *then Lord Mayor, for affronting the King, the Rebels were diſpers'd,* Jack Straw *and* Ball *the Prieſt being Executed; and the reſt plundered, after they had beheaded* Simon *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Sir* Robert Hales *Lord Treaſurer, deſtroying all the Rolls and Records of Chancery. The Duke of* Lancaſter (*the Kings Unkle*) *being accuſed by a Carmelite* Fryer *of Treaſon, the* Fryer *was Cruelly Murdered, and the Duke (tho' not without ſuſpition) Cleared.* Barwick *was taken by the* Scots, *and retaken by the Earl of* Northumberland. *King* Richard *raiſes a great Army to Conquer* Scotland, *but his Deſign prov'd Abortive. Differences ariſe between the King and the* Peers. *The* Scots *Enter* England *under the Command of Sir* William Dowglaſs, *and are met and Encountred by the Lord* Henry Hotſpur: Dowglaſs, *was ſlain, and* Hotſpur *going into* Ireland *rebell'd.* Richard *goes into* Ireland, *to reduce it: and in the mean time* Henry, *Son to* John *of* Gaunt *Duke of* Lancaſter, *accuſing the King of Miſ-Government, the King is Depos'd, and afterwards Murdered.* Thus far his General History.

His Secret Hiſtory, (like that of his Great Grandfather *Edward* the Second) runs through his whole Reign; which may, like that, be call'd the Reign of Favourites; by whom the King was diſpos'd to all Looſeneſs and Careleſneſs, and being ſwell'd and puff'd up with their Flatterries, became Deaf to the Complaints of his People; being promoted by his Minions to obſerve no Law but his Will, while they were the Diſpoſers of all things. Soothing him up in that Supineſs and Neglect, which they knew would be ſuitable to his Nature, and Serviceable to their Ambitious Deſigns.

The three Great Favourites of this Prince, and who were therefore his Miniſters, were *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and afterwards Marqueſs of *Dublin* and Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Robert Treſillian* Lord Chief Juſtice: The Duke of *Ireland* ſeem'd the beſt, and could not well do otherwiſe, having two ſuch Foils to ſet him off: For *Michael de la Pool* was the Abſtract of all Vice; being in Proſperity the moſt inſufferably Inſolent, in Adverſity the moſt abjectly deſpicable. And as for *Treſillian*, he was only a Lump of Complicated Villany; being ready to proſtrate all Law to occaſion, and make Juſtice ſubſervient to the baſeſts Deſigns; his Underſtanding was Nothing but Debauchery, and his Vertue the greateſt Outrage. And this made him ſo ready to Execute whatever others had deſign'd.

The King's being in his Minority, made Foreign Princes think it the moſt proper time to Execute their intended Deſigns againſt *England*; and thereupon the *French* firſt laid hold on the Occaſion, and landed Forces, doing ſome Miſchief, and burning ſome Places near the Sea, as *Rye*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, &c. The *Scots* alſo about that time aſſaulted the Caſtle of *Berwick*, and won it; but it was taken again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, and all put to the Sword but *Ramſey*, who took it by a bo'd and deſperate Attempt with a few Men.

Theſe Troubles occaſion'd a Parliament, in which *Alice Piercy*, the late King *Edward's* Concubine was baniſh'd (as ſhe well deſerv'd) and all her Goods confiſcated; In this Parliament an Extraordinary Tax (as it was then Eſteemed) of Four-pence upon every head, above Sixteen years of Age, called a Pole-Tax, was granted: The levying of which, by the accidental Rudeneſs of an inconſiderable Tax-gatherer, occaſion'd a very great and dangerous Inſurrection: The manner this, A Tax-gatherer at *Deptford*, coming into the Houſe of a poor Tyler, and demanding Four-pence a Head for each Perſon in his Family, the Tyler alledged his Daughter was not Sixteen years of Age, and ſo not liable to pay; and the impudent Tax-gatherer going about to turn up the young Maidens Coats, to ſee whether ſhe was of Age or no, her Father

provok'd thereby, fell upon him; which occasion'd others of the Neighbours to second him; and thereby the whole County of *Kent*, and then of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and other Places, rose up in Arms, destroying not only the Three Principal Ministers of State, that is to say, The Chancellour, (who was also Archbishop of *Canterbury*) the Treasurer and the Lord chief Justice; but also came so near to Majesty it self, (for some of the Rebels were little less rude with the Kings own Mother, than his Officer had been with their Captain's Daughter) that it was thought nothing cou'd deliver the King himself from the approaching Danger, but meeting it half-way; which, to speak the truth, he did with so well temper'd a Courage, as never any King before him shew'd, except *Cæsar*, and he but once; or his own Father (whose Son he in this instance only shew'd himself) at the Battel of *Poictiers*; when he was begirt with as many perhaps, but not so insolent nor unworthy Foes. And this being as much beyond the Expectation of his years, as of his Enemies, charm'd them for a while into submission, but the Distemper being Universal and raging, and the Contagion spreading insensibly through so many parts of the Kingdom, it was not possible to heal the Evil only with a Touch.

But it was not the Rudeness of the Tax-gatherer that cou'd have caus'd so universal a Defection, had not the People been pre-dispos'd thereto: It will be therefore necessary to look back a little, that we may trace this Mischief to the Fountain-Head: This King being set upon the Throne at Eleven years of Age, the Parliament, when he began to govern them, consulted about what Persons were fittest to govern him; and because the safety of the Kingdom, as well as of the King, consisted in the multitude of Counsellors, they were of Opinion to add to his Uncle *Lancaster*, (who put in to be Protector) the two other Brothers, *Edmond* Earl of *Cambridge*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Woodstock*, after wards Duke of *Glouceſter*, with whom they conjoyned several Temporal Lords of known Wisdom and Integrity. This so offended the Duke, as thinking it a dangerous Reflection on his Ambition, not to be trusted solely, that he refus'd the Charge, and retir'd into the Countrey, to his own House; when it seems he Acted so like a King, that a Well meaning *Fryar*, thought himself bound in point of Allegiance to accuse him of an intention to Usurp the Kingdom; and as a consequent thereof, to Destroy the King; and it was the opinion of several that he wanted not matter enough to make good that Charge: But what the Duke wanted of Innocence, was so well supply'd by Power, that the Accuser not being sufficiently back'd, was thrown into Prison, and there inhumanely Murder'd, by those that had him in Custody; who tying one End of a Cord about his Neck, and the other to his Privy Members, hung him up

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in that posture on a Pin, and with the weight of a Stone laid upon his Belly, burst his Back; and he being in this barbarous manner privately put to Death, all further Criminations died with him. But as secretly as this was done, it was well enough known to several, who were thereby the more Confirmed in the truth of the *Fryar*'s Accusation, but his wretched Fate made them fear to declare their Sentiments; which makes me call to mind what Advice a Person of good Note left behind him to his Son, *That in Publick Affairs he shou'd be cautious what side he took, for that sometimes it might be as safe to destroy the King, as to preserve him.* But the Impunity of this Treason, derogated, so much from the Wisdom and Justice of the King, that it apparently lessen'd him in the Opinion of the People; who being ignorant, or at least not able to distinguish, whether it was want of Skill to discern, or Power to punish, began from thenceforth to worship the Duke (as the *Indians* do the Devil) out of Fear; while the Duke in the mean time, omitted no occasion to propagate Tumults and Encourage Faction; and in a little time, by seeming to make the People's Discontents the grownd of his own, got the Opinion of being their Patriot, while he Secretly promoted their being goaded with Needless Taxes; which made them, like mad Oxen, ready to break the Yoak of Authority from off their Necks.

This was the Cause (thro' the Secret Practises of the Duke of *Lancaster*) that so soon blew up those Embers of Discontent that lay glowing in the Breasts of the People, into such a Flame of Rebellion as had like to have consum'd the Kingdom.

The first ten Years of this Kings Goveenment, which was the best, tho' not the longest part of it, he Reign'd with great Splendor; if he may be properly said to reign, whilst he was under the dispose of others: But after he came to be of Age to do all himself, he began very visibly to undo himself; hastening the slow pace of his Destiny, by his quarrelling with Parliaments; who yet gather'd strength by the Discovery of his Weakness: Which so Enraged the King, (who secretly design'd the very rasing of the Legal Constitution) that he cou'd not forbear telling the Parliament (the very next Sessions after he was out of his Wardship, as he was wont to calls it) That he perceiv'd they had a Mind to rebel. and therefore thought he cou'd do no better than to ask Aid of his Cousin the King of *France*, into whose hands he had rather fall, being a Prince, than submit to his own Subjects: Which however it might shew a very proud and vindictive Stomach, was certainly a very rash and unadvised Speech, and in it self so low and abject, and so unlike a King, that nothing cou'd be meaner.

*Michael de la Pool*, being made Earl of *Suffolk*, by reason of his Exorbitant Actions grew as much hated by the Peo-

ple as he was honour'd by the King; as the Effect whereof, a Charge was Exhibited againſt him in Parliament, the chief Articles of which were, For profuſely waſting the Treaſure of the King in Riotous Prodigality, and unneceſſary Expences; for running into the Kings Debt and cozening the King in Farming the Profits and Revenues of the Crown: But this Charge had only Audience, but no Examination; which gave ſo much Offence, that when an Aid was demanded, it was deny'd; for which this Reaſon was given, That it was to no purpoſe to give Money, when the ill uſe of it was countenanc'd. But the neceſſity of the Kings Affairs requiring Money, and the Parliament inſiſting upon the Examination of the Charge, at laſt procur'd what they ſo warmly deſir'd; and the Cauſe was put to Selected Noblemen to Examine; and a Subſidy was afterwards granted. The cauſe being heard by the Earl of *Suffolk's Peers*, the the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Earl of *Arundel* being two of his Judges, he was convicted, and depriv'd of his Office and Chattels, and condemn'd to a Fine and Impriſonment. But ſuch was the Kings Extravagant Fondneſs for this Earl, that all this ſeem'd rather Arguments of Merit, than Cauſes of Puniſhment; for the King (as his great Grandfather *Edward* the Second did by *Gaveſton*) preſently reſtor'd him to all former Favours; as if what he had ſuffer'd had been for his ſake; and as if Crimes found out and proſecuted by a Parliament, had been the Teſtimonies of Merit, and the beſt Arguments for the Princes Favour: Theſe unſteady Counſels increas'd the Miſtruſt of his Subjects, who now began to ſee the King reſpected his Favourites to that degree, that the whole Kingdom was unable to ſtand in Competition with them. Nor was it without reaſon that they thought ſo, ſince the return of the Duke of *Ireland*, who had been driven away by the Diſpleaſure Contracted againſt him, and was now again Embrac'd with the tendereſt Careſſes, and receiv'd into Equal Credit and Favour with the Earl of *Suffolk*, did ſufficiently juſtifie their Suſpicions: To them alſo was joyn'd the Archbiſhop of *York*, to ſtrengthen their Power, and at the ſame time weaken the Kings: For having made the King to believe their Cauſe to be his, they eaſily carry'd him on to revenge the Affronts which they had receiv'd, as tho' they had been his own; inſinuating to the King that the Arrows which were Shot at them, were intended againſt him; and that it was nothing but Rebellion to confine a King on whom to beſtow his Favours: And therefore to avoid the Diſhonour of a Limited Monarchy, he muſt be put upon Exerciſing an Arbitrary and Deſpolick Power. With this Flattery, they rais'd the King to that fatal Confidence which has always prov'd the Ruine of miſguided Princes.

The Trial and Condemnation of the Earl of *Suffolk*, was the firſt Cauſe that excited theſe newly-return'd Favourites againſt thoſe that were his Judges; of which the Duke of *Glouceſter* being chief, they firſt reſolv'd on his Deſtruction; not fearing his being related to the King, as his Unkle; for they knew their Power over the King, was Tantamount to all Relations whatſoever: Their firſt Deſign therefore was to invite *Glouceſter* and others to a Supper in *London*, and there Secretly murther them. But this Deſign was diſcover'd to the Duke by *Exton*, the then Mayor of *London*, and the Miſchief for that time prevented.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who were Engag'd with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in the Trial and Cenſure of the Chancellour *Suffolk*, having the Command of the Navy, about this time perform'd ſo many brave Actions, that all Mouths were fill'd with their juſt Praiſes, Except only the Kings, who ought to have taken the greateſt Satisfaction therein, as advancing the Honour of his Reign; but inſtead of that, he Secretly maligned their Praiſe; and gave them at their Return ſo cold a Reception, that they appear'd rather as Perſons Forgiven for Miſdemeanours, than Receiv'd for Merits: The ſtrangeneſs of his Carriage too plainly telling them, That Publick Merit loſt its nature, when the Deſert was in the Enemies of his Favourites. How uſual is it for Court-Caterpillers to complain of the King's being Limited by his Parliament? And yet it is their daily Practice to Limit and confine his Favours to their Narrow Intereſts; ſo that he muſt neither reward Vertue, nor puniſh Vice, but as they direct him.

And as an inſtance of the haughtineſs of the Kings Favourites, the Duke of *Ireland*, wich as as much Arbitrary Power as he perſwaded the King to aſſume, put away his Wife, the Kings Couſin, and Grandchild to King *Edward*; without ſo much as any fault alledg'd againſt her; and marry'd, ſome ſay a Vintner's, and others a Joyner's Daughter: The injur'd Lady petition'd the King often, but without ſucceſs: The injury done her was by a Favourite; to whom his Nature was more ty'd, than to his own Blood. Thus upon no leſs Nouriſhment can growing Favourites proſper, than by their Princes loſs of Intereſt and Honour. This Affront to his Lady, was no doubt ſecretly conniv'd at by the King, that by the Diſcontent of his Unkles at ſo notorious a Piece of Injuſtice, he might have the better pretence to Execute his Revenge againſt them; and it ſucceeded accordingly. For the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſo juſtly Reſented it, that he told the Duke of *Ireland* plainly, That he wou'd revenge the Injury done to his Kinſwoman. From which very time, the Duke of *Ireland*, (as well as the King) grew more aſſiduous to contrive the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. But things were not ripe,

to put it presently in Practice. The Duke of *Ireland's* pretended Journey to that Country, at this time took up all their Thoughts: When after many Delays (which evidently shew'd his Unwillingness to go, as well as the King's to let him) he seemingly began, and was accompany'd in great State by the King himself, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the always Officious Chief Justice *Tresillian*. But this Feint of the Duke for *Ireland*, prov'd only a Progress through *Wales* back to *Nottingham*; where they Enter'd into more private, and blacker Consultations.

Their first Design was to destroy the Lords: And for that End they summon'd the Sheriffs of every County, and positively ask'd them, What Aid they cou'd promise against the Lords, if the King requir'd it? Their Answers for the most part were, That the Opinion of the People was, That the Lords were Lovers of their King and Countrey: And therefore they durst promise nothing in that matter.

But they had more Strings than one to their Bow; and therefore this failing, they made Trial of another; which was, By chusing such Knights, Citizens and Burgesses as the King shou'd appoint. But this receiv'd no more Encouragement than the other.

To what a loose Hazard they had now reduc'd their King, to attempt unsuccessfully to destroy his People by force, or in a Legal way to make the Nation destroy it self! The last was without doubt the most dangerous Design: Force may Enslave for a little time, but Slavery by Law, is likely to be more durable; but the People were not then cozen'd enough. And indeed it must be the Concurrence of strange Accidents, the Fairness of an undiscover'd Dissimulation, and the Opportunity Embrac'd in the same Moment, that must so infatuate the People, as to make their Ruin their Choice.

But they had a third way to bring about their Designs, and of which they were not so likely to fail; and that was by means of the Judges; for when the Judges assume the Power of Declaring what is Law, tho' in Express Contradiction to the Words of the Statute, the King can never fail of having whatever he pleases to be declar'd Law: And this Expedient has been made use of more than once. Thus Ship-Money was adjudg'd Lawful by the Judges of King *Charles* the First, and a Power of Dispensing with the Laws, was adjudg'd Lawful by the Judges of King *James* the Second.

The two Chief Justices of King *Richard* were *Tresilian* and *Belknap*; to whom with others there were put such Queries as might Comprehend the Safety of the Ministers, and the Danger of all else beside; or at least of all else whom they pleas'd. These Questions were to comprehend so large a Treason, that it was no hard matter to find Traitors;

tors; for they had resolv'd the very Constitution of the Nation to be Treason.

The first four Queries did most particularly concern the Duke of *Suffolk*, and with him the rest of the Favourites: For the Case was put whether the Law it self, and the Commission for his Tryal, did not derogate from the Kings Authority? And then how they were to be proceeded against that procur'd such a Law? And how they were to be dealt with, that urg'd the King to Assent to it?

The fifth Query was, What they Merited that oppos'd the Kings Exercise of his Regal Authority, in the Remitting or Releasing of Penalties, and forgiving of such Debts as were due to him?

The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth (for there were Ten in all) was to Enquire whether Parliaments cou'd proceed upon any Business but such as the King shou'd propose and limit by Articles? And whether the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, might Accuse or Impeach any of the Kings Officers without his Leave?

The Tenth concern'd only the Duke of *Suffolk*, (his being the Leading Case) and it was whether the Judgment given in the last Parliament against him, were Erroneous and Revocable?

The Reader may see by the Queries, that the Ax of Arbitrary Domination and Rule, was herein Secretly laid to the very Root of the Antient Constitution of the Government: And the Judges resolv'd the Queries accordingly: For as to the last Article they determin'd very positively, That the Proceedings and Judgment against the Earl of *Suffolk* were Erroneous and Revocable. And for the rest, they determin'd all to be Treason, and that the Offenders ought to suffer as Traytors: Hereby Condemning the whole Parliament as being Traytors, and the Law it self as being Treason. And so confident were those Judges of Success in their Enterprizes, that they scrupled not to deliver these bold Opinions under their hands and Seals; believing it seems that their Obedience in unjust Directions, wou'd either Justifie or Excuse their guilty Actions.

It is worth observing here, how different Times produce different Opinions, in the same Persons: For those Lawyers who in former Parliaments gave their Advice and Opinions for their Proceedings, being afterwards (when the Power was on the King's side) ask'd, Whether the King cou'd not Disannul the Proceedings of that Parliament? Answer'd, *Yes, he might; for the King was above the Law*: The truth is, they went about to make him so; but fail'd in the Attempt, and so ruin'd themselves and their King too. Nor were these the only Persons that made that Experiment at the same dear Rate.

These

These Resolves of the Judges were without doubt highly applauded by the Favourite-Ministers, who flatter'd the King into a belief of what Extraordinary Servants he had of such Judges; by whose Briskness not only the Law, but the Troublesome Constitution of the Nation it self might be render'd as useless as Arbitrary Power cou'd desire: For if those Laws that seem'd to Limit a King, shou'd for that very reason become void in themselves, there cou'd be no Law valid, but such as pleas'd the Soveraign: And then all Laws that are past, and or that hereafter may be past, would in Effect, be nothing else but prostituted Writings to the Will of Princes. And yet no question but these Judges, who had thus given up the Laws, or their Countrey into the Power of the King, had the Character of being most Loyal, for thus appearing most desperate; and from the Favourites they indeed deserved it; their Zeal for them, being far warmer than for their Countrey; involving themselves in their Fortunes, by Principles as lewd as their Designs.

However it was, the King look'd upon the Opinions of these Judges as Authentick, and that he had thereby sufficient Authority to seize upon the Estates and Fortunes of those Lords that had appear'd most Eminently against his Favourites; and to shew that he was in good Earnest, he began to do so; and that the Commonwealth might in no sense be the better for't, the Estates he had thus unjustly seiz'd, he as profusely disposes among those whom he favour'd; presuming them convicted Persons without any further Trial. And, as tho' to justifie one Exorbitance, were to commit another, he privately raises Souldiers, and sent to surprize the Earl of *Arundel*.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* having an Account of all these things, desires the Bishop of *London* to see if he cou'd dissuade the King from such violent Courses; and to assure him that he never had an undutiful thought against him; intimating how much more safe and Honourable it wou'd be for the King, not to be led by false Suggestions to such a fatal Difference with his best and greateſt Subjects.

The Bishop rightly judging he cou'd neither serve his King nor Country better, than by prosecuting so good a work, perform'd it with that Zeal and Skill, that he thought himself in a fair way to bring the King to a more happy Temper: But the Earl of *Suffolk*, who knew well enough he cou'd no longer be safe, than while the King was in Danger, like an untimely Frost, blasted the budding hopes of the Kings returning to the Knowledge of his true Intereſt, and fell upon the Bishop with harsh and insolent Reproofs for his good Offices: Which so Exasperated the good Bishop, that he undauntedly and boldly told him, *That 'twas not the Service of his Prince that guided*

*guided him, but his own violent Ambition: And that rather than the Lords ſhould not be deſtroy'd, he wou'd involve the Nation in Ruine; that it was eaſie for ſuch abject Spirits as his to raiſe Tumults, which muſt be Ended by the ruine of the Braveſt. Nor was he fit to give Advice, that was the Chief Incendiary, and made a Party by his Condemnation.* This Speech of the Biſhops was ſo much to the Purpoſe, that *Suffolk* had nothing to reply: But the King being angry to ſee his Favourite ſo roughly dealt with, commanded the Biſhop out of his ſight.

The Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham* and *Darby*, having had an Account of what paſſed, and finding the Counſels of the Favourites influenc'd the King, contrary both to his own and his Peoples good, take Arms: The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellour, were ſent to the Lords: Who brought matters ſo well to bear, that the Lords agreed to appear before the King at *Weſtminſter*, under the Promiſe of Protection. But retaining their uſual Jealouſies (for what Truſt can be repos'd in that Prince who is wholly given up to the Conduct of thoſe who are Strangers both to Honour and Honeſty?) they had aſſurance given 'em by the Biſhop of *Ely*, that if there were any Danger deſign'd 'em, he wou'd give 'em Notice; and he kept his Word accordingly; for a little before the Lords were to come, he gave 'em Intelligence of an Ambuſh laid for 'em in the Mews, to ſeize them as they came in; upon which the Lords forbear coming up. The King pretending to wonder why the Lords came not, (Secretly concealing his knowledge of the Ambuſh that was laid) ask'd the Biſhop of *Ely* what might be the reaſon of it? Who boldly anſwer'd him, *That the Lords durſt not truſt him, and had diſcover'd the Trap laid for 'em.* The King ſtill pretending ignorance, commanded the Sheriffs to ſearch the Mews, and to Kill, or carry to Priſon, all they found there. But this, inſtead of declaring the Kings Sincerity, diſcover'd his Hypocriſie; for the Intelligence was True, but the Place Miſtaken; for the Ambuſh the Biſhop gave 'em notice of, inſtead of the Mews, was ſecretly laid at *Weſtminſter*, by Sir *Richard Bramber* and Sir *Thomas Trivet*; who being inform'd of the Diſcovery, ſecretly convey'd away their Men.

The Baſeneſs of this Secret Ambuſh carried ſuch a Reproach to the Kings Honour along with it, that it was not fit the King ſhou'd own any knowledge of it; and therefore, after repeated Proteſtations of the Kings Ignorance herein, and new Faith and Security given, the Lords came to the King at *Weſtminſter*; but ſo ſtrongly guarded, as plainly enough ſhew'd they had but little Dependance upon the Royal Promiſe; and that they came not like Petitioners, but like Men that wou'd Claim their Right: And accord-

accordingly they Challeng'd for Traytors the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the chief Juſtice *Treſilian*, Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, and ſeveral of a more inferious Rank, but of the ſame Stamp. To which the King very calmly and ſedately anſwer'd (for now he was not incircled with his flattering Favourites, the place was too hot for them) That if all were true they had alledg'd, yet they had not taken the proper way to ſeek for Juſtice, by a ſhew of Rebellion; and give that Opportunity to the Licentious Multitude, which might perhaps prove difficult to take again from them.

But while there ſeem'd ſome likelihood of Agreement between the King and the Lords, and things look'd with a kind of calm Face, the Duke of *Ireland* was gathering Forces, not without the Kings Privity; but being met by the Earl of *Derby*, was overthrown near *Burford*: For he that was ſo bold in Council, ſhew'd want of Courage in Action; teaching his Followers by his own Example, to fly away before the Fight was ſcarce begun: Among many things of the Dukes which were taken, in one of his Trunks there was found Letters from the King, to haſten his Coming to *London* with what Power he cou'd make, where the King wou'd be ready to ſhare *Fortunes* with him. This Letter it is probable haſten'd the Duke's March up to *London*, and therein haſten'd his own Fate, (for he never after appear'd Publickly:) His Death is variouſly reported: Some ſay that in his Flight from the Bruſh (for it can ſcarce be call'd a Battel) he had with the Earl of *Derby*, he was forc'd to take a River, and in the midſt of the Stream, forſook his Horſe, and ſwam to the other ſide; and by the benefit of the Night, eſcap'd firſt into *Scotland*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and ſo into *France*, from whence he never return'd. Others ſay, that his Horſe, with his Helmet, *Gauntlet*, and other Habiliments of his, were found by the Banks of the River which he took; and from thence concluded he was drown'd; and ſome affirm not only that they ſaw him die, but undertake to tell the Circumſtances thereof. But however he dy'd, it ſeems to be as ingloriouſly as he liv'd; and perhaps it might have been well for King *Richard* if he had never been born. Upon the News of the Duke of *Ireland's* Defeat, upon whoſe Succeſs, the Conſpirators (for ſo I call the Kings Favourites,) had plac'd all their hopes; the Earl of *Suffolk* fled in a diſguiſe to *Calice*, and never more return'd.

For his ſake it was that all thoſe ſtrange meaſures were taken to overturn the Ancient Conſtitution of the Government; and indeed who can wonder that a Man ready to ſink ſhou'd ſtrive to ſave himſelf by any Expedient whatſoever. But that which is the greateſt wonder, is, That a Man of ſuch wretched Qualifications as our Hiſtorians generally repreſent him, ſhou'd ever get the Aſcendant over a Prince. For he was a Man that

was

was profuſe of what he cou'd get, and got it willingly by the Spoils of others. He was unfit for Peace, ſo turbulent was his Nature; and as unfit for War, ſo deficient in his Courage: In Peace too furious, and in War too Calm; never quiet but when afraid; at all other times intemperate; when he was not deſigning Miſchief, his Courage fail'd him. He never ſeem'd Good, but when neceſſity hindred him from appearing Bad: He had no fits of a Diſeaſe, his whole Life being but one continued habit of Villany. But to proceed,

The Chief Juſtice *Treſilian* fled from this Storm, and the King retir'd to the Tower; while the Lords with a great Army March towards *London*, and ſhew'd themſelves in form of Battel to the King, who lay with his Forces in the Suburbs. At firſt, the King ſeem'd to ſlight 'em, but at laſt condeſcended to a Treaty; for which, the Tower was the Place appointed; but the Lords firſt made what ſearch they pleas'd, and came with ſuch Guards as they thought fit: Shewing thereby the Diſtruſt they had of the King, and the Confidence they had in their own Power. When they came to the King, they plainly charg'd him with the Contrivances at *Nottingham* againſt them; and with his Letter to the Duke of *Ireland* (contrary to his word) to raiſe Forces; alſo with the Agreement he had made with the *French*, to deliver up *Calice*; with other Grievances which the ill Conduct of the Kings Miniſters had plentifully furniſh'd them with. At theſe Truths, which were told by them that now wanted not Power to Revenge, the King inſtead of a Defence, made an Acknowledgment of his Errors; which wrought ſo upon the Lords, that it produc'd the Agreement of a Meeting at *Weſtminſter* the next day.

The Lords were no ſooner gone, but the Kings Flatterers chang'd his Mind, by telling him, That by his Meeting them, he wou'd expoſe his Perſon to Danger, and his Authority to Diminution; as if a fatal Mutability was to purſue him to his end.

This alteration in the King rais'd the Lords to ſuch a Rage, that they ſent him word, That if he us'd ſuch indirect Courſes, they wou'd chuſe a New King; upon this Ominous Meſſage of the Lords, the King not only went, but ſubmitted to thoſe he had ſo inrag'd before, and deliver'd up that Power which he was counſelled before not to diminiſh: So that his ill-tim'd Counſellors made that Misfortune ſure, which they ſeem'd careful to prevent.

Upon this, a Parliament was preſently call'd, which began at *Weſtminſter* the Third of *February*, and continu'd to the 13th of *June*, which tho a long Seſſions, yet ſeem'd to have Employment enough; for in a leſs ſpace of time ſo much cou'd hardly have been done, as to merit that Title which it obtain'd, viz. *The Parliament that wrought Wonders.*

Upon the firſt day of their Meeting, many of the Judges were Arreſted as they ſat in their Places; as if they intended thereby

thereby to ſhew that no Buſineſs was fit to be proceeded on, till Juſtice were done on the Violaters of Juſtice.

In the beginning of this Parliament alſo were Summon'd *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Nicholas Brember*, Lord Mayor of *London*: This *Brember* was often made Mayor of *London* by the King, againſt the Rights and Priviledges of the City; being found a fitting Tool to work withal in all Illegal and Arbitrary Ways; ſacrificing the Lives and Eſtates of many Conſiderable Men, to the King's Inclinations and Deſigns; and omitted no Severity that cou'd be practis'd againſt the Freedom and Privileges of the City: (Like the great Mouth of the City in the two late Reigns.) *Brember* expected, as a Reward for his Villany, to be made Duke of *Troy*, (the Ancient Name, as ſome will have it, of that City.) Theſe were all Summon'd to Anſwer to Articles of High Treaſon; exhibited againſt them by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Derby*, and *Nottingham*: But they not appearing, the Parliament condemn'd them to perpetual Impriſonment, and all their Eſtates to be Forfeited.

But *Treſilian*'s black Fate inclin'd him to ſtay about the City, rather then venture being taken by endeavouring to eſcape beyond Sea; hoping a poor Habit, and a long-Beard, would conceal him; under which Diſguiſe he kept himſelf for ſome time in an Apothecary's Houſe in *Weſtminſter*; but being betray'd by a Servant of his own, (who it ſeems made good the Proverb, *Like Maſter, like Man*; for they were both Rogues) he was taken the 17th of *February*, and brought before the Parliament about Eleven of the Clock, and the ſame Day in the Afternoon was drawn from the Tower of *London* to *Tyburn*, and there (as ſome tell us) his Throat was cut; an Execution that ſeems very ſtrange, unleſs (ſays a late Author) *it was ſo ordered he ſhould die the reſembling Death of a Beaſt.*

The next Day *Bramber* was Hang'd and Quarter'd at *Tyburn*, and thereby receiv'd a more juſt Reward than that which he deſign'd himſelf for all his Villanies. And yet neither his nor *Treſilian*'s ignominious Deaths, cou'd deter others in our late times, from being wretched Copies of ſuch miſerable Originals.

After theſe Executions, and ſeveral others, were over, all things were as it were, to take a new Birth; and accordingly, the King renew'd his Coronation Oath, and the Lords ſwore Homage and Fealty to him a new; as if he but then began to be a King, and they to be his Subjects. And indeed, their former Conditions were rather Tyrant and Slave, than King and People; Nor for all this ſeeming Agreement, was the King any more inclin'd to keep this New Coronation-Oath, than that which he had ſo often broken before; as a little time will more fully make appear. For within little more than a year after this,

this, the King grew to be One and Twenty; and the firſt thing he did to let his Subjects know that he was ſo, was the taking the Great Seal from the Biſhop of *Ely*, (as if he remembred he had been ſo bold as to tell him the Truth) and gave it to *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; he alſo diſplaced others, and ſuſpended the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Earl of *Warwick* from the Privy Council; as if he thought his thus Acting, was the beſt way of taking Livery and Seizin of his New Power.

And now the Tide of Power was turn'd again to the King, who ſtill continued to follow thoſe Advices which had brought him ſo much hazard before. And the Intereſt and Opinion which the *French* had rais'd themſelves into, began in all things evidently to increaſe; to which Nation he had too great a kindneſs before, had not the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* formerly temper'd the king with their calm and ſure Reaſons, when being enrag'd againſt the Lords, he ſwore, as is mention'd elſewhere, *He would more willingly ſubmit to and rely on the Protection of* France, *than thus to be made ſervile to thoſe he ought to command.*

It was about this time that *Guido*, Earl of *St. Paul*, was ſent by *Charles* the *French* King, to Viſit and Complement King *Richard* and his Queen; the Earl, according to the ready confidence of the *French*, preſently became a Counſellor; For the King in Diſcourſe with him, having complain'd of his Unkle the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and in particular that he did paſſionately endeavour to diſturb the Peace between *England* and *France*; the Earl preſently gave Sentence againſt the Duke, and told the King plainly, He was not fit to live: For where a Subject was grown ſo great, a Prince was no longer ſafe; and that if he meant to ſecure himſelf againſt Dangers, the ſureſt way was to deſtroy them from whom it might come ſo eaſily. This was bad Advice to King *Richard*, who was already too much ſet upon Revenge: For it blew his Anger into a Flame; and he began to expreſs to ſome of his great Men the Diſpleaſure he had againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*: But finding 'em all to have a high Opinion of the Duke's Honour and Vertue; he began a little to calm, till he was again ſet on by other fatal Counſellors: For being afterwards ſtirr'd up by the Advices of the Earl of *Huntingdon* and *Nottingham*, to contrive the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, againſt whom they knew he had Malice in his heart; he took this barbarous way of Executing it: The Duke of *Glouceſter* was then at his Houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*, whither the King and the Earl of *Nottingham* rid together, as tho they had gone on hunting: When they were in the Forreſt, the Earl with a Company of Armed Men, ſtay'd there in a Private Place; whilſt the the King with a ſmall and unſuſpected Train, came to *Plaſhey* where he was by the Duke very kindly Entertain'd and Nobly Treated; and the Duke Waited upon the King to bring him going, diſcourſing familiarly

liarly together as they went; but as they came near the Earls Secret Ambuſcade, the King on a ſudden ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and rid away; which whilſt the Duke was wondering at, he was ſuddenly ſeiz'd by the Earls Company, and being blindfolded by 'em, was hurry'd away to the Thames, and in a Veſſel prepared for that purpoſe, he was carry'd to *Calice*, and there ſoon after ſtrangled; the guilt of whoſe innocent Blood, aggravated through the baſe and treacherous way by which his Death was effected, Cried ſo loud, that it fell at laſt with direful Vengeance on King *Richard*'s Head; who by his Unkle's Murder made way for his own.

But this is not all the inhoſpitable Tragedies King *Richard* was to act; for ſeeing Treachery ſo proſperous, he was reſolv'd to practice it again: And therefore the next Day, the King invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and in the midſt of his ſeeming Love and Kindneſs ſends him to Priſon; and in like manner alſo Entrapp'd the Earl of *Arundel* and his Son. But the King, to prevent all Diſcontents in the People, (whoſe Favourites theſe Lords were) publickly declared that they were not apprehended upon any former Diſpleaſures; but for New Crimes which ſhou'd be charg'd upon them.

Then the Kings calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which began about the middle of *September*, the Deſign of the Seſſion was opened by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellour, who declar'd that the Power of the King was Abſolute and Perfect; and that thoſe who went about to leſſen or deny it, were worthy to ſuffer by that Law which was ſolely in the Kings Power. And to make theſe Opinions hold the Teſt, the King had brought thoſe Arguments which were only proper to ſupport 'em; which was a guard of *Cheſhire* Men, that were the moſt Eminent for Looſneſs, and about 4000 Archers, which he had order'd to be drawn up about the Parliament Houſe, with Bows ready bent; which were ready to confirm the Chancellours Declaration, That the King deſign'd his Power ſhou'd appear above the Law. And that every thing might be ſuitable to carry on this Arbitrary Deſign, (which had been a conſiderable time ſecretly a hatching) there appear'd new Miniſters to manage in the Houſe of Commons, whoſe Reputations were as infamous as their Deſigns were Black: Of this Number were Sir *John Baggot* and Sir *Henry Green*; and of the ſame Stamp was Sir *John Buſhy*, who was made their Speaker: Theſe were the Men that manag'd Buſineſs within the Houſe; who were well back'd by the Kings Archers without; Or elſe they never wou'd have Voted, *That any one that ſhou'd be convicted of Oppoſing the Kings Power and Regality, ſhou'd ſuffer as a Traitor.* But the Power of the Guards and Archers, ſo prevail'd upon the terrify'd Houſe of Commons, that they undid all that the Great Parliament that wrought Wonders had formerly done; and made thoſe the beſt Subjects that were then condemn'd for Traitors: And condemn'd thoſe that appear'd

chiefly

chiefly in it. And tho' the Earl of *Nottingham*, to whoſe Cuſtody the Duke of *Glouceſter* was committed, gave an Account that he was Dead, (that is, was murder'd) yet ſuch was the fawning Zeal of this Parliament, that he muſt notwithſtanding have the ſame Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, as the Earl of *Arundel* receiv'd upon his Tryal, who was beheaded after it. As if by their Servile Flattery, they ſeem'd to be troubled that the Duke's being already Murther'd, prevented them of their Deſign of murthering him themſelves.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who among others was impeach'd (for being a Strenuous Aſſertor of Publick Liberty, but called Treaſon) by Sir *John Buſhy* their Speaker, in the Name of the Houſe of Commons, was Baniſh'd. After which it was ordain'd, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal ſhou'd take their Oaths, That they wou'd ſtrictly obſerve all things that had been Enacted by this Parliament: And the Prelates were to thunder out their Sentences againſt any that diſſented from them.

The Earl of *Warwick* was then Arraign'd; but ſhew'd not the Noble and Clear Spirit of the Earl of *Arundel*, who in the midſt of his Tryal gave the Earl of *Derby* the Lye, (when he charg'd him with Words ſpoken to him) and deſpis'd any other way to ſave his Life, but by his own Innocency: Whereas on the contrary, the Earl of *Warwick* us'd nothing but a trembling and fearful Submiſſion, throwing himſelf upon the King's Mercy; and by that meaner way, prevented indeed the Sentence of Death; but cou'd not avoid that more Cruel one, of Perpetual Impriſonment.

Thus the Deſigns of Arbitrary Power ſeem'd now to have obtain'd a proſperous Effect; which might probably raiſe in the King a Confidence that he was in the full Poſſeſſion of Mens Lives and Fortunes, ſeeing what Haſte they made to meet their own Slavery; and there is no doubt but the Experiment, that Terror cou'd ſo far prevail on the Minds of Men, and the cruel Succeſs of Force and Violence, furniſh'd thoſe new Upſtart Miniſters with Arguments ſufficient to confirm in the King's eare Mind that Treacherous Opinion, That he was more ſafe by Cruelty, than gentle Means; and far better ſecur'd by Fear than Love. Nor indeed were other Counſels to be expected from ſuch Men, equally low and mean in their Minds and Extractions; who were more Greedy from Poverty, and Ambitious from Pride; neither by their Minds nor Fortunes endu'd with Principles of Honour. Power was their Juſtice, Violence their Prudence, and Opportunity their Providence.

The King was now fully poſſeſs'd that he was in a Condition to diſpoſe as he pleas'd of thoſe that durſt diſlike his Actions; and that his Will might now become the Law. But the preſent Proſpect of things too often deceives thoſe that are willing to believe the Whiſpers of their own Inclinations; who becauſe they ſee nothing at preſent ſpringing up, forget that the Roots

grow undiſcern'd: For the King thinking every Cloud diſpers'd, purſu'd all thoſe Fatal Ways that Miſtaken Flattery cou'd guide him in.

But ſee the Uncertainty of Humane Glory! The King having finiſh'd the great Work of his Uſurpation on the Laws and Liberties of his People, an unexpected Blow from that inviſible Hand that turns about the great Wheel of Cauſes, broke the whole Frame of his Projection in pieces; and inſtead of making himſelf an abſolute Prince, he was abſolutely depriv'd both of his Crown, his Kingdom, and his Life to boot: And an unforeſeen Particular Accident made way for a General Revolution. Some write, (tho' I believe them in the Wrong) that the Duke of *Hereford* accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of Words ſpoken to the Diſhonour of the King: But it is much more probable to believe (the Circumſtances of thoſe great Men in relation to the Court conſider'd) that the thing was thus: The Duke of *Hereford* one Day diſcourſing with the Duke of *Norfolk*, complain'd how much the King was miſguided by mean and baſe Counſellours; ſuch as ſought their own Private Intereſt, and not the Publick Good; and fear'd, that the King following ſuch Counſels, wou'd ſo loſe the Hearts of his People, that it might prove Dangerous to him: Aſſuring him, that no private Diſpleaſure urg'd him to ſay this, but meerly his Love to his King and Country; and therefore deſir'd the Duke, being one of the King's Cabinet Counſel, to lay theſe things before him, which might be of ill Conſequence, if continu'd. The Duke of *Norfolk* ſeem'd not to diſlike what had been ſaid, but ſo repreſented it to the King, that he turn'd it rather to an Accuſation than Counſel, having ſecret Malice in his Heart. The King cou'd not endure to hear unpleaſant Truths; and looking then upon himſelf as above all Controul from any one; did therefore ſo reſent this Boldneſs of the Duke of *Hereford*, that he ſummon'd him to anſwer it before the Council: Where the Duke of *Norfolk* confirm'd his Information, which was deny'd by the Duke of *Hereford*; who yet own'd all he had ſaid, and ſhew'd after what manner it was ſpoken. But the Duke of *Norfolk* maintaining the Accuſation, the Combate was demanded, and conſented to, and the Day appointed by the King; which being come, both Dukes appear'd Arm'd: And being juſt ready to Engage, they were ſtopp'd by the King, and Baniſhment pronounc'd againſt them both; the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought theſe Matters upon the Publick Stage, dy'd ſoon after at *Venice*: Having enjoy'd no ſuch Benefit as it is to be preſum'd he expected, from thoſe precipitate Violences which he engag'd himſelf in. The Duke of *Hereford* went over to *Calice*, and from thence to the *French* King's Court; where he had not been long, before his Father, *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, died; by which means *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* became Duke of *Lancaſter*: But he being then in Exile, the King, in his deceiv'd Opinion of Power and Security,

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acted by the most probable Means to shake both; seizing all the Duke's new descended Estate into his own Hands, and endeavour'd to make his Banishment perpetual. No Motive from right Reason cou'd urge the King to such an imprudent Injustice: For he hereby enrag'd a Person that cou'd only be a Considerable Enemy: His Popularity gave him an Interest in Power; and his Descent from a King, the Pretence to use it. Whilst the King giving up himself unto Effeminacy and Luxury, depress'd all Persons of either Courage or Honour: So that a Valiant Man was counted dangerous, and a Wise Man mutinous: And every one saw 'twas easier to prosper by following their Prince's Humour, than to pursue his Interest and Honour. And at this time, without any Publick Occasion, strange and unheard-of Ways were made use of to levy Money; Commissioners were sent to all Sheriffs and Corporations, declaring the King's High Displeasure for the Kindness they testify'd to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*: And for this Affection shew'd to the King's Enemies, the Pardons were to be obtain'd by heavy Fines, or other Taxes laid upon them. The Commons were bound, by new-invented Oaths, to perform what they engag'd to, and Blank Charters Seal'd and Deliver'd to the King's Use, whereby their Liberties might be as well taken away, as their Properties had been. By such Counsels as these, the Subjects were turn'd to Slaves; who therefore only waited for the first Opportunity to shake off their Fetters: The King in the mean time believing he govern'd most, when he had none to govern: For Slaves are not in the Business of Mankind; their Thoughts are only fix'd upon Revenge and Freedom.

The first Occasion that prov'd what I have said to be true, was a Rebellion that broke out in *Ireland*; the Opportunity of which Diversion favour'd the Earl of *Northumberland* to gather Forces in the North. And others of the Nobility and People, weary of their Oppressions resolv'd (whilst the King was in *Ireland*, to suppress that Rebellion) to attempt some Relief; and fix'd upon the Duke of *Hereford* as the proper Instrument to act by: The King's going about to make his Banishment Perpetual, being thus made the Cause of that Mischief which he design'd to prevent by it. The Duke now became the Centre to which all other Discontents tended; to whom resorted many of his former Friends, and others whom their late Oppressions had now made so.

Among these, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was the Chief; who in a Speech to the Duke of *Hereford*, laid open their Grievances and Desires; summing up all the Mischiefs and Misfortunes of an unsteady Government; how Contemptible we were made Abroad, and how heavily Oppress'd at Home; most of the Nobility being destroy'd, and the whole Commonalty wasted: Concluding with earnestly imploring the Duke to pity the Oppression of his Countrey, and to Encourage those who

were ready ro redeem themſelves from Slavery, under his Auſpicious Valour and Conduct.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* needed not the Force of Eloquence to perſwade him: The Loſs of his Unkle, his own Baniſhment, and the Impriſonment of his Children, together with the King's late unjuſt Seizure of his Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, were too Powerful Motives not to let him make uſe of any Opportunity he cou'd lay hold on to Revenge all his Wrongs. And what cou'd excite him more, than by one way at once to gratifie both his Ambition and Revenge?

The Duke having revolv'd in his Mind what the Archbiſhop had ſaid, and conſider'd the Tendency of the Peoples Affections to a Change, being weary'd with Oppreſſion; he at laſt reſolv'd to land with a ſmall Force in *Yorkſhire*; giving out, That he came only to recover his Inheritance; and quickly found his utmoſt Expectations anſwer'd. Many of the Nobility came in to him; ſo that his ſmall Troop was preſently increas'd into an Army: And the Multitudes that in all Places appear'd in his Cauſe, ſhew'd what Foundations a Tyrant had laid for his own Ruine; by depending on thoſe little Accidents that gave him an Opportunity to uſe an unjuſt and ſhort-liv'd Power.

The Duke finding every thing ſucceſsful, even beyond his Hopes, purſu'd that Fortune which ſo proſperouſly invited him, and haſted with his ſtill-increaſing Forces to *London*; where he found a Reception ſuitable to the Joy that diſcontented People ſhew in Alterations: He was receiv'd in Triumph, without Victory, and with all the Teſtimonies of Zeal and Duty which Flattering Crowds cou'd pay their Lawful Sovereign: Pageants and Rich Preſents entertain'd him; and all the extravagant Praiſes that cou'd be invented; and as many contumelious Reproaches every where heap'd upon their late King: All Teſtimonies of Allegiance ſeem'd loſt; the modeſt Mask was taken off, and War proclaim'd againſt King *Richard* and his Adherents.

The Duke of *York*, in the mean time, try'd to raiſe Forces; but found a general Reſolution in all People not to be Enemies to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. The Favourites, that were active and bold in Proſperity, ſhew'd, that neither their Skill nor their Duty was to ſtruggle with Difficulties; nor had they either Intereſt or Reputation, if they had attempted it: They were always a dead Weight upon their Prince; and, like the Nature of it, hung heavieſt upon weak Conditions. *Buſhey* and *Green* were purſu'd to *Briſtol*, and there taken; a fatal Place to haſty Favourites: *Baygot* eſcap'd into *Ireland*, and ſav'd himſelf from preſent Execution; but the Lord *Scroop* (Lord Treaſurer) with *Buſhey* and *Green*, that were taken, loſt their Heads.

King *Richard* was at this Time in *Ireland*, (as we have ſaid before) where the News came to him of the Duke's Landing in *England*, and his ſucceſsful Proceedings. The News increas'd by carrying, and every Circumſtance grew inlarg'd: So that it appear'd the blackeſt and moſt portentous Storm that

ever

ever gather'd in the full Sun-ſhine of a Prince; which yet his Favourites aſſur'd him cou'd be ſubject to no Eclipſe. But the Contrary appear'd to this unfortunate King, who was then engag'd in Troubles in *Ireland*; and thinking ſtill the beſt way was to make amends for one Injury, by committing a greater, he impriſons the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and late Duke of *Glouceſter*, in *Trim-Caſtle*; and took with him the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumarle*, and *Exeter*, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent before to raiſe an Army in *Cornwal*; in which he ſucceeded, tho' to no Purpoſe; for the King failing to come within the Time he promis'd, they were thereby diſcourag'd, and ſo diſbanded, and went home again.

Soon after this, the King landed in *Wales*, where finding how the Stream was turn'd againſt him, he perceiv'd too ſoon he had ſtaid too late: For every Place of Strength ſubmitting to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, he knew not what Courſe to ſteer, but wander'd to *Conway-Caſtle*; where the Earl of *Worceſter*, Steward of the King's Houſhold, (as if now he had found a fitting Opportunity to be even with the King for Proclaiming his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, a Traitor) broke his Staff of Office openly, and then went avowedly to the Duke. So that now King *Richard* had Time, as well as Reaſon, to reflect upon thoſe dangerous Paths he had been treading in; and might eaſily be convinc'd, that the juſt Limits within a Nation's Conſtitution, are much more Safe, as well as Glorious.

But King *Richard* had ſo accuſtom'd himſelf to precipitate and indirect Counſels, that they were become Natural to him; and therefore it was that he pull'd down upon himſelf, with his own Hands, that Ruine and Deſtruction, which had otherwiſe not fallen ſo ſuddenly upon him: And one way by which he did this, was his diſcharging his Army, rather than bravely uſing of them; as if he believ'd it impoſſible to recover Power Now, ſince he had us'd it ſo ill Before.

The next thing he ſhou'd have done, (when he perceiv'd it was impoſſible to ſtem the preſent Stream) ſhould have been to have retir'd till a better Occaſion offer'd: For he that gains Time, gains all: And therefore that Man was without doubt in the right of it, who being condemn'd in a Capital Caſe, offer'd (if his Life might be ſav'd) in Seven Years time to make the King's Lyon ſpeak as good *Engliſh* as any of the King's Courtiers, or elſe he wou'd be willing to ſuffer whatever Death ſhould be inflicted upon him; which Terms were accepted: Upon which, a Friend of the Condemn'd Gentleman, who had heard of his Extravagant Propoſal, went to him, and ask'd him, If he knew what he had done? *Yes, very well*, ſays the Condemn'd Perſon, *very well; for I have gotten Time, and in that I have got all: For if in Seven Years time, neither the King dies, nor I die, I am reſolv'd the Lion ſhall die; and either of theſe Three acquits me.* Juſt ſo 'twas in this Caſe, had *Richard* but with-

drew himself for a time, till the first Ferment of the People was over, he might perhaps have hop'd as much as the Duke of *Lancaster* then found.

But, alas! how wretched a thing is it, to have the Guilt of all those Black nefandous Crimes he had been guilty of, throughout the whole Course of his Reign, at once staring him in the Face! To see his Unkle *Glouceſter*'s pale meager Ghost upbraiding him with a most foul and most unnatural Murder; committed at a time when he was entertain'd by him with all the Love and Duty that a kind hospitable Kinsman cou'd express! No doubt the Guilt of this, and many other bare-fac'd and aggravated Murders, lay on King *Richard* with so great a Weight, as must needs discompose his Mind, and make him unresolv'd what Course to take.

Whilst King *Richard* was thus hesitating about what he shou'd do, the Duke of *Lancaster* sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to assure him of his Faith and Homage, upon Condition he wou'd call a Free Parliament, and there permit Justice to be done unto him: And here Fortune seem'd to give him one Stand more; which if he had made use of, he might have probably recover'd himself. But this was but (as the wisest of Kings has phras'd it) like *a Price put into the Hands of a Fool*, that had no Heart to use it; for instead of sending back an Answer worthy the Dignity of a King, he did what was indeed unworthy of a Private Man, begging of the Earl to interpose with the Duke for him, that he might only have an Honourable Allowance to lead a Private Life: Thus Deposing himself unexpectedly, before the Duke cou'd have the Time and Opportunity, tho' perhaps he might have the Thought, to do it privately.

This rapid Motion of the King towards his own Destruction, did not a little surprize the Duke, who when he heard it, was jealous of some double-dealing; and therefore, when he met the King at *Flint-Castle*, he seem'd to pay him all the Reverence due to a King, treating him with all imaginable Respect, till they arriv'd at *London*; telling the King, he only acted what he had done, for the Reformation of the Government, and for the Recovery of his Estate and Possessions.

When they were come to *London*, under Pretence of Securing the Person of the King from the Insults of the Mob, he lodg'd him in the *Tower*, where he made him the Instrument of his own Destruction, by calling a Parliament, that had no other Business but to arraign his Goverment and impeach him.

The Duke of *York*, that had been intrusted with the Government, during the King's Absence in *Ireland*, had play'd his Cards so well, that he was now become the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Chief Counsellor; advising such things against the Old King, as might most confirm the Duke in the Opinion of his New Loyalty: For he advis'd, that King *Richard* shou'd be

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preſs'd to a Reſignation; and that he ſhould be ſolemnly Depos'd. This Advice was preſently purſu'd, and the King ſeem'd as readily to yield, as the Duke did ambitiouſly deſire it. This Reſignation was ſolemnly made the Day before the Meeting of the Parliament: And yet that Parliament was to ſit, tho' the King was to be no longer a King, in whoſe Name it was call'd. This was certainly a wrong Step; for if there was any Virtue in the Reſignation, the Parliament muſt have been Diſſolv'd by Conſequence: But the Stateſmen of that Age took no notice of it: and the Proverb tells us, *A Blot is no Blot, 'till 'tis hit.* For as King *Richard*'s Conduct was different from all the Methods of Law and Right; ſo the haſty flattering Zeal that was now to be ſhewn to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, purſu'd its violent Courſe through all the Obſtacles of Law and Juſtice.

There were ſeveral Perſons commiſſion'd to receive his Reſignation; among whom were Lords, Clergy-men, and Lawyers: Of the latter ſort, were the two Chief Juſtices, *Thirninge* and *Markham*. Theſe Commiſſioners being formally Aſſembled in the *Tower*, King *Richard* was brought out in all the Kingly Ornaments, that he might have ſome Enſigns of Glory formally to reſign. In this Condition he was plac'd in a Chair of State, in this laſt Moment of his Royalty appearing moſt like a King; ſhewing no Diſorder of Mind in this great and unpreſidented Action of his Life: Telling the Commiſſioners, with the greateſt Calmneſs, in this rather Hurricane, than Storm of Fortune, *That he came to acknowledge thoſe Errors that his Youth had made ill Counſellors capable of imprinting in him; and that he was only troubled that he had not Time allow'd to repair thoſe Injuries he had done the Nation; knowing now, from a clear Sight, that he was both willing and capable of performing ſo happy an Action: For tho' he once was perſwaded he was ſhot at through his wounded Miniſters; yet he now ſaw that 'twas from them he receiv'd his Wounds:* Concluding, *That he rather choſe the Loſing of a Kingdom, than to Engage it in Blood and Confuſion; Deſiring only to Enjoy that Peace which he had merited in Preſerving it for others: And that he was as willing to reſign his Crown to the Duke of* Lancaſter, *as he perceiv'd they were willing to receive it from him.*

After this, he read the Inſtrument that was prepar'd for him, and made two Biſhops his Attorneys, to declare that his Reſignation in Parliament: Which was done the Day after, and accepted by the Lords and Commons; who yet thought fit to juſtifie this Reſignation of the King, by a heavy Charge, in the following Articles exhibited againſt him.

I. Imprimis, *That he would not permit the ſaid Duke of* Hereford *(who was ſo much wronged for his good Advice and Counſel, touching the King's Government) to fight the Combate againſt the falſly-*

falsly-accusing Thomas Mowbray *Duke of* Norfolk, *and yet banished him unjustly for Six Years.*

II. Item, *That albeit under the Great Seal of his Kingdom he had Licensed the said Duke of* Hereford, *at his Departure out of* England, *to make his Attorney to proceed for him in his Causes of Law; yet (being gone) the King would not permit any Man to deal for him in his Absence.*

III. Item, *That very uncharitably he prohibited all his Nobility, and all others, to be Suitors unto him for the said Duke of* Hereford's *Return from his unjust Banishment, upon the Forfeiture of their Lives and Goods.*

IV. Item, *That after the Death of* John of Gaunt, *the King's Unkle, Father to the said Duke, and Duke of* Lancaster, *he had wrongfully seized into his Hands all his Moveables whatsoever, and had divided and shared them among his graceless and wicked Counsellors; and had also (by like Injustice) seized all the Possessions of the said Dutchy of* Lancaster, *(which rightfully did belong to the said Duke of* Hereford*) into his own Hands, and kept the Profits thereof to his own use.*

V. Item, *That colourably, as a good Friend to* Thomas Arundel *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *(who was falsly accused of High Treason to the King, as he sate next to him in the Higher House of Parliament) he perswaded the Archbishop to make no Answer at all in Defence of the said Accusation, nor repair any more to the same House; protesting, That neither the said Accusation, nor his Silence, nor his Absence, should be hurtful or prejudicial unto him, and yet banished him out of the Realm, not having examined the said surmised Treason.*

VI. Item, *That whereas his Chancellor had refused (in an unjust Matter) to grant a Prohibition under the Great Seal of* England; *the King himself, to pervert the due Course of Justice and of Right, granted the said Prohibition under his Privy-Seal, and streightly required that it should be executed and obeyed.*

VII. Item, *That most unnaturally and cruelly he had procured* Thomas Mowbray *to smother to Death, betwixt two Feather-beds, the King's most Noble and Renowned Unkle* Thomas *of* Woodstock, *Duke of* Glouceſter, *when wrongfully, and without any good Cause, he was a Prisoner at* Callice; *and afterwards dignified the said Murderer, first, with the Earldom of* Nottingham, *then with the Office of the Marshal-General of* England; *and last of all, made him Duke of* Norfolk, *he being altogether unworthy of so great Honour.*

VIII. Item, *That the King, to further his last Expedition for* Ireland, *without Law, and without Justice, took from the Clergy, and many Religious Houses, great Store of Money, Plate, Jewels, and Rich Ornaments, not having the Owners Consent so to do.*

IX. Item, *That in the same Journey, without the Approbation of his Council of State, he carried with him into* Ireland *the Plate and Rich Jewels belonging to the Crown, which might have tended to the great Impoverishment of this Realm.*

X. Item,

X. Item, *That in every Shire he had Secret Intelligencers, upon whose bare Information that any Man had repined at the King's bad Government, the Party so accused (without Examination or Trial) was enforced to procure his Pardon by the Payment of a grievous Fine.*

XI. Item, *That by the lewd Advice of his wicked Counsellors, he had devised many subtile and crafty Oaths, by means whereof many of his honest Subjects had been undone.*

XII. Item, *That by the like Advice and Counsel he had procured Ruffians and desperate Companions to accuse Rich (but Weak) Men of sundry falsly supposed Crimes, and imagined Offences, and by means thereof enforced them to redeem the Combate with much Money.*

XIII. Item, *That he gave large Gifts unto wicked and leud Companions, who maliciously (to advance their own Estates) animated him against divers of his Barons, who only desired a good Reformation of his evil Government; and imposed divers Taxes upon his People, to enrich them.*

XIV. Item, *That he had procured such Records to be cancelled and imbezeled, as testified his Extortions, and his Oppressions unjustly imposed upon his People.*

XV. Item, *That he had oftentimes said, That the Laws of his Kingdom were in his own Breast; and that (upon this Opinion) he had put to Death many of his Noblemen, and some of his inferior Subjects, without just Cause.*

XVI. Item, *That most of his Writings and Letters unto Foreign Princes and Estates were so crafty, ambiguous, doubtful, and uncertain, that they could not rely confidently upon any thing which he had written.*

XVII. Item, *That in his Parliament holden in the One and twentieth Year of his Reign, his* Cheshire Guard *(who only were permitted and suffered to wear Weapons) committed many Robberies and Murders, and yet none of them was punished or reproved for the same.*

XVIII. Item, *That (to insinuate Favour with those loose and lewd Companions) the King had basely and fondly dishonoured his high Estate and Soveraignty, by entitling himself* Prince of Cheshire.

IX. Item, *That whereas in the same Parliament sundry great Lords intended liberally and dutifully to have spoken of such things as were not well ordered, to the end they might have been reformed; the King in such sort threatned them, that for fear of ensuing Dangers, they held themselves silent, and spake not at all.*

XX. Item, *That he exacted great Fines from the Wealthiest of his Subjects, for adhering to the Barons, notwithstanding that in full Parliament he had before granted them his free Pardon.*

XXI. Item, *That by himself and his own Authority, he had displaced several Burgesses of Parliament, and had placed such other in their rooms as would better fit and serve his own Turn.*

XXII. Item, *That contrary to his Solemn Oath and Instrument in writing, under the Great Seal of his Kingdom, he had not only disallowed*

*lowed the Commiſſion granted in the ſame Parliament to the Thirteen Lords, to enquire of, and to reform the great Abuſes, and the apparent Miſgovernment of the Commonwealth; but alſo had exiled, beheaded, and otherwiſe executed, divers Noblemen, and others, who for the King's Honour, and for the Safety and Welfare of the Commonwealth, had procured the ſaid Commiſſion, or had executed the ſaid Authority according to the Truſt and Confidence in them reposed.*

XXIII. Item, *That whereas he had cauſed certain Laws in the ſame Parliament to be made for his own Gain, and to ſerve his own Turn, he procured the Pope's Bull to curſe ſuch as ſhould withſtand or diſobey them; which thing greatly tended to the Derogation of his Crown, and was done expreſly againſt his own Law made againſt the Authority of the Pope within this Realm, but Seven Years before.*

XXIV. Item, *That he had diſplaced lawful and good Sheriffs, and had elected others, whom he ſuffered to continue and to hold the ſaid Office two Years together, and more; becauſe their unjuſt Oppreſſions augmented and encreaſed his Gain.*

Having thus brought him to the End of his Reign, tho' not of his Life, which he enjoy'd not long after; I ſhall conclude his Secret Hiſtory with what an Anonymous Manuſcript, writ many Years ago, ſays of him; which take in *totidem Verbis*:

"'Tis ſaid of this King, He ſpared neither the Dignity nor "the Life of any that croſs'd his Pleaſure; ſpared neither leud "Example, nor vile Action, to follow cruel Counſel: A Man "plung'd in Pleaſure and Sloth: In his Private Councils wou'd "alter whatſoever the Parliament had ſettled; neglects his Debts; "is Prodigal to Strangers; deſtroys the Nobility: And (ſays he) "for his Hypocriſie, Cruelty, Perjury and Tyranny, is Depoſed, "and afterwards murder'd at *Pomfret-Caſtle*. Of which, more in the next Reign.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Fourth.

KING HENRY *the Fourth began his Reign the 29th of* September, 1399. *He was the Darling of the People, and every way a Compleat Prince: Yet having a Flaw in his Title, his Reign was uneaſie, and full of Diſturbance. He was Crown'd at* Weſtminſter *by* Thomas Arundel, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *and was ſcarce warm in his Seat, before the Dukes of* Exeter, Aumarle, *and* Surrey, *with the Earls of* Glouceſter *and* Salisbury, *Conſpir'd to kill him, and reſtore King* Richard *again to the Throne; but their Plot was diſcovered before it was ripe, and they thereby loſt their Heads. Soon after which, King* Richard *was murder'd at* Pomfret-Caſtle; *and his Corps being brought up to* London, *was publickly expoſed to View in St.* Paul's *Church, that the People might be aſſur'd he was dead. Soon after King* Richard's *Murder,* Geoffery Chaucer, *and* John Cower, *(the two Princes of Old* Engliſh *Poets) died. All thoſe Noblemen, who either favour'd King* Richard, *or were raiſed by him, were degraded, diſinherited, or put out of the King's Favour. The* French *in* Acquitain *begin to rebel againſt King* Henry, *but are pacified by* Thomas Piercy *Earl of* Worceſter. *The* Welſh *rebel, under the Command of their Captain,* Owen Glendowre; *to ſuppreſs whom, the King went thither in Perſon, and quieted them, tho' not without Loſs and Danger. In* Anno 1403, *the terrible Battel of* Shrewsbury *was fought between the King and the Earl of* Worceſter, *the Earl* Dowglaſs, *the Lord* Henry Piercy, (*alias* Hotſpur) *and others; where, after a bloody Battel,* Piercy *was ſlain, buried, taken up again, and quarter'd; the Earl of* Worceſter *was beheaded,* Dowglaſs *taken, and the King victorious.* Owen Glendowre *again raiſeth Wars in* Wales, *and invades the Marches of* England. *A Counterfeit King* Richard *is ſet up, which gives King* Henry *much Trouble.* 140 *Ships came out of* France, *and arrived at* Milford-Haven, *to the Aid of* Owen Glendour. *The Earl of* Northumberland, *and the Lord* Bardolph, *rebelling, were both taken and beheaded. Thus was King* Henry's *Peace always interrupted, and his Reign attended with continual Troubles. And having Reigned Thirteen Years, ſix Months,*

*and*

*and three Days, he ended his Reign the 20th of* March, *1412, leaving behind him four Sons, and two Daughters, and was Royally Interred in* Canterbury. Thus far his General History.

His Secret History (especially with respect to his Coming to the Crown) is a Secret to this Day: For however justly King *Richard* was Depos'd, for his Notorious Secret Practises of Undermining and Endeavouring to destroy the Constitution of the Government; yet by what Right *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* ascended the Throne, is yet a Secret to every Mortal: But what his Pretences were, we shall shew you by and by.

The Loose and Disorderly Reign of King *Richard* had given sufficient Ground for his Deposition; which Action (as I have said in that Prince's Reign) was farther justify'd by Twenty four Articles drawn up against him; one of which was, *That all Law lay in his own Head and Breast.* These Articles were own'd by the Lords and Commons to be so notorious, that they needed no farther Examination, or Proof, and were sufficient for the Deposing of King *Richard.* Thus was the Throne become vacant: But how shall the Vacancy be supply'd?

The Duke of *Lancaster* having thus far succeeded beyond his Hopes, thought now it was high time to strike while the Iron was hot: And therefore, that he might justifie the Old Proverb, *In Nomine Domini incipit Omni malum*; he rises from his Seat in Parliament, with these Words: (Crossing himself with great Shew of Devotion, the better to deceive) *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I* Henry *of* Lancaster *claim the Crown of* England, *as descended by the right Line from* Henry *the Third.* This Claim of the Duke of *Lancaster* was certainly only made, that it might be said he made a Claim: Which indeed was as well false, as far-fetch'd: For this Title was fetch'd from *Edmond*, sirnam'd *Crook-back*, or *Crouch-back*, Eldest Son of *Henry* the Third; and that for his Deformity he was put by the Succession, and the Crown given to *Edward* the First: And the Duke of *Lancaster* was next of Blood by the Mother's side to this *Edmond.* This was the Duke's Pretended Title: But the Truth is, This *Edmond* was not the First, but the Third Son of *Henry*, and not deform'd at all, but a brave Man both in Person and Mind, and called *Crouch-back* from his taking upon him the Cross, or Voyage to the *Holy-Land.* But the next Heir then to the Crown, was *Edmond* Earl of *March*, Son to *Roger*, who was formerly slain in *Ireland*; who seeing the Stream so violent against King *Richard*, wisely retir'd, and liv'd with all imaginable Care and Prudence.

And even the Parliament did not seem to proceed upon this pretended Claim, to set the Crown upon the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Head; but by way of Election: For after the Archbishop had finish'd his Sermon, (which he preach'd on a Text chosen for the Purpose, *viz.* 1 Sam. 9. 17. *Behold the Man that I spake to thee of; this same shall reign over my People.* The Clergy being

being always ready to lend a Crutch to a lame Title) I say, when the Archbishop had finish'd his Sermon, by which he had prepar'd 'em for what was to follow, he mov'd them to proceed to the Election of a New King: And perceiving they were prepar'd for it, he demanded of them whom they wou'd choose for their King? And they answering nothing; First he propounded the Duke of *York*: But they answer'd, *No.* Then he propounded the Eldest Son of the Duke of *Aumarle*; to which also they answer'd, *No.* Then he propos'd his youngest Son; to which they made the same Answer, as they did also to divers others, which he nam'd, and they refus'd: Then pausing a little, he ask'd if they wou'd have the Duke of *Lancaster* for their King? To which they gave an Unanimous Consent: Which that they might the better express, the Question was Thrice put, and every time consented to. Then the Archbishop went to the Duke, fell upon his Knees, declaring to him that he was chosen King: And then the Duke (not to be behind-hand with the Archbishop in Humility) fell upon his Knees also, and declar'd his Consent to accept the Crown.

This Ceremony (whatever was then design'd in it) does plainly shew that Right which can never be separated from the People. And was indeed the best and only Title that King *Henry* had to the Crown; tho' he made himself another kind of Title: For on the Day of his Coronation, he caused it to be proclaim'd, That he claimed the Crown of *England*, First, By Conquest: Secondly, Because King *Richard* had resign'd his Royal Estate to him, and design'd him for his Successor: And Lastly, Because he was of the Blood-Royal, and next Heir Male to King *Richard*: *Hæres Malus, indeed!* cry'd *Edmond Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, to some of his familiar Friends; *and so is a Pyrate to a Merchant, when he takes from him all he has.* But in this Title, that King *Henry* had now form'd for himself, he makes no mention of his first Claim, as being descended from *Edmond Crouch-back*, whom he there wou'd have to be the Eldest Son of *Henry* the Third: For he knew the Truth of that Matter was too well known to be believ'd.

I have already observed, that in every Revolution the specious Pretence of Religion goes a great way in Cajoling the Multitude: This, King *Henry* was well enough aware of; and therefore began his Claim to the Crown, as if he had been going to Conjure, as one observes, with a *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, &c.* And to carry the same Sham on a little further, he appointed the Day of his Coronation to be upon the very same Day on which the Year before he had been banish'd; as if it had been the miraculous Contrivance of Divine Providence, to make his Innocence appear so much the more Illustriously. And yet further to carry on the Cheat, he was also anointed with an Oyl, which (as 'twas pretended) was deliver'd to his Father, together with this Prophecy, *That*

*all the Kings that receiv'd their Chriſm from it, ſhould be* Champions *of the Church*: Which coming by chance to the Hands of King *Richard*, as he was going to *Ireland*, he would have been anointed therewith, had not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* diſſwaded him from it, as not being lawful to be twice anointed.

But as there is no Day ſo clear, but has ſome Clouds; ſo King *Henry*'s Proſperous Fortune met with ſome Rubs: Of which, the firſt was that bold Speech made by the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who was indeed the only Man that wou'd not be perſwaded to ſwim down the Stream with the reſt of the Time-ſerving Nobility: Who took an Occaſion, from a Debate in Parliament, about what ſhou'd be done with King *Richard*, (for as yet they had not taken away his Life, tho' they had taken away his Crown) to expreſs himſelf ſo warmly, with reſpect to the Complexion of thoſe Jugling Times, and the Tranſactions then carrying on, that I cannot but think it a Reſpect due to the ſingular Merit of that Biſhop, as well as I know 'twill be a Satisfaction to the Reader, to ſet down his Speech expreſly as he ſpake it.

## *The Biſhop of* Carliſle's *Speech.*

My Lords,

*THE Matter now propounded, is of marvelous Weight and Conſequence; wherein there are Two Points chiefly to be conſidered: The Firſt, Whether King* Richard *be ſufficiently put out of his Throne? The Second, Whether the Duke of* Lancaſter *be lawfully taken in? For the Firſt, How can that be ſufficiently done, when there is no Power ſufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot do it, for the King is Head of the Parliament: And can the Body pull down the Head? You will ſay, But the Head may bow it ſelf down, and ſo may the King Reſign. It is true: But of what Force is that which is done by Force? And who knows not that King* Richard's *Reſignation was no other?*

*But ſuppoſe he be lawfully out, yet how comes the Duke of* Lancaſter *to be lawfully in? If you ſay by Conqueſt, you ſpeak Treaſon: For what Conqueſt without Arms? And can a Subject take Arms againſt his Lawful Sovereign, and not be Treaſon? If ſo, then whoever Arms againſt him ſucceſsfully, does it rightly: And what Hope is there of Peace at this rate? If you ſay, By Election of State, you ſpeak not Reaſon: For what Power hath the State to Elect, while any is Living that hath Right to ſucceed? But ſuch a Succeſſor is not the Earl of* Lancaſter, *as deſcended from* Edmond Crouchback, *the Elder Son of* Henry *the Third, put by the Crown for Deformity of Body For who knows not the Falſeneſs of this Allegation? Seeing it is a thing Notorious, that neither was this* Edmond *the Eldeſt, nor yet Crook'd-back'd, (tho' call'd ſo for ſome other Reaſon)*

*for) but of a goodly Personage, and without any Deformity: And your selves cannot forget a Thing so lately done, who it was* * *that in the Fourth Year of King* Richard *was declar'd by Parliament Heir of the Crown, in case King* Richard *should die without Issue: But why then is not that Claim made good? Because that* Inter Arma, silent Leges; *what disputing of Titles against the Stream of Power? But however, it is Extream Injustice, that King* Richard *should be Condemned, without being heard, or once allowed to make his Defence: And what can we Subjects expect, when our King is thus abus'd?* My Lords, *I have spoken this at this time, that you may consider of it before it is too late: For as yet it is in your Power to Undo that Justly, which you have Unjustly Done.*

* The Earl of *March.*

These last Words of the Bishop express'd a Zeal that seem'd to have something of the same Effects with Lightning, which is said to melt the Sword, without so much as singeing the Scabbard: For tho' no body that heard him, appear'd to be warm by what he said, yet was there a secret Fire shot into many of their Breasts, that after it came to be thorowly kindled in their Consciences, could not be extinguish'd; no, not with Blood; insomuch that they continu'd their Resentments, not only for their own Lives, but entail'd the Quarrel upon their Posterities, for so long did this Fire lie smoaking, even till the House of *Clarence* recover'd their Right in the Third Generation after, in the Person of King *Edward* the Fourth.

For all King *Henry*'s being anointed with that Oyl which was to make him *a Champion for the Church*, yet I perceive the Church-men were not very willing to trust him; for the Bishop of *Carliste* (as we have heard) declar'd against him in Parliament; and there was another Church-man, that not only declared, but actually engaged against him; and this was the Politick Abbot of *Westminster*, a great Book-Statesman, who secretly invited several of the Chief Nobility into a Combination against King *Henry*, to take away his Life: And this he secretly thought wou'd be a piece of Service to God and the Church: For it seems this long headed Abbot had heard King *Henry*, whilst he was only Duke of *Hereford*, utter certain Words against the Clergy, touching them in the most Tender Point, *viz.* That of their Riches: For it seems he happened to hear him say, *That Princes had too little, and Clergy-men too much.* Upon which the Abbot, calling the Duke's Words to Mind, after he was made King, concluded that *Henry* would be rather a *Persecutor* than a *Patron* of the Church: Neither, it seems, was the Abbot only of this Opinion, but the Nation in general; for otherwise the House of Commons would not (as they did afterwards) frame a Bill for Settling the Church-Lands on the Crown, as believing it would be an acceptable Oblation to him.

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This seems to have been the Foundation of that Plot laid against him by the fore-mention'd Bishop, this Abbot, and Five Temporal Lords; to wit, the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Surry*, and *Albemarle*, and the two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Glouceſter*, with many Knights and Gentlemen, their Friends. These Lords were such as had receiv'd some Disgust in the Parliament, tho' by a Reconcilement and Pardon all things seem'd to be made up again. These Lords and Gentlemen were by the Abbot (who had before sounded 'em, and knew how they stood affected) invited to his House, and there highly feasted. After Dinner they with-drew themselves into a Secret Chamber, where the Duke of *Exeter*, who seem'd very resolute either to restore, or to revenge the Cause of his Depos'd Brother, declared unto the rest the Allegiance they had sworn to King *Richard*; the Honours and Preferments whereunto they had been advanc'd by him; and that therefore they were bound both in Conscience and Gratitude to take his Part, and endeavour to restore him to that Royal Dignity of which King *Henry* had depriv'd him, contrary to his Allegiance, Justice and Honour, and had invested himself therewith: That King *Henry*, by so doing, had declar'd himself to be both a Tyrant and Usurper, and that, as such a one, it was lawful for any Man to take him out of the way by whatever Means he cou'd: And the Examples of the best-govern'd Commonwealths did not only permit of such Actions, and highly honoured the Actors with Statues and Garlands, and the most honourable Titles of Nobility, but also with the Wealth of the suppressed Tyrant. Then he also told them, That this Enterprize was not only necessary to them in particular, but would be also very profitable for the Commonwealth, by extinguishing those Wars which the *Scots* threaten'd, the *French* prepar'd, and the *Welsh* had already begun, upon this Occasion and Quarrel: That he did not doubt but it might be accomplish'd by open Force; but he thought it more sure for them, and more safe for the Commonwealth, rather to make use of some Secret Stratagems: And to that purpose, he advised that a Solemn Just or Tournament should be held at *Oxford*, on the *Christmas* Holidays, between him the said Duke, and twenty on his Part, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, and twenty of his Part; to which King *Henry* should be invited; where coming Arm'd, (as the Fashion was on such Occasions) he hop'd, as they were in the midst of their Military Exercise, they might as easily surprize and take off the King, as the *Roman* Senate did *Cæsar*; and thereby King *Richard* be again restor'd to his Liberty and Regal State.

What the Duke had propounded, was approv'd and applauded by the rest of the Confederates; and every thing succeeded to that degree, that nothing in any Humane Probability cou'd have prevented the Execution: When the same Power that had set *Henry* upon the Throne, protected him there,

against

against all their Machinations; diverting the Destiny upon themselves by such a strange and unexpected Discovery, as plainly enough shews, that Secrecy in Treason signifies nothing, unless it cou'd be hid from the All-seeing Eye of Providence: For the Duke of *Albemarle*, in his way to *Oxford*, gave a needless Visit to his Father the Duke of *York*; who sitting at the Table, chanc'd to espy something like a Scrole or Parchment in his Son's Breast: Whereupon he demanded what it was? Upon which, his Son, humbly begging his Pardon, told him, *It no ways concern'd him*: *by St.* George, reply'd the Father, *but I'll see it*; and so suddenly snatch'd it from him; and finding it to be a Counter-part of the Indenture of Confederacy, he ordered his Horses to be immediately made ready, with an Intention to go to the King, then at *Windsor*, and discover the Plot to him. But Youth being more active than Age, the Son got thither before him; and being himself the first Accuser of himself, obtain'd his Pardon before his Father cou'd come and prove him Guilty. The rest of the Lords, suspecting, by his not keeping Time with them, that all was discover'd, fly to Arms, and set up a Counterfeit *Richard*, whom they pretended was the true one escap'd out of Prison, and so advanced to *Windsor*; where not finding the King, (for he distrusting his Cause, no less than his Power, had posted before to *London*) they fell upon desperate Courses, which instead of taking away King *Henry*'s Life, ended in the Loss of their own. And all their Affection to King *Richard*, serv'd only to hasten his unhappy Fate: For the Speech of the Bishop of *Carlisle*, before-mention'd, and the late Design of these Lords against King *Henry*'s Life, in which their great Motive seem'd to be the Restoring of King *Richard*, made King *Henry* very uneasie, as thinking himself not safe while *Richard* was alive: And therefore 'tis reported by some, That King *Henry* shou'd one Day, with a deep Sigh lament, *That neither he, nor the Nation, had a Friend that would pull up that Root from whence Disquiets and Rebellions cou'd only spring.*

*Richard* having (as we have heard before) resign'd his Soveraign Power, began to find how much he was mistaken with the Hopes of enjoying that retir'd Peace which he seem'd willing to exchange his Crown for. Fortune commonly makes haste in the Prosperity or Adversity of Princes: And there is a reasonable Cause why neither shou'd be slow; for the Minds of Men hurry them to assist the Successful, and help to destroy the Unfortunate, being led more by Fear and Interest, than Resolution and Vertue. Which Truth appear'd in the Condition of this Unhappy King; who was first convey'd from the *Tower* of *London* to *Leeds-Castle* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret-Castle* in *Yorkshire*; where, for a while, there seem'd to be paid him some Respect in the manner of his Attendance: But, alas! this was only the Counterfeit Treating of the Shadow of a King: Which yet it seems, by King *Henry*'s Words before-

mention'd, made him uneaſie, who enjoy'd the ſubſtantial Power. And therefore the Death of King *Richard* follow'd quickly after.

There are divers Reports about King *Richard*'s Death; for ſome write, That upon the News of the Defeat of thoſe that roſe againſt King *Henry*, he grew ſo diſconſolate, that he pin'd away, and ſtarv'd himſelf: Others affirm, That for Fifteen Days and Nights he was kept from all Suſtenance; and with the Aſſiſtance of the Cold (for it was in *February*) he was ſtarv'd to Death. Others write, That he had Feaſts ſet before him, yet was not permitted to touch any thing: As if they deſign'd to imitate the Fable of *Tantalus*, and aggravate the Cruelty of his Starving. But it ſeems a very improbable thing that King *Henry* ſhou'd give ſuch unheard of Cruel Directions, as by ſuch Lingring Torments to take away the Life of a Prince; when there was a Declaration of the Parliament, That the Life of King *Richard* ſhould not be touched; which alſo King *Henry* agreed to.

More probably it is, as being atteſted by very good Authority, That ſome Words which fell from King *Henry*, gave a ſufficient Item to Sir *Pierce Exton*, to undertake the Death of King *Richard*: (For no doubt but King *Henry* had a mind to have it done, but did not care to be concern'd in the doing it) And therefore a ſmall Hint, it ſeems, prov'd enough for Sir *Pierce Exton*, and Eight other Villains, to haſten to *Pomfret*; as if he fear'd he ſhou'd be depriv'd of the Honour of the Action. When he arriv'd there, the Preface to the intended Villany, was the Forbearance of that Ceremony of Taſting, that was uſually paid *Richard* as he ſate at Dinner: Who demanding the Reaſon of that Omiſſion, he that us'd to perform it, anſwer'd, *That Sir* Pierce Exton *had brought ſuch Order from King* Henry: At which the King ſeem'd ſo much tranſported, that he ſtruck at him, ſaying, *The Devil take* Henry *of* Lancaſter *and thee together.* Upon this, Sir *Pierce*, with his bloody Followers, entered, and ſhut the Door after him: Which being perceiv'd by the King, he eaſily gueſs'd at their fatal Intentions, and (ſeeming leſs ſurpriz'd in this great and threatning Danger, than in all his former, tho' leſſer Hazards) he readily and boldly ſnatch'd a Halberd, and with a Reſolution differing from all his former Actions, ſlew Four of the Aſſaſſinates; and with continu'd and unwearied Bravery, fought with the reſt, till the chief Villain, *Exton*, got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Ax ſtruck him down: Where the unfortunate King ended all his Calamities, and left his Murderer to endure future Torments: For when he return'd again, expecting great Preferments and Rewards, he found himſelf deceiv'd, not only in the Hopes of an Addition of Favour, but in the Loſs of what he had: Whereupon he appear'd at firſt diſcontented; and afterwards, poſſibly through a Senſe of his horrid Guilt, tormented in his Conſcience; crying out, with

with the utmoſt Rage and Horror, *That to Pleaſure* One Unthankful Perſon, *he had made both himſelf and his Poſterity Hateful and Infamous to all the World!* And may all ſuch Miniſters of Miſchief ſtill meet with the ſame Reward.

King *Henry* now being rid of King *Richard*, began to ſing Requiems of Peace to himſelf; (if at leaſt the Guilt of King *Richard*'s Blood wou'd give him leave to do ſo:) And to pleaſe the People, he redreſs'd many Grievances, which were more groſs, and had not a direct Influence upon his Prerogative. And by thoſe common Popular Acts he ſought to engage the Common People to him; (acting indeed like one that had a continual Senſe of his Guilt upon him.) And yet all this cou'd not keep things quiet: For now the *Welſh* thought the State ſo much weaken'd by the Blood that had been lately ſhed of the Nobility, and others, that one *Glendowre*, a private Gentleman among the *Welſh*, but of more than ordinary Reputation among 'em, being mov'd with the Senſe of a particular Grudge of his own, incited them to a General Defiance of all the *Engliſh*: Firſt ſetting upon the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*, (who had lately recover'd certain Lands of him by Law) took him Priſoner, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of them again. And after this, Storming the Caſtle of *Wigmore*, he took the great Earl of *March* Priſoner (the true Heir of the Crown, after the Death of King *Richard.*)

King *Henry* hearing that the Earl of *March* was taken, (whom no doubt he had much rather had been ſlain) caus'd it to be reported abroad, that it was done with his own Conſent; and thereupon refus'd to redeem him: But the Truth is, the very Preſence of that Prince, who was now the True Heir of the Crown, was a tacit upbraiding of King *Henry* with his Uſurpation. But the King's refuſing to redeem the Earl of *March*, ſo incens'd *Henry*, ſirnamed *Horſpur*, Son of the firſt Earl of *Northumberland*, of the Family of the *Percy*'s, who had married his Daughter; that he, together with his Unkle the Earl of *Worceſter*, went over to *Glendowre*; and entering into a Tripartite League with him, agreed to depoſe the Depoſer, and divide the whole Kingdom betwixt them. By which Diviſion, they had allotted *Wales*, (that is, all the Land beyond *Severn* Weſtward) to be the Principality of *Glendowre*: The Countreys from *Trent*, Northward, was to be the Lot of the *Piercies*; in Memory whereof, the ſame being in the Geographical Form of a Half Moon, they have ſince given the Creſcent for their Cognizance. All the reſt, betwixt *Severn* and *Trent*, Eaſtward and Southward, was conſign'd to *Mortimer*, as his Portion. The Agreement thus made, they found the beſt way to deal with King *Henry*, was to do by him as he had done by King *Richard*; which was, to make him appear odious to the People: And to this End, they draw up Arti les againſt him; and the firſt Article was, *That he had by his Letters procured Barteſſes all Knights of Parliament to be unduly choſen*: Which being

one of the Arrows out of his own Quiver, with which he had wounded King *Richard* before, might well trouble him to ſee it return'd back upon himſelf. The Second Article was, *That he had falſified the Oath made at his firſt Landing, when he ſwore he came over for no other End, but to recover his Inheritance.* The Third Article was, *That he had not only taken Arms againſt his Soveraign, but having impriſon'd him, took firſt his Crown away, and afterward his Life.* And laſtly, *That ever ſince King* Richard's *Death, he had detain'd the Crown from the true Heir,* Edmond *Earl of* March, *their Ally; for which Cauſe they defied him, and vowed his Deſtruction.*

The News of this Double Aſſault, both with Arms and Articles, was like that of an Earthquake, and ſhook the very Foundation of King *Henry*'s Greatneſs: The Noiſe of their Articles did great Execution, and batter'd him ſeveral ways; and nothing appear'd but a Proſpect of diſmal Confuſion. The *Welſh* goaded him on one ſide, and the *Scots* on the other, and thoſe *Engliſh* of *Mortimer*'s Party, allarm'd him every way. But he that wanted not Confidence (tho' he wanted a Title) to aſpire to the Crown, when it was uncertain whether he ſhould ever get it, or no; having got it, cou'd not want Courage to keep it: And if he were able, being but a private Man, to get it from a King, why ſhou'd he not believe himſelf more able (being now a King) to keep it from private Men; eſpecially ſince he that had the Right in the firſt Place, had reſign'd it up to him; and he that had it in the ſecond Place, had ſworn Allegiance to him at the Time of that Reſignation?

Theſe Conſiderations were of that Weight with King *Henry*, that being fore-warn'd by the Fall of *Richard*, he reſolv'd never to tempt any to forſake him, by forſaking himſelf; and therefore he intended to fall upon them, before they were united: And to make ſhort work, at *Shrewsbury* the *Piercies* and he met; they being back'd by divers *Scots*, and he by as many *Engliſh*: Himſelf led up the Wing, which was againſt the Earl of *Worceſter*; and his Son *Henry* the Prince of *Wales*, that againſt *Hotſpur*. The Iſſue of which, was, That he obtain'd the Victory; the Prince his Son, who had never been in a Battel before, killing Six and thirty Men that Day with his own Hand; as thoſe obſerv'd who follow'd him: But I will refer the Reader to his General Hiſtory for a more ample Account of theſe Matters; and ſhall only obſerve, That the Badneſs of this King's Title, and the Oppoſition he met with upon that Account, prov'd a Security to the People againſt thoſe notorious Violations of the Laws, which were ſo frequent in former Reigns: And there is Reaſon to believe that it was rather the Fear he had of hazarding his Crown, than want of Love to his Darling Prerogative, that made him purſue it no more vigorouſly.

What Opinion King *Henry* himſelf had of his Title to the Crown, the following Story will give the beſt Account of.

King

King *Henry* in his laſt Sickneſs, cauſed his Crown to be plac'd by him on his Pillow, perhaps as fearing leſt in the Extremity of his Sickneſs, it might have been given to ſome other, who had better Right thereunto than he had: But however it were, when his Attendants (thro' the Violence of his Diſtemper) ſuppoſed him to be dead, the Prince his Son had notice thereof, who preſently went and ſeized upon the Crown; whereupon the King (who indeed was not dead, tho' ſuppoſed to be ſo) ſuddenly ſtarted up, raiſing himſelf on his Arms, and demanded who it was, that had ſo boldly taken away the Crown? The Prince hearing his Father's Voice, ſtraight brought back the Crown, and told his Father, *It was he that had took it, being told he was dead; and then*, ſaid he, *it wou'd have been my Right: But finding that you are ſtill alive, I reſtore it again*; and ſo ſet it down on the Pillow, by his Father. The King, upon the Prince's Words, fell backward upon his Bed, and fetching a deep Sigh, replies thus: *My Son, What Right I had to this Crown, and how I have enjoyed it, God knows, and the World hath ſeen.* To which, the Prince (Ambitious enough of a Diadem) anſwer'd him thus: *Comfort your ſelf in God, good Father; the Crown you have; and if you die, I will have it, and keep it with my Sword, as you have done.* And ſo he did ſoon after, maintaining his Father's Injuſtice by his own. I will conclude this Secret Hiſtory of *Henry* the Fourth, with a ſhort Remark made upon him above Fifty Years ago, *viz.* "So true is that Diſtich tranſlated out of "*Suetonius*:

"*Who's firſt Exil'd, and after Crown'd,*
"*His Reign with Blood will much abound.*

"For, ſays he, after he had murdered his Predeceſſor, nothing "took up this King's Reign, but Ruine and Blood upon the "Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, with ſuch unſuffer-"able Taxes, as never were before, nor ſince.

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Fifth.

KING HENRY *the Fifth, called alſo* Henry *of* Monmouth, *from his being born there, ſucceeded his Father King* Henry *the Fourth, being crown'd at* Weſtminſter *by* Thomas Arundel, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and proved a Prince of great Worth, ſtanding to this Day one of the greateſt Ornaments of our* Engliſh *Chronicles. He revived the* Engliſh *Title to the Crown of* France, *and carried it at laſt, tho' he liv'd not to poſſeſs the Kingdom: But firſt he had fought the Battel of* Agincourt, *where with* 13000 *Men he routed the* French, *who were* 52000 *ſtrong. There reigned then in* France, Charles *the Sixth, a weak Prince, who by his Queen's Perſwaſion, diſinherited the Dauphin, and beſtowed* Catharine *his Daughter upon* Henry: *Upon which,* Henry *was declared Heir to the Crown of* France, *and during* Charles *his Life, Regent of that Kingdom; and all this ratified by an Act of the Three Eſtates. 'Tis true, the Dauphin's Party beſtirr'd themſelves with might and main, to ſupport his Claim: But in the midſt of all, King* Henry *dies at* Vincennes *in* France, *having reigned Nine Years, Five Months, and Twenty four Days; leaving no Iſſue but a New-born Son,* Henry, *his Succeſſor, whoſe Education he left to the Cardinal of* Winchester; *the Government of* England, *till he came of Age, to* Humphry *Duke of* Glouceſter; *and the Regency of* France *to* John *Duke of* Bedford, *both the King's Brothers.* Thus far his General Hiſtory.

The Secret Hiſtory of this Prince will be contracted in a little room: His Reign was but ſhort, and the Martial Affairs that took up moſt part of his Reign, made it ſeem likewiſe ſhorter: But had he liv'd longer, and liv'd at Peace, there's no doubt but we ſhou'd have found him of the right *Norman* Breed. For when he was a Prince, he ſhameleſly made himſelf a Companion of Thieves and Highway-men, and had the Impudence to attempt the Taking away a Villain from the Bar of Juſtice, and ſtrike the Lord Chief Juſtice on the Face; which yet did not hinder the worthy Chief Juſtice from committing him to Priſon.

Prison. I say, Had not the Natural Temper of this Prince been diverted by War, who knows to what Extreams he might have brought things? The Clergy were afraid of him, and trump'd up his Title to the Crown of *France*, (altho' they knew well enough he had none to the Crown of *England*) that so he might not lay claim to their Possessions; and deal by them as *Henry* the Eighth did afterwards by their Successors.

The Truth is, Tho' *Henry* the Fifth was, while a Prince, given to many wicked Practices, yet when a King, he became moderate, and left a better Fame behind him than most of his Ancestors. The People had two Advantages by him; First, That his Reign was short; and Secondly, That he was much employ'd in the War with *France*, for regaining a Title to that Crown; which he accomplish'd, and so they were free from Civil War; which was a great Ease to 'em; for tho' they had still heavy Taxes, yet they thought it better to pay for maintaining the War Abroad, than at Home; and truly the People thought themselves very Happy in this King's Reign, (tho' their Privileges were laid asleep) that they had a little Breathing time from Domestick and Civil Wars; and had Hopes to regain by degrees a Reviving of their Spirits.

But certainly among all Protestants, it cannot but leave a great Blemish upon the Reign of this King, That in his time the Famous and Valiant Knight, Sir *John Old Castle*, Lord *Cobham*, suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Christ, being both tied up on the Gallows, and burned; from whence some think the Name *Ty-burn* was first derived. Nor was Sir *John Old Castle* the only Person that suffer'd Martyrdom in this King's Reign, but divers others also; among whom were Sir *Roger Acton*, Kt. *John Brown*, Gentleman; *John Beverley*, a Preacher; and many more. No wonder therefore that God should cut the Reign of this King short, who had taken away the Lives of so many of his Eminent Saints and Servants, only for bearing a faithful Testimony to the true Religion and Doctrine of our Blessed Lord, and unto Primitive Christianity.——"This King reign'd "about Nine Years and a half; all which time our Stories men-"tion nothing but his Wars, Raising of Moneys, and Spending "the Blood of this Poor Nation.

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Sixth.

*KING* HENRY *the Sixth, commonly called* Henry *of* Windſor, *being born there, was the only Iſſue of* Henry *the Fifth, and was but Eight Months old at the Death of his Father; and therefore, during his Infancy, the Kingdom was govern'd by his Unkles the Dukes of* Bedford *and* Glouceſter. *He was firſt Crowned at* Weſtminſter *by* Henry Chichly, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, 1429; *and afterwards at* Paris, 1531, *by the Cardinals of* York *and* Wincheſter. *He prov'd a Religious, but a Weak and Unfortunate Prince: In whoſe Reign began the fatal Quarrel for the Crown, betwixt the Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter; *which made* England *bleed many Years, and occaſioned above Twelve Field-Battels in this and the next Reign. The firſt that rais'd this Quarrel was* Richard *Duke of* York, *who claimed the Crown as his Right, by his Mother's ſide, being deſcended from* Lionel *Duke of* Clarence, *Third Son of* Edward I. *and Elder Brother of* John *Duke of* Lancaſter. *He took his Opportunity from the Diſcontents of the People, occaſion'd by the King's Uxorioufneſs, and his Queen's Imperious and Arbitrary Methods, who ſat at the Helm, while he reigned only by Proxy. Theſe Diſcontents* Richard *did ſecretly foment; and when he ſaw his Time fit for Action, he laid open his Claim: Then began the Civil Wars betwixt thoſe two Houſes, with various Succeſs on both ſides; but ſo, that the Houſe of* York (*after long ſtruggling for the Crown*) *did carry it at laſt. The* French, *on the other ſide, taking Advantage of theſe our Diſtractions at Home, beſtirr'd themſelves with might and main to ſhake off the* Engliſh *Yoak, and recover their Liberty: Inſomuch that* Henry, *who had been ſolemnly crown'd at* Paris *King of* France, 1431, *loſt it Five Years after to* Charles VII. *Thus, in few Years,* Henry *had nothing left of his Kingdom of* France, *but* Calais *in* Picardy, (*long ſince loſt too*) *and the* Norman *Iſles of* Jerſey *and* Garnſey, *ſtill remaining in our Poſſeſſion. At Home, King* Henry *was taken Priſoner at* Northampton-*Fight: Whereupon a Parliament was call'd, which allow'd of* Richard's *Claim; but ſo, that* Henry *was to enjoy the Crown during Life. The King had then a young Son named* Edward, *who being thus excluded from the Succeſſion, the Queen his Mother,*

*Mother*, (*an Active and Martial Princess*, *Daughter of* Renata, *Duke of* Anjou *and* Tourain) *turned every Stone to make him sure of the Succession. To the North she went, where she raised an Army*; Richard *went thither to fight her, and there lost his Life at the Battel of* Wakefeild. *But* Edward *his Eldest Son took up the Cudgels*; *who at* Mortimer's-Cross, *near* Ludlow, *encountred the Queen's Army, and came off Victorious. Upon this Victory he was proclaimed King at* London; *and then* Henry *retired with his Queen into* Scotland, *which put a Period to his Reign, tho' he lived Eleven Years after.* Thus much for his General History.

The Secret History of this King's Reign, began when he began to Reign: I mean, when he was out of his Minority, and as it were set up for himself: For till he came to Age, the Kingdom was well govern'd by his Three Unkles *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*; who by their Wisdom and Justice kept up the flourishing Estate of the *English* Nation: But when his Years of Nonage were expired, and he came to wield the Scepter with his own Hands, he soon lost what his Father and Unkles had got; and all things went to wrack both in *France* and *England*. For the King marrying the Daughter of the Earl of *Arminiack*, with whom he had not a Penny Portion, she set up Creatures of her own, and govern'd the King as she pleas'd, to the undoing both of the King and Kingdom: For however the King was by some stiled a Saint, yet the Queen, who rul'd by his Authority, acted like a Devil. For she and the New Favourite, the Marquis of *Suffolk*, first put the good Duke of *Glouceſter* out of his Protectorship, then out of the Council, and afterwards took away his Life: Which tho' secretly plotted, and privately acted, was yet apparent enough to the whole Nation: And this for no other Reason, but because the good Duke, (for so the Duke of *Glouceſter* was generally called by the People, who loved him for his Honesty and Sincerity) would not agree to those Counsels which he knew would be of a destructive Consequence to the King and Kingdom. To manage this Work of the Duke's Destruction, it was concluded by his Enemies, That he should be privately convicted and condemned, without any Publick Impeachment: To which End, a Parliament, by the Queen's Procurement and her Partizans, was called at *Bury*; and, as some say, unkown to the King, (whose own Weakness, and the Queen's Pride, made him but a Cypher in the Government.) To this Parliament the Duke of *Glouceſter* resorting, (whose own Innocence he thought a sufficient Defence) he was on the Second Day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumond* (then High Constable, abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) Arrested, and committed to Prison, and all his Servants taken from him, and committed to several Prisons, (for without this, they could not have carried on their Design against his Life:) But being thus alone in the Hands of his Enemies,

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it is no wonder that the next Morning he was found dead in his Bed. The Murtherers, to save their Credit, gave out, that he died of an Impostume; but there were scarce any that saw the dead Body, but were of another Opinion.

But as this Secret Murther of Duke *Humphrey* was in it self a most barbarous and wicked thing; so, with respect to the King, it was the most imprudent and pernicious thing that could have been done: For whilst the Duke of *Glouceſter* liv'd, his Right of Primogeniture, being the Fourth Son of *Edward* the Third, wou'd have kept the Duke of *York* from claiming the Crown, as being descended from the Fifth Son of the same King *Edward*: Whereas the Duke of *Glouceſter* being dead, the Duke of *York* had a just Ground to claim. But so eagerly did their violent Passions hurry 'em on to remove this good Duke out of the way, that they had not time to consider what wou'd be the fatal Consequences of it.

But besides what has been already alledged, this Murther of the Duke of *Glouceſter* entailing a Curse upon those who had a hand in it, prov'd but the sad Fore-runner of all those Fatal Miscarriages that follow'd: For the New Favourite, the Marquis and Duke of *Suffolk*, being made *Regent* of *France*, rul'd there at such a rate, that he lost all; and by his Male Administration, gave a fair Occasion to the Duke of *York* to lay claim to the Crown; and to the People, to fix the Mark of Evil Counsellors upon the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Suffolk*, who were the two Principal Counsellors that govern'd the Queen, and by consequence the King; And indeed the People press'd so hard for their Removal, that the Queen was forc'd to let go her Hold, and leave them to shift for themselves: And the Duke of *Suffolk* being impeach'd in Parliament, and formally banish'd for Five Years; with Hopes nevertheless on the King's Part, that by that time the Edge of the Peoples Hatred against him, might be taken of, and then that he might be again re-stor'd to Favour: But Providence had otherwise dispos'd of the Duke; for being met by an *English* Man of War, as he was going over to *France*, he was brought back again, and at *Dover-Sands*, according to the Popular way of Justice, without farther Ceremony or Sentence, had his Head chopp'd off on the side of the Long-boat; which, together with his Body, were left there, as a Sacrifice to the injur'd *Manes* of the murder'd Duke of *Glouceſter*, in which this Duke had a chief Hand.

These things (as I have already noted) gave Occasion to *Richard* Duke of *York* to try Conclusions for his Title to the Crown against the *Lancastrian* House; making use of the Discontents of the People, through the King's Evil Government; having stretched the Prerogative beyond all Bounds: And tho' *Richard* Duke of *York* was himself slain at the Battel of *Wakefield*, as also his Son the Earl of *Rutland*, (tho' begging on his Knees to have his Life sav'd) yet afterwards his Son *Edward*, Earl of *March*,

*March*, engaging with the *Lancastrian* Faction at a Place call'd *Mortimer's Cross*, got the Victory; and was afterwards acknowledg'd King by the Name of King *Edward* the Fourth: And so by Conquest he got the Title to run through the House of *York*, having cut it off by the Sword from the House of *Lancaster*, notwithstanding the actual Possession of three Descents. Miserable was the Case of the People in the mean time: who whilst the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* fought for the Crown, were destroy'd on both sides: For many Overtures of War were yet between them; for *Henry* was not yet dead, tho' for the present outed, but as a dying Man strove for Life: Till being quite overthrown, he was not only imprison'd, but at last murther'd, to secure the Title: For before his Death, sometimes *Henry* was King, and sometimes *Edward*: There being no less than Ten Bloody Battels fought meerly for a Title, besides all Lesser Skirmishes; wherein many Thousands of Lords, Gentlemen, and Commoners, were slain; and yet not one jot of Advantage gotten by it for the Peoples Liberties: It being the Misery and Folly of the People, to venture all they have, to set up those who have afterwards proved most Tyrannical over them; and to sow Seeds of future Misery, by spilling their Bloods for an Usurped Title.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the Fourth.

*KING* EDWARD *the Fourth, the Eldeſt Son of* Richard *Duke of* York, *the Firſt King of this Line, was a Martial Prince in War, but Effeminate in Peace. He ſucceeded King* Henry *by virtue of his Claim, but was fain to maintain his Right as he had got it, by the Sword. This was a ſtrange Reign, both with reſpect to the prodigious Effuſion of Blood, as well as the wonderful Changes and Revolutions that happened in it: For ſo ſtifly bent was Queen* Margaret (Henry *the Sixth's Wife*) *to ſecure the Crown to her Son, that ſhe reſolved either to dethrone* Edward, *or periſh in the Attempt. In order to which, ſhe made ſure of* France *and* Scotland: *But nothing cou'd happen more Favourable to her Deſign, than the Acceſſion of the Potent Earl of* Warwick *to her Intereſt; whoſe Power was ſo great, that he was commonly call'd the* Make-King; *for his Reputation and Influence was ſuch among the People, that whatever ſide he took, he turned the Scale; and he had probably re-ſettled th Houſe of* Lancaſter *upon the Throne of* England, *had not a Miſtake in a Fog made him loſe the Victory in* Gladmore *Fight, near* Barnet, *where he was ſlain. In ſhort, Such were the Changes and Revolutions of this Reign, before it came to be ſettled, that* Henry *became twice a Priſoner to* Edward, *and* Edward *once to* Henry. Edward *Abdicated, and was fain to fly beyond Sea, and* Henry *reſtored from his Priſon to the Throne: Then* Henry *was rejected, and* Edward *re-admitted: For the Parliaments always followed the ſtrongeſt ſide.* Tewksbury-*Fight, in which Queen* Margaret *was taken Priſoner, and her Army utterly routed, at laſt decided the Quarrel: There it was that her Son Prince* Edward *was taken Priſoner, and ſoon after murder'd by the bloody Hands of* Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter, *King* Edward's *younger Brother; and King* Henry *himſelf, not long after, had the ſame Fate, and the ſame Executioner. By which,* Edward *remain'd in the full Poſſeſſion of the Crown; which he reſign'd up with his Life, when he had reigned Twenty two Years, one Month, and eight Days, ending his Reign the Ninth of* April, 1483. Thus far his General Hiſtory.

The Secret History of this King (as that of his Predeceſſor) is contracted into a little room, by reaſon of the Open Conteſt between him and King *Henry* for the Crown; which continu'd the greateſt part of his Reign: For ſuch was the inſatiable Deſire of Revenge between one and the other, that there was no Mercy ſhewn to any that fell into their Clutches on either ſide. And yet as eager as King *Edward* fought, and as Ambitious as he was of the Crown, he with a kind of counterfeit Modeſty at firſt ſeemed to deny it: For having defeated and routed the *Lancaſirian* Party, ſoon after the Queen had overcome and ſlain his Father, he made what haſte he could to *London*, where he was joyfully receiv'd; and the Earl of *Warwick* ſoon after muſter'd his Army in St. *John's Field*; and having caſt them in a Ring, the Leader in the midſt of 'em read the Agreement of the laſt Parliament; which was, That *Richard* the then Duke of *York*, Father to King *Edward*, ſhou'd ſucceed, as next Heir to the Crown, after the Death of King *Henry*; but that if King *Henry*, or any on his behalf, ſhou'd go about to diſturb the Succeſſion in the mean time, that then the Duke of *York* ſhou'd be preſently admitted King. The Leader having read this Act, demanded whether they wou'd have King *Henry* ſtill to reign over them? To which they all cried out, (having no doubt been prepar'd before-hand) *No, No.* Then they were ask'd, whether they wou'd have the Earl of *March*, Eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*, by that Parliament proclaimed King, to reign over them? To which, with a great Shout, they cried out, *Yes, Yes.* This being told to King *Edward*, who diſſembled the Satisfaction he took therein, told them, *Tho' he look'd upon himſelf as unworthy of the Place, and unable to execute it; yet he thanked GOD for the Gift, and them for their good Will.* This he ſaid, not that he thought himſelf ſo; but that by this feigned Shew of Humility he might render himſelf more Acceptable to the People. And therefore, two Days after, he rid in State to St. *Paul's*; from whence (his Oblation being made, and *Te Deum* ſung) he was attended to *Weſtminſter*, and there being plac'd in the Great Hall, with the Royal Scepter in his Hand, he makes a Solemn Declaration of his Right to the Crown by a double Title: *Firſt*, As Son and Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York*, the right Heir of the ſame; and Secondly, As Elected by Authority of Parliament, upon King *Henry's* Forfeit hereof. *Nevertheleſs*, added he, *I am reſolved to wave both Title and Right by either, unleſs theſe good People will willingly allow of my Proceedings, and lovingly approve of my Claim:* Whereupon they all immediately cry'd out, *King Edward, King Edward.* Which Speech of his he made, not that he wou'd have receded the leaſt Tittle from his Claim; but that by his ſeeming Modeſty he might fix the Crown more firmly on his Head.

To this End, and not ſo much out of Love to Juſtice, it was that King *Edward* made a Shew of ſetting the Beam even,

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that was to carry the Scale of Juſtice; ſitting himſelf for Three Days together, publickly with his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there acquainting himſelf with the Orders of that Court, and the Proceedings therein: Ordering his Officers to be more mindful of their Duties, and the Advantage of the Subject, than of their own unjuſt Gain. Theſe things, tho' good in themſelves, yet loſt much of their Value, being done by King *Edward* to carry on a Secret Deſign: For he knowing well enough how tickliſh he ſtood, and what a Competitor he had, did this only to endear himſelf to the Mob; he being more than ordinarily obſequious in courting the Citizens; over whom he had ſo great an Aſcendant, that it is obſerved of him, He got the Love of the *Londoners*, by owing them Money; and the Good Will of the Citizens, by lying with their Wives.

But how ſtrange a piece of inconſiderate Raſhneſs and Folly was it in King *Edward*, when he ſtood in ſo much need of Alliances Abroad, inſtead thereof, to make Enemies both at Home and Abroad too, by ſending the Earl of *Warwick* on a Fool's Errand, to negotiate a Match at the *French* Court, with the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Siſter to *Carlotte* Queen of *France*; whereby he wou'd have had conſiderable Alliances Abroad; (and beſides have prevented Queen *Margaret* from receiving further Aſſiſtance from *France*, whereby to raiſe new Troubles againſt him in *England*; as ſhe afterwards did:) Whilſt in the mean time, King *Edward* purſues another Game, and courts the Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Greby*, one of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction, ſlain at the laſt Battel of St. *Albans*. 'Tis true, King *Edward* at firſt intended not to carry on the Frollick ſo far; deſigning only to make her his Miſs; but the crafty Widow, (whether out of a Principle of Vertue, or with a Deſign to draw on the King into the Matrimonial Nooſe) plainly told him, *That as ſhe look'd upon her ſelf of too inferior a Degree to think of being his Queen; ſo ſhe valu'd her Honour at a higher rate, than to proſtitute it to the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom, by becoming his Concubine.* By which Noble Speech, the King having as great an Opinion of her Vertue, as he had before of her Beauty, ſet all Political Conſiderations aſide, and made her his Queen. But the News of this arriving at the *French* Court, where the great Earl of *Warwick* was then treating of a Match between him and the Lady *Bona*, as I have ſaid before, (and which was agreed unto there on all ſides) put ſuch a Slur upon the Earl of *Warwick*, as for ever alienated him from the King; and was afterwards the Occaſion of ſhedding a Deluge of Chriſtian Blood; and not only made his Throne to ſhake, but for a Time turn'd him out of it, as by his General Hiſtory the Reader may ſee more at large. By which the Levity and Inconſideration of this King ſufficiently appears.

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The Injuſtice and Cruelty of this King, is alſo no leſs evident; as is manifeſt from his Dealing with the Lord *Wells*, and Sir *Thomas Dymock* his Brother-in-Law. The Story is this: After the fruitleſs Interview between the King, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and Earl of *Warwick*, at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Duke and the Earl went to *Lincoln*, at which Place they had appointed their Forces to meet 'em, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a Valiant Gentleman, and of approved Judgment. The King knowing this, with Intent to take off Sir *Robert Wells* from *Warwick*'s Party, ſends for the Lord *Wells*, and his Brother-in-Law, Sir *Thomas Dymock*, who coming to attend the King's Pleaſure, had ſome notice given them by ſome of their Friends at Court, that the King was much incens'd againſt them; whereupon they take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. From whence, upon the King's Promiſe of a General Pardon, they came into his Preſence; who gave Command to the Lord *Wells*, effectually by Letter to ſollicit his Son, Sir *Robert Wells*, to leave the Earl of *Warwick*, and come to the King's Service; which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did: But becauſe his Solicitation ſucceeded not, the King in a Rage cauſed both their Heads to be chopp'd off. Which barbarous Action will leave a Stain upon the Honour of this King, to all ſucceeding Ages.

Nor was this the only Inſtance of his Cruelty: For when Prince *Edward*, the Son of King *Henry* the Sixth was taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Tewksbury*, and brought to King *Edward* by Sir *Richard Crofts*: He ſternly demanded of him, *How he durſt thus with Banner diſplay'd enter into his Realm?* To whom the Prince boldly reply'd, *To recover my Father's Kingdom, poſſeſſed by his Father and Grandfather; and after him, belonging to me: And therefore how dareſt thou, which art his Subject, diſplay thy Colours againſt him thy Liege Lord?* Upon the ſpeaking of which Words, King *Edward* with his Gauntlet gave him a daſh on the Mouth: Which was not only barbarous and inhumane in it ſelf, but more ſo, in the Encouragement it gave to his bloody Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who with the Duke of *Clarence*, *Thomas* Marquis of *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, barbarouſly ſtabb'd their Poniards into the Young Prince's Breaſt, as ſoon as ever the King's Back was turn'd. If this Murder was not deſign'd by the King, which there is Cauſe enough to believe; yet the Blow the King gave him in their Preſence, was enough to ſet them on. This was a Murder contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, and of Nations: And Divine Vengeance ſo remarkably follow'd all thoſe that were Actors therein, that there was not one of them that went to the Grave in Peace.

And as thus Prince *Edward* was inhumanely murder'd, ſo his Father did not long ſurvive him; being ſtabb'd likewiſe by the bloody Duke of *Glouceſter*, without any Cauſe

or

or Provocation; and not without Suſpicion of the King's Conſent.

We have ſeen King *Edward*'s Injuſtice and Cruelty, let us in the next place ſee his Veracity, and how true he was to his Word. But how can we expect him to be true to his Word, whom Oaths themſelves could not bind: For after he had been forc'd to fly to the Duke of *Burgoin*, by whom he was aſſiſted both with Men and Money, he landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, from whence he march'd to *York*; where finding no great Welcome, he ſolemnly proteſted with moſt execrable Oaths, That he utterly diſclaimed all Claim to the Crown of *England*, which he ſaid he did acknowledge to be King *Henry*'s Indubitable Right; and that he challeng'd only the Benefit of his Birth-right, which was the Inheritance of the Dutchy of *York*, unlawfully and with ſtrong Hand held againſt him. Upon theſe Proteſtations to the Citizens of *York*, and upon taking the Sacrament to be a true Subject to King *Henry*, they permitted him Entrance into *York*, which before they abſolutely refus'd him. But he was no ſooner enter'd, but he let 'em know he laid Claim to no leſs than the Crown: And therefore furniſhing himſelf with what he wanted in that City, and leaving a ſufficient Garriſon to ſecure it to himſelf, he made what Haſte he cou'd towards *London*: And when at *Nottingham* he was met by ſeveral of the Nobility, (who had heard of his Relinquiſhing his Claim to the Crown) they tendered him their Service; but on this Condition only, That he would take upon him the Title of King; and he was very well contented (notwithſtanding his Oath to the contrary at *York*) to conſent thereto. Thus we ſee he not only broke his Word without any Scruple; but even made bold with Heaven too, by taking the Sacrament, to compaſs his own Ends; which how much it ſavour'd of Irreligion, I will leave to the Divines to judge.

How juſt King *Edward* was to his Word, was alſo experienc'd to their Coſt, by *Fauconbridge*, and ſeveral of his Followers, who after their General Pardon ſealed and ſent to them by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, upon Account whereof they ſurrender'd up the Caſtle of *Sandwich* (of which they were poſſeſs'd, and Thirteen Ships beſides) to the King's Uſe, yet afterwards ſeveral of them were Executed in divers Places; and *Fauconbridge* himſelf, who was compriſed in the ſame Pardon, was executed at *Southampton*.

Thus upon a brief View, we ſee what was King *Edward*'s Veracity; let us now take a View of his Chaſtity: We have already obſerv'd how he marry'd the Lady *Gray*, of which one wittily obſerv'd, *That never any Man that did marry for Love, did ſo little love Marriage; for he took as much Pleaſure in other Mens Wives as his own.* Of which *Shore*'s Wife was a ſufficient Inſtance, tho' not the only one. He was very much given to converſe

converse with fair Ladies; for besides the Lady *Lucy*, to whom it was reported he was betrothed, and by whom he had certainly Issue, he kept Three Concubines, which (as he said himself) were of Three different Dispositions; one was the Merriest, (which was *Shore*'s Wife) another the Cunningest, and the Third the Holiest Harlot in the Realm.

But we need take no further into this Dunghil: For of *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth, it is affirmed by an Ancient Author, "That they were two Men, born as it were "for Ruine, Blood, and Misery to this Kingdom; whose "Lives and Actions no Man can read with Patience: That so "much Treasure, and so many Mens Lives should be lost and "spent, to maintain the Ambition, Luxury, Pride and Ty-"ranny of but two Men, in so many set Battels, fought in the "Bowels of this Kingdom. *Henry* was stabb'd with a Dagger, "by the Duke of *Glocester*, and *Edward* died at *Westminster*, "and left behind him two Bastards, and a miserable *Whore*, "*Jane Shore*.

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THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the Fifth.

KING EDWARD *the Fifth, being the Eldeſt Son of King* Edward *the Fourth, ſucceeded his Father, at the Age of Twelve Years; but was never Crowned, being ſoon removed by the wicked Practiſes of his Unnatural and Ambitious Unkle,* Richard, *ſirnam'd* Crouchback, *Duke of* Glouceſter; *who, to clear his way to the Crown, had in his Brother's Reign, cauſed his Elder Brother* Clarence *to be impeached of High Treaſon, by which means he was put into the* Tower, *where he ſoon after ended his Life, being ſaid to be drowned in a Butt of Malmſey. Thus there remained no Block in his way, but his two Nephews, this King* Edward, *and* Richard *his Brother. To be rid of theſe young Princes, he got the Protectorſhip away from the Lord* Rivers, *the King's Unkle by the Mother's ſide; and next he got into his Clutches* Richard *his Brother, whom the Queen-Mother was fain to part with in great Affliction, and with great Strugglings of Nature. To blind the People, he forthwith gave Order for the King's Coronation, whilſt he ſecretly contrived with the Duke of* Buckingham, *(his great Coadjutor in his wicked Deſigns) to fix the Crown upon his own Head. By whoſe Artifice the City of* London *was drawn in at laſt, to proclaim* Richard *King of* England, *the late King* Edward *and his Iſſue being repreſented as Spurious to the People. So that this young King reigned but Three Months, and ſoon after became (with* Richard *his Brother) a Victim to his Unkle, and next Succeſſor.* Thus far his General Hiſtory.

The Secret Hiſtory of this innocent King, conſiſts only in tracing thoſe Secret Steps by which his Bloody Unkle firſt took away his Crown, (before ever it was ſet upon his Head) and afterwards his Life: Which tho' ſecretly carried on, was a piece of the moſt barbarous, and at laſt bare-fac'd Villany, that was ever acted on the Theatre of *England.* It was indeed very ſtrange, that King *Edward* the Fourth, who had been guilty of ſo many Private and Publick Butcheries, after the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood, as was ſhed in Defence of his

his Title, shou'd at last die in Peace. But the Workings of Divine Providence are oftentimes very mysterious; *His Ways are in the Deep and his Paths are in the great Waters, and his Foot-steps are not known.* Hence possibly it was that the Vengeance, so justly due to the Father, fell with redoubled Fury upon the Heads of his two innocent Children, this present King, and the Prince his Brother: That so by such an Extraordinary Punishment of the Ambition of the Father, by the Ambition of an Unkle, the World might see as well as feel the Vanity and Impiety of that Civil Discord which had distracted so many Minds, confounded so many Estates, and, by the various Mischiefs that attended it, so sullied the Chronicles of this Nation, that scarce any can read the History of those Times without Horror; while the Globe of Majesty was toss'd and tumbled from one side to the other, like a Foot-ball; and whilst they saw the Red Rose of *Lancaster* blushing with so deep a Crimson, as if it was double-dy'd by the Blood they had shed; and the White Rose of *York* grown so Pale and Wan, partly by the Blood they had lost, and partly by their Desire of Revenge, the Prickles of either Rose being so sharp and piercing, that as oft as they met, they gave each other Wound for Wound: When on a sudden Providence seem'd to declare for the House of *York*, by the almost total Destruction of the House of *Lancaster*; of whom there being no Heir Male alive of the whole Blood, (after the Death of King *Henry*, and his Son) to dispute the Right of our Fifth *Edward*, he seem'd doubly Rivetted, both by Descent and Conquest; and made his Entry so much the more desirable, in that it brought such great Probability of Universal Peace; no Man suspecting the least Occasion of Inquietude: Unless perhaps the King's Father had some such fore-boding Thoughts, from the Ambitious and Aspiring Temper of his Brother *Richard*, and therefore foreseeing the Evil that was to others invisible, he plac'd his Son at such a Distance from him, as might render him less obnoxious to Danger. And no doubt it was for some such Reasons that he left him in *Wales*, with such a Guard of his Mother's Friends about him, as being neareſt in Blood, but remotest in Title, might probably endeavour to keep off all others from ascending the Throne themselves had no Pretence to.

This was indeed as much as Human Policy could do; but how vainly do we go about to uphold what Heaven has design'd to overthrow! The House of *York* must fall, and that by their own Hands: And which is more remarkable, the self same Hand that had been embrew'd in the Blood of King *Henry* the Sixth, and of his Son Prince *Edward*, must now as an Expiation of those Barbarous Murthers, destroy the Children of King *Edward*, who if he did not countenance those Murthers, at least suffer'd 'em to be committed with Impunity. But let us see by what means this Hellish Contrivance was brought about.

The King being at the time of his Father's Death at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, the Queen appointed Earl *Rivers* her Brother, and her Son the Lord *Gray*, with the reſt of her Relations and Friends then with the young King, to provide a ſtrong Guard of able Soldiers to attend upon the King, as a Guard from *Ludlow* to *London*. But the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who had other Deſigns in his Head, did not think this at all adviſable, becauſe it was likely to prove a Remora to his Intentions, and therefore muſt find out ſome means to obſtruct it: And becauſe he found he could not do his Buſineſs alone, he reſolv'd to make uſe of ſome Tools to help him to effect it. Thoſe that in this Caſe he thought moſt proper, were firſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and afterwards the Lord *Haſtings*; both theſe were the moſt eaſie work'd upon, as not being well pleas'd with the Power of the Queen's Brother, and the Duke's half Brother; which the Duke of *Glouceſter*, from his own inveterate Malice againſt them all, ſeem'd to exaggerate.

To theſe Lords, in a private Conference, the Duke firſt inſinuates the Queens low Deſcent, unworthy of that Royal Dignity; and the high Promotion of her Kindred; tells them, that if theſe Muſhroom Nobles are thus permitted to be about the King's Perſon in his Youth, they would ſo Monopolize his Favour, that when he came to Years of Maturity there would be no removing them, but they would poſſeſs all thoſe Honours and Places which ought to be ſhar'd amongſt the Antient Nobility; who muſt, as things are like to go, become ſubject to them, and hardly be admitted into the Royal Preſence without their Permiſſion. And that if, for the preventing theſe and many other Inconveniencies, they would joyn their Intereſt with his, for the removing of them, they might aſſure themſelves they ſhou'd ſhare with him in thoſe Honours and Dignities that would then of Courſe be in his Diſpoſal.

Theſe were the Baits by which *Glouceſter* drew them over to his Intereſt, hiding at preſent his chief Deſign; and theſe Inſinuations, joyn'd to their own Evil Inclinations, and ambitious Diſpoſitions, ſoon brought 'em to a Compliance with the Duke's deſires, being willing to take what Meaſures the Duke ſhould preſcribe to 'em.

But becauſe the Duke had heard of the Queen's Deſign of having her Brother, the Earl of *Rivers*, bring up the King to *London*, with a ſtrong Guard of Men for his Security, he thought this was firſt of all to be prevented, as that which would otherwiſe prevent his great Deſign, and make all his Hopes prove Abortive. He therefore writes a very plauſible Letter to the Queen (to whom ſince his Brother's Death he had outwardly paid a more than ordinary Deference) telling her, that having heard that her Brother and her Son, againſt her Will, and without the Knowledge of the Late King's Kindred, was bringing up the King to *London*, with a mighty power of Armed Soldiers, which indeed in a time of War, or

Hoſtile

Hoſtile Invaſion, might do very well; but in a time of Univerſal Peace and Quietneſs, wou'd rather create Jealouſies in the Minds of the People, than conduce to the Safety of the King: And that it wou'd cauſe a Suſpicion, that that ſincere Reconciliation ſo happily procur'd by his Late Brother upon his Death-Bed, betwixt his Kindred and hers, was not ſo hearty and ſincere as he hoped it was, and ſhou'd always be on his Part: And therefore he conceived it would be much better if ſhe would ſignifie to her Brother and her Son, and aſſure them from this Mouth, and upon his Honour, that Himſelf and all the Late King's Kindred were ſtedfaſtly reſolved inviolably to obſerve the late Agreement and Reconciliation, made by his Sovereign her Husband upon his Death-Bed, between her Allies and Relations, and the King's Kindred.

This wheedling Letter of the Duke's to the Queen, with his pretended thorough Reconciliation, caus'd her raſhly to conſent to the taking off that Guard which was their only Preſervation, and which the late King had ſo providently placed about them; the taking of whom off, was the firſt Step to their Deſtruction: For the Queen having firſt diſpatch'd Letters to her Brother and her Son, according to the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Deſire; her Brother and Son were perſwaded, tho' ſomewhat unwillingly, to forbear levying more Men, and caſhier'd them they had provided, and ſo attended only with their own Menial Servants, ſet forwards towards the Queen with the young King; and with more Haſte than good Speed, came to *Northampton*, from whence the King went to *Stony-ſtratford*, where the two Dukes, (that is, the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Duke of *Buckingham*) with a great Train, and very well provided, arriv'd; and pretending the Town to be too little for the Entertainment of their Companies, they went to *Northampton*, purpoſely alighting at the very ſame Inn where the Earl of *Rivers* had taken up his Lodging that Night, reſolving to overtake the King the next Morning.

At the Duke's and the Earl's Meeting, nothing paſſed but mutual Salutations, and all the Signs of Amicable Love and Friendſhip imaginable, ſupping all together. But no ſooner was Supper ended, but the two Dukes pretending wearineſs through hard Riding, retir'd to their Lodgings, and the Earl went to his.

But the Dukes had other Buſineſs lay upon their Hands, for now with their private Friends they went to Counſel, to reſolve what Courſe to take with the leaſt Suſpicion and the moſt Safety, to make away the Earl and his Relations. And in this Conſultation they continu'd the moſt part of the Night; for it was a Work of Darkneſs that they were about. Towards Morning they took the Keys of the Inn-Gates, and diſpers'd their Followers to keep the Paſſages, with Inſtructions not to permit Horſe-men or Foot-men to paſs the way

towards *Stony-stratford*, pretending that none should go before, because the two Dukes might express their Dutiful Respect to the King the better, by being first ready to give their Attendance at his going to Horse.

The Earl having Notice by the Inn-keeper of those Proceedings, did not doubt but they design'd his Destruction; but finding he had no means to make either Resistance or Escape, he set a good Face upon the Matter, and came boldly to the Duke of *Glocester*'s Chamber, where he found *Buckingham* with the rest, and desires to know the meaning of his being thus made a Prisoner, in his Inn against his Will: But they had now gone too far to dally, and therefore instead of answering him, caus'd him to be taken into Custody, Charging him with what themselves were guilty of, a design against the King. And having taken Order for his safe Imprisonment, they speedily took Horse, and came to *Stony-stratford*, just as the King was taking Horse, to whom they made a shew of much Duty and Obedience; but being minded to pick a Quarrel with the Lord *Richard Gray*, even in the King's own Presence, the Duke of *Buckingham* told the King, "That he and the Marquess his Brother, with Earl *Rivers* the "Queen's Brother, had endeavoured and almost effected the "drawing to themselves the sole managing of the Affairs of "the Kingdom, and to sow dissention between the Blood "Royal of your Father's Side, and those that are scarce Loyal on the side of the Queen, who greedily seek after the others Ruine; and the better to effect it, the Lord Marquess "without any Warrant, but of his own Head, out of the "Tower of *London*, your Majesties Principal Magazine, hath "taken both the Treasure and Armour to a great Quantity: "And tho' we are ignorant what he intends to do with it, "yet there is reason enough to believe that it was not intended for your Majesty's Service: And therefore it was by "the Advice of the Nobility, thought Expedient to have "him Arrested at *Northampton*, that so he may render an Account to your Majesty of his Illegal Actions.

The King, whose Youth and Inexperience hinder'd him from distinguishing between Pretences and Realities, mildly answer'd thus: *What my Brother Marquess hath done, I cann't say; but for my Unkle and Brother here, I dare answer on their behalfs, That they are Innocent of any ill Designs, either against Me, or You.*

O, Reply'd the Duke, *That has been a part of their Design to abuse your Majesty's Goodness, by concealing their Treasonable Practices against You, under a Colour of serving you.* Which the Duke had no sooner said, but (being resolv'd to go through-stitch with what they had begun) they arrested the Lord *Richard Gray*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hall*, in the King's Presence, and taking them away from the King's Person, conveyed them to *Northampton*, to the great Trouble and

and Diſquiet of the King; who was old enough to know that theſe Proceedings portended no good to him. But they ſtopt not here, but (let the King take it how he wou'd) they remov'd from him on the ſame Pretences all his old and Faithful Servants, placing in their Rooms ſuch of their own Creatures in whom they cou'd confide, and whom they cou'd Command.

Thus far the Conſpirators had ſucceeded; and by charging the Queen's Relations with what they were really guilty of themſelves, they had gotten the King into their own Cuſtody, the Duke of *Glouceſter* being ſoon after made Protector: Who in the firſt place took care for conveying the Priſoners to ſeveral Priſons in the North Parts, and then ſet forwards with the King towards *London*: Giving out, the better to conceal their wicked Deſigns, That the Marquis and the Queen's Relations, had plotted the Deſtruction of the King, and all the Blood-Royal, with all the Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Commonwealth; (which were things ſo altogether improbable and unlikely, that no body believ'd 'em) Adding, That they were only impriſon'd till they might be brought to a fair Trial, according to Law. And *Glouceſter* knowing very well, that the Multitude were mightily led away by Appearance, they brought along with 'em divers Carts laden with Armour, (ſecretly provided by themſelves) with Dry-fats and great Cheſts, which they reported were fill'd with Treaſure for the Payment of the Soldiers. Theſe things, as they came along the Countrey, made all that they ſaid be taken for Goſpel by the Common People. They had alſo another Device to inforce the Belief of this pretended Plot; and that was, to have Five of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s truſty Inſtruments pinion'd and fetter'd like Traitors: And theſe were diſpers'd in the Chief Officers Houſes, in all Places where the King lodg'd by the way, and to be reſpected by their Keepers as Men of great Birth, tho' now Priſoners taken up for this Plot; and theſe muſt ſeem very Penitent, confeſſing their own Guilt, and laying the Blame of all on the Queen's Brother, by whom they were drawn in. Thus theſe Impoſtors continu'd acting their Parts till the King came to *London*; and then the Scene chang'd, and they were put to act another Part.

The Queen, with her Second Son, and Five Daughters, was all this while at *London*; but being advertis'd by every Poſt of what had befallen her Relations, ſhe began juſtly to fear that there were worſe things to follow; and thereupon preſently took Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; a Place ſhe had been before acquainted with, when her Husband King *Edward* was forc'd to fly the Realm.

The young King was much griev'd at the News, and more at the Occaſion; expreſſing his Diſcontent with Sighs and Tears; which yet the Dukes took no notice of: For their Buſineſs

ſineſs was not the King's Satisfaction, but his Deſtruction. However, to carry on the Mock-Show a little farther, they appear to treat him with all External Signs of Reverence and Reſpect, with frequent Proteſtations of their Fidelity, and Care of his Safety; deſiring him to comfort himſelf, and be contented: But their Actions carried ſo different an Air from their Words, that the King cou'd take little Satisfaction in what they ſaid.

The King being brought to *London*, the Duke of *Glouceſter* (by the Contrivance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Inſinuations at the Council-Table) is declar'd Protector of the King and Kingdom: Which being another Step towards the Accompliſhing of his great End, made him reſolve to overcome all the Difficulties that ſtood in his way, until he ſhou'd attain it.

The next Contrivance therefore, now, was how to get the Duke of *York* into his Cuſtody, as well as the King: For without he had both, he had as good have had none; the Treaſon without that, being ſcarce worth the Hazard; for this might have ſtopp'd him, even upon the laſt Step to the Throne. And now, to bring this the more eaſily about, he takes Advantage of that Melancholy of the King, of which himſelf had been the Occaſion, to get the young Prince into his Clutches; thus making the Effect become the Cauſe: For finding the young King more than uſually Melancholy, with the Apprehenſions he had of the Danger of his preſent Condition, he made that Melancholy an important Reaſon for his Brother to be brought to keep him Company: Telling both the King and his Council, *That the Company of his Brother wou'd much conduce to the King's being chearful*; adding, *That the Queen Mother was more wedded to her peeviſh Will than was convenient either for the Honour of the Kingdom, or the King's Content*: And therefore deſir'd ſome Courſe might be taken either by Perſwaſion or otherwiſe, to procure her to ſend the Duke of *York*, to bear the King his Brother Company.

The Council, (whom *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* had moulded to their own Wills) preſently reſolved there was a Neceſſity of a Companion to be found for the King; and then ſoon concluded that none was ſo fit as his own Brother.

But becauſe this could not be done without the Queen's Conſent, but by offering ſome Violation to the Rights of Sanctuary; it being reaſonably to be ſuppos'd that ſhe wou'd never let the Child go, without ſome apparent Force upon her, the Protector ſingled out a Clergyman, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (on whoſe Advice he knew the Queen-Mother did very much rely) to be the Pick-lock of the Privilege of Sanctuary. This State-Drudge, coming to the Queen, perſwades her to part with the Prince her Son to his Brother, *Becauſe it was ſcandalous that the King's only Brother ſhou'd be made a Priſoner*; *That none ought to be indulg'd the Benefit of Sanctuary, but ſuch who had*

*been*

*been guilty of some Crime, for which they needed it; and that had likewise Discretion to require it; both which were far from being the young Prince's Case: That a Person might,* nolens volens, *be taken out of Sanctuary, provided it were not to be punish'd, but preferr'd.*

To these Learned Reasons of the Archbishop, the Queen answer'd, *That none was more fit to have the Tutelage of a Child, than its Mother; and so much the rather, in regard of his weak and tender Disposition: That each of those Brothers was the other's Safety, so long as they were kept asunder: That the Life of the one was maintain'd in the Body of the other: And that if one of them did well, the other was in no Danger; but that it might be the Destruction of both, to keep 'em both in one Place.* The Queen was going on to give farther Reasons, but the Archbishop found she had already over ballanc'd his, and given more than he knew how to answer; and therefore interrupting the Queen, said, *He was loth to put the Power of his Primacy into Execution; but if she shou'd continue obstinate, she wou'd constrain him to it.* By which Words of the Archbishop, the disconsolate Queen perceiving how the Case stood, was n't so much perswaded as terrified into a Compliance; so that consulting with her Fears only, she gave up the innocent Infant to his Grace; telling him, *That as she gave up that innocent Prince into his Hands, so at his Hands she wou'd require him; and that if he miscarried, his Blood wou'd lie at his Door.* And then not being able to speak any more, her Tears declar'd the rest.

The Archbishop having effected his Errand, came presently with the young Prince to the Lords, who stay'd in the Star-Chamber with the Protector, expecting his Coming: To whom, giving an Account with what Unwillingness the Mother consented to part with her Child, he presented to 'em the young innocent Prince; whom the Protector no sooner saw, but with all Ceremonious Reverence he arose, and embrac'd him in his Arms; solemnly protesting, *That nothing (next the Welfare of his Sovereign, which he esteem'd above all Earthly Things) cou'd bring him more Content than the so much wish'd-for Presence of his Nephew of* York: (Which I believe might be true enough, tho' in another Sense than he wou'd have them to understand it:) And then giving him a (*Judas*) Kiss, he takes leave of the Board, and presently conducts him to the King his Brother; who with many Expressions of sincere Joy and Affection entertain'd him; as little thinking that his Coming to him wou'd but hasten that Catastrophe which their Unkle was bringing on 'em both.

The Protector having now the Game he hunted in his own Toyls, under the pretext of a Provident Care, that they might securely repose themselves, until the Distempers of the Common-wealth (of which himself was the only Actor and Author) might be quieted; he caused the King and his Brother soon after, in great Pomp and State, to be convey'd through

*London*

*London* to the *Tower*, there at their Pleaſure to remain till the time of the Coronation; for which (the better to hide his ſecret Deſign) there was great Preparations making.

This Monſter now had got his deſired Prey within his own Den, but did not think fit to devour them immediately, there were leſſer Sacrifices to be offer'd firſt; for before he enter'd upon ſo ſolemn an Act of Horror, as the plunging himſelf into that fathomleſs Gulph of Cruelty, he thought fit to wade in Blood by Degrees; that ſounding the depth of the Danger, as well as the Guilt he was to enter into, he might at the ſame time harden and ſecure himſelf. He therefore firſt, by the Procuration of the Lord *Haſtings*, cut off all their Friends, beheading the Lord *Rivers*, Sir *John Gray*, the King's half Brother, and Sir *Anthony Woodvil*, and the Principal Perſons of the Queen's Relations, upon Pretence of Treachery againſt his Perſon and Government; which was only ſo far true, as that they meant to oppoſe his intended Uſurpation; and that he thought a reaſonable Juſtification for taking away their Lives.

But the Protector could not put his main Deſign in Execution himſelf; he muſt have Tools to work withal; and therefore makes the Duke of *Buckingham* his *Achitophel*; whoſe Reputation and Authority having a great Aſcendant over the Courtiers, the Protector found his Aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary; and therefore to engage him thorowly to his Intereſt, he promis'd him the Earldom of *Hertford*, to which the Duke pretended to have a good Title in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, but cou'd never obtain it. This Bait, (and an equal Partition of the Treaſure of the Crown between them two, which the Protector likewiſe promiſed with many Oaths) ſo far prevail'd upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, that he now promis'd to join Hand in Hand with him, and never to deſiſt till he had ſettled the Protector on the Throne; tho' it was by depriving their innocent Nephews (for *Glouceſter* was their Unkle by the Father's ſide, and *Buckingham* by the Marriage of their Father's Siſter) of their Lives.

The Protector having thus intirely brought over *Buckingham* to his Intereſt, in the next place ſought to bring over the Lord *Haſtings* alſo, whom he had already made his Tool for the Deſtruction of the Queen's Relations; and therefore ſounded him afar off, with reſpect to his main Deſign; but finding him ſo conſtant to the King his Old Maſter's Sons, that nothing cou'd draw him off from his Allegiance to the preſent King, he reſolves to take him out of the way; and thought it Ground enough to have him executed as a Traytor, becauſe he refus'd to be one. Which *Buckingham* and he contriv'd in the following manner.

The Protector having ſummon'd the Lords of the Privy-Council to meet in the *Tower* upon Extraordinary Occaſion, they came accordingly, and the Manner of the King's Corona-

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tion was there debated among them till the Protector came in; who begging their Excuse for having over-slept himself, seem'd more than usually pleasant: But on a sudden, desiring their Excuse for a little while, he rise from the Table, and went out of the Chamber. But had scarcely been gone an Hour, before he return'd again, but with a Countenance extreamly chang'd, puffing and blowing, and looking almost like one distracted, that the whole Council seem'd amaz'd thereat: After some Time spent in this Disorder, he asks, *What are they worthy to have that imagine and plot my Destruction, who am so near of Blood unto the King, and Protector of his Royal Person?* Whilst the Lords sat silent at this Question, looking one upon another, as amaz'd, the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckingham*'s Instigation, boldly answer'd, *That they deserv'd to undergo the Punishment of Traitors, whoever they were.* Upon which, the Protector, rising up from his Seat, and looking sternly upon *Hastings*, reply'd, *Why it is the old Sorceress, my Brother's Widow, and her Partner, that Common Strumpet,* Jane Shore, *that have by Witchcraft conspir'd to take away my Life: And had I not, by God's great Mercy, found out the Bottom of their Cursed Design, they had effected their Villany before they had been suspected: And yet I han't been altogether free from their Malice; for behold* (and then he made bare his Left Arm to the Elbow, and shewed it; which had been always dried up, as it were, and wither'd from his Birth) *how mischievously they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither, and grow useless! And thus should all my Body have been serv'd, cou'd they have had but their Wills a little longer.*

Those Lords who knew the Queen's Religious Life, cou'd not but think that the Protector was driven to very hard Shifts thus to accuse her of Sorcery, and shew his wither'd Arm as a Proof of it, which they well knew had been so from his Birth; which made 'em sit gazing one upon another, not knowing what to say: Until *Hastings* (who suspected nothing against himself, but was not well pleased that he was not as well made privy to this intended Stratagem, as to the Tragedy that was that Day to be executed at *Pomfret*) stood up, and said, *If the Queen have conspir'd*——— Before *Hastings* cou'd proceed any farther, the Protector, seeming to be in a great Passion, with a frowning Look clapp'd his Hand upon the Board, and said to him, *Thou Traitor! Tell'st thou me of Ifs and Ands? I tell thee, They, and none but they, have done it: And thou thy self art not only acquainted with the Villany, but a Partner in it; which I will make good upon thy Body.* Upon this, (the Cue being given before) several Persons in the outward Chamber, cry'd *Treason! Treason!* Whereupon several Armed Men came rushing in, as it were, to guard the Protector; one of which struck at the Lord *Strange*, and wounded him on the Head; nor had he escap'd so, had he not slipp'd backward, and fallen down to the Ground. Upon the Coming in of these Armed Men, the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* for High-Treason, and bid him

him make haſte to be confeſs'd; for he ſwore by St. *Paul*, (which was his uſual Oath) *That he wou'd neither touch Bread nor Drink, till he had his Head from his Shoulders*: And he was as good as his Word; for he was immediately hurried away, and on a Log that lay on the Green near the Chappel in the *Tower*, was preſently beheaded.

And here, methinks, I cannot but adore the Secret Workings of Divine Providence; and obſerve how certainly Sin and Guilt dogs Men to Deſtruction: For this Lord *Haſtings* was one of thoſe that ſo barbarouſly ſtabb'd their Poniards into the innocent Prince *Edward*'s Breaſt, the Son of King *Henry* the Sixth; and now Divine Vengeance has paid off that Scorce; cauſing his Blood to be unjuſtly ſhed, that unjuſtly ſhed the Blood of another: But there is yet ſomething more Remarkable in this Lord's Death, which directly points out his Sin in his Puniſhment: The Duke of *Glouceſter* had made him his Tool, in the Apprehending and Impriſoning of the Earl *Rivers*, and the reſt of the Queen's Relations; and by his Contrivance they were beheaded at *Pomfret* that very Day on which, by the like Contrivance of *Buckingham*, he was beheaded in the *Tower*: And as they were put to Death without any Trial, and without any Crime; ſo was he here: Tho' it cannot be deny'd but that God's juſt Judgment was executed upon him by the Protector's unjuſt Sentence. But to proceed.

After *Haſtings* was beheaded, to give that haſty Execution the better Colour, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley*, and divers others, were preſently made Priſoners, and committed to ſeveral Chambers in the *Tower*; and a Proclamation preſently publiſh'd againſt the Lord *Haſtings*; wherein his foul Charge was ſet down in ſo fair a Writing, ingroſſed in Parchment, that one who ſaw it, could not forbear to ſay, *It was written by Prophecy.*

And preſently upon this, *Jane Shore*'s Lodgings were narrowly ſearch'd, and thoroughly ranſack'd; not ſo much to find any thing there that might juſtifie his Charge againſt her, as to get what they could find: taking away to the Value of 3000 Marks in Jewels, Plate, Money, and Houſhold-ſtuff, even all that ever ſhe had; which was ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe, and ſhe her ſelf committed to Priſon. The Crime laid to her Charge was Witchcraft, pretended to be wrought againſt the Protector's Perſon; which when they cou'd by no means make good againſt her, yet that they might make her obnoxious to the Tongues of the Multitude, ſhe was charg'd with Incontinency, of which ſhe was indeed guilty, both in the late Reign with King *Edward* the Fourth, and after his Death with the Lord *Haſtings*: And for this ſhe was judg'd to do open Penance; which ſhe underwent with ſuch a penitent Deportment, that it drew Pity from the Beholders; inſomuch that they which hated her former Courſe of Life, and were glad to ſee Vice corrected, commiſerated her Puniſhment, as proceed-

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ing more from the Protector's Malice, than a Desire of her Reformation.

The Protector having thus clear'd the Foundation, by removing his Enemies out of the way, and sufficiently temper'd his Mortar with Blood, to make it the more strong and binding, he now began to lay the Groundwork of his Usurpation upon the Illegitimacy of the two young Princes; pretending that the King their Father was never lawfully married to the Queen their Mother; but was before God, Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Luy*. This, as it had something of Truth in point of Fact, (for it is said he was betrothed to her) so being Matter of Divinity in point of Right, it was agreed, that a Chaplain to the Duke of *Buckingham* should open the Case at large in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*; who taking his Text from that Place where it is said, That *Bastard Plants shall not inherit*; he so over-acted his Part, that he not only made King *Edward's* Children Bastards, but himself too; and all the Children of his Father the Duke of *York*, the Protector only excepted; who he said was the Express Image of his Father, and preordained by God, to the great Charge of the Kingly Office. But all this was deliver'd with such an apparent Air of Flattery and Dissimulation, that the Preacher not believing himself, 'tis no Wonder that the People gave so little Credit to him; that instead of crying out thereupon (as 'twas expected they should) *God save King Richard*; they cry'd out, *The Devil take the shameless Preacher*.

This Scorn put upon the Priests, or rather upon the Protector, did not yet so deter him, but that two days after he sent the Duke of *Buckingham* into the City, to see whether his Authority would move the People, more than the Doctor's Eloquence, who confidently affirm'd to the Citizens at *Guild-Hall*, *That all the Nobility judging the Issue of King* Edward *spurious, had chosen the Duke of* Glouceſter *to succeed, and only expected a Declaration of their Consents*: But as it was not likely that they who but two days before cou'd not be mov'd, when they were told the Lord from Heaven had made Choice of him, should now concur in the Election of any Lords on Earth; so neither cou'd the Rhetorick of his Greatness prevail for any other Confirmation, than what was couch'd under the highest Silence. This gave little Satisfaction to his Lordship, because he knew it would give none to his Master; and therefore rather than depart without something like a Vote at least, he secretly order'd some few of his own Servants at the lower end of the Hall, to throw up their Caps, and cry, *King Richard, King Richard!* Which Impudence of theirs, tho' it was a surprize to the greatest part of the Hall, and seconded by no Body, yet the Duke taking it up at the first Rebound, improv'd it into a Unanimous Consent, and said it was a goodly Cry, and such as shew'd their Universal Approbabation. And thereupon requir'd the Mayor (who who was a Tool fitted for the

purpose)

purpoſe) with his Fraternity, to meet him the next day at the Protector's Court in *Baynard's-Caſtle*, in order to petition him to accept of their freely offer'd Subjection.

One wou'd have thought by what had paſt, that the Citizens had been endew'd with ſuch inflexible Honeſty, that they wou'd never have comply'd with the Protector's Deſign, but it ſeems he had in one Nights time made ſuch an Intereſt among 'em, as had brought 'em to ſuch a Compliance, as to ſuffer themſelves to be made Properties in that ridiculous Pageantry of State which the next day produc'd; when the Duke of *Buckingham* made it ſuch a mighty piece of Difficulty to get the Protector to ſhew himſelf to 'em out of a high Gallery, for nearer he was not to come; not knowing (as it was to be ſuppos'd by the People) what the intent of their Addreſs was, until his Grace ſaluted his Highneſs with the following Speech: (which was chiefly to inſtruct the People what they were come about; for they only were ignorant of the Matter.)

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, *The Languiſhing Eſtate of the Common-wealth requires ſpeedy help; which can no way be procur'd, unleſs your Highneſs, to whom alone the Government thereof does of Right belong, will at the earneſt and humble Entreaty of the Nobility and Gentry here preſent, undertake as King the ſole Managing of the Affairs of the Kingdom, and accept of the voluntary Tender of their due Allegiance; who are very well ſatisfied not only of the Juſtice, but of the Neceſſity there is of your taking the Royal Authority upon you.*

At this, the Uſurper ſtarted back, as a Man ſtruck Dumb with Paſſion for a while; but after he ſeem'd to have recover'd himſelf, and conquer'd his Anger and Amazement, he good Man, return'd to his wonted Clemency, and gently reproach'd the Duke his Couſin of Unkindneſs, ſaying, *I little thought, good Couſin, that you of all Men wou'd have made a Motion to me to embrace that, which of all things in the World I always reſolv'd to decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without Wrong to my dear deceaſed Brother's ſweet Children, and my own upright Conſcience, I can never approve of.* This the Wretch ſpoke Trembling, as doubting the Multitude might cloſe with him, and cry, *Amen.* But ſcarce were the Words out of his Mouth, before the Duke, ſeemingly out of his Senſes, tranſported with a juſt Indignation, to ſee their profer'd Love ſcorn'd; Reply'd, like a truly Loyal Traytor as he was, Sir, *I muſt further add, That it is ſo well known, that your Brother's Children are Baſtards, they ſhall never be admitted to the Crown of* England; *and therefore if your Highneſs ſhall neither regard your ſelf nor us, ſo much as to accept the Truſt; We are directly determin'd to confer it upon ſome one of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *that will have reſpect to the general Good.*

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This Speech of the Duke made the Crocodile weep; and now acknowledging he was not born for himſelf, he ſo far deny'd himſelf, as to accept the Honour thruſt upon him; ſince the Right of the Inheritance of the Crown belong'd to him, as the indubitable Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, his moſt Illuſtrious Father. And thereupon he deſcended from the upper Gallery, where he had ſtay'd all the while before, and came down, and formally ſaluted them all, which made the giddy Multitude Eccho to the Duke their Speaker, and cry out all (as if it had been with one Voice) *God ſave King* Richard, *God ſave King* Richard.

Theſe were the Secret Steps by which *Glouceſter* made his Aſcent to the Throne; and thus paſs'd away the imaginary Reign (for it was ſcarce any other) of King *Edward* the Fifth; who whilſt this grand Intrigue was carrying on, was with his Brother entertain'd with Sports and Paſtimes, proper for their Years: And care was taken that they ſhou'd know nothing of what their Unkle was doing; tho' the laſt Scene in this Bloody Tragedy was to be acted upon them; as we ſhall ſee in the Reign of their Unkle, who after the Interlude at *Baynard's Caſtle*, took upon himſelf the Title of King.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *RICHARD* the Third.

KING RICHARD *the Third was Brother to* Edward *the Fourth, and Unkle to* Edward *the Fifth; who having uſurped the Crown from his Nephew, made it his next Buſineſs to take away both his Life and his Brother's, that he might reign without any Competition. The two Young Princes being ſhut up in the* Tower, *be cauſed to be ſtifled in their Beds. From which time the Duke of* Buckingham *projected his Ruine, who had been the chief Inſtrument in his Elevation: For there was then at the Court of* Britain *in* France, Henry *Earl of* Richmond, *of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *to whom the Crown was propoſed, with this Proviſo, That he ſhould marry* Elizabeth, *Eldeſt Daughter of King* Edward *the Fourth, whereby the Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter *ſhould be united into One. But before the Plot took effect, the Duke loſt his Head, who being apprehended,* Richard, *without any Form of Tryal, or any Regard to his former Services, order'd his Execution. Soon after this, the Earl of* Richmond *landed with a ſmall Force at* Milford-Haven. *And as he advanced forward, being ſtill reinforced, he at laſt encountred* Richard *at* Boſworth *in* Leiceſterſhire; *the Fight was ſharp and obſtinate, but ſucceſsful to* Henry; *who by this ſingle Victory got the Crown,* Richard *being kill'd in the Fight: And ſo ended the Life of this Tyrant, having only Reign'd Two Years, two Months, and five Days; Ending his Reign the* 22*d of* Auguſt, 1485. Thus far his General Hiſtory.

His Secret Hiſtory began from his Birth; for he was born a Monſter in Nature, and brought into the World to be a Plague to it; delighting in Blood ſo early, that it did not appear he cou'd then have any other Deſign in the ſhedding of it: I ſay, it did not appear; but tho' it did not then appear he had any Self-End therein, yet by what after follow'd, there was Ground enough to doubt that by thoſe early Murders of Prince *Edward* and his Father, *Henry* the Sixth, he had a Secret Aim at the Crown, even in his Brother's Life-time; and by their Murders, deſign'd not ſo much to fix his Brother on the Throne,

Throne, but to cut off for himself as many as he thought might prove his Competitors; of which the Murder of his Elder Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, leaves no room to doubt. And perhaps his Brother King *Edward* sent his Son the Prince so far out of the way, attended by his Mother's Relations, that so he might be out of his Unkle's Clutches, till he was able to defend himself from his Secret Machinations; which Prudence of the Father, was yet too weak to avert that Destiny which so soon after King *Edward*'s Death, overtook both his Sons.

We have already shewn the Secret Steps he took, and what Instruments he made use of to ascend the Throne, and in what manner the Tyrant came to assume the Title of King; I will now trace him a little further, and shew what Methods he took to confirm himself in that Power.

The next Day after the Mob had saluted the Usurped King at *Baynard's Castle*, he rid with a great Train, to *Westminster-Hall*; where secretly designing to ingratiate himself amongst the People, he seats himself upon the King's Bench, (who ought to have been arraign'd as a Traitor at the Bar) and there tells the People, *It was a Principal Part of the Duty of a good King, carefully to look to the due Administration of the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom; in which part he wou'd take care not to be defective.* After which, shewing in a short Speech the Blessings of Peace, and the Miseries of Dissention, he caus'd a general Proclamation to be made of Pardon and Oblivion; to which that he might give the better Colour, and make it look like a Reality, he caus'd one *Fogge* (who had formerly slander'd him with Matter of Truth) to be sent for out of Sanctuary at *Westminster*, (whither he had fled to prevent the Protector's Anger) and presently set him at Liberty, causing him publickly to kiss his Hand, that he might cry him up for a Gracious Prince.

After his Return Home, (as if to Murder, was to oblige the Relations of the murder'd Party) he procur'd the Consent of the Lady *Ann*, the youngest Daughter of the Great Earl of *Warwick*, and the Relict of Prince *Edward*, to be his Wife; tho' she cou'd not be ignorant that he had been the Instrument, if not the Author of the Tragical Murthers both of her Husband and his Father.

But he wou'd not venture upon his Coronation, till he had sent for Five thousand Men out of the North, to guard him; his guilty Conscience still making him believe he was surrounded with Dangers, tho' there was none but what the Horror of his own Wickedness created within him. His Guards being come up, on the Fourth of *July*, he and his new Bride went from *Baynard's Castle* to the *Tower* by Water; where he conferr'd several new Honours upon divers Persons; and releas'd out of Prison the Archbishop of *York*, but committed

the Biſhop of *Ely* to the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who took Order to have him ſent to the Caſtle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. On the next Day he rid in great State through the City, from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*; and on the Day following, both he and his Queen were crown'd. After which, he gave Licenſe to all the Nobility to depart to their ſeveral Habitations, except the Lord *Stanley*, whom he had made Steward of his Houſhold. At the Departure of the Nobility from him, he gave them a ſtrict Charge to be careful to maintain the Truth of Religion, to preſerve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and to prevent all Abuſes that might happen to his Subjects: Which was the giving them a Leſſon he never meant to learn himſelf.

But the Concluſion of the Tragedy is yet to come; the two young Princes are ſtill living, and he knows the Crown he wears upon his Head, is ſo long none of his: And therefore they muſt now be taken off to make him eaſier. The manner of whoſe Death he was not yet reſolv'd upon: He has 'em ſafe in his Slaughter-houſe; but while they are living, he thinks he is not ſafe: Their Infancy and Innocency requires it to be done Secretly: He therefore ſent one of his execrable Inſtruments, one *John Green*, (while himſelf and his Queen were at *Glouceſter*) to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, a Creature of his, of no ſmall Credit with him, *preſently, upon Sight thereof, to take Order for the Diſpatching out of the way thoſe two Baſtard-Brats*, for ſo he termed them. But the Lieutenant, how bad ſoever the Uſurper thought him, was ſo honeſt, as to deteſt the Buſineſs, and deny to perform the Command: With which Anſwer, *Green* return'd back to *Warwick*, (for thither he was now remov'd) and having given him an Account thereof, it caſt him into a great Perplexity, on a two-fold Account; firſt, that the Buſineſs was not done; and ſecondly, that he had diſcover'd his Intention where it had been refus'd: Which gave him ſo ſenſible a Trouble, that he with-drew to his Chamber, where, after he had given ſome Vent to his Paſſion, he enquir'd of ſome of his Pages whether they cou'd think of a Man, that to gain his Soveraign's Favour, wou'd hazard the Loſs of a Finger, or ſomewhat more? Upon this, one of his Pages preſently gave him Information of one Sir *James Tyrrel*; who had been very ambitious of being employ'd in the King's Service, and would not make any Difficulty of hazarding a Limb on that account. The King was ſo impatient till he had ſpoke with him, that he commanded him to be call'd out of Bed: And to him he imparted his Mind; telling him, *That now he had an Opportunity to put into his hand, whereby he might purchaſe his perpetual Favour.* The Villanous Knight was as greedy of the Employment, as the King was to have it effected; whereupon the next Morning he is diſpatch'd with a Letter

Mandatory

Mandatory to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, to ſurrender up the Keys of the *Tower* for a time to the Bearer, Sir *James Tyrrel*; which was accordingly obey'd.

Sir *James* having before-hand furniſh'd himſelf with a couple of Villains, who had been ſo fluſh'd in Blood, that the Cuſtom took away the Senſe of the Sin; employ'd 'em (the ſecond Night after he had the Keys deliver'd to him) to ſmoother the poor innocent Princes in their Beds; which they effected accordingly, and buried them under the Stairs, under a heap of Stones; from whence they were afterwards removed to a Place of Chriſtian Burial, by Sir *Robert Brackenbury*'s Chaplain; who dying ſuddenly after, was the Occaſion the Place of their Burial cou'd not be found; which afterwards ſerv'd to countenance the Impoſture of *Perkin Warbeck*, and others. But in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, as they were occaſionally digging in the *Tower*, at the Place where the poor Prieſt had buried them, they found the Coffin, and in it the Bones of both the Princes; as well his whom *Perkin Warbeck* perſonated, as the King his Brother: Upon which Diſcovery, King *Charles* commanded the Coffin to be given into the Cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Maſter of the Ordinance; to whom the King intruſted the making of a fitting Monument for them in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*. Of the Death of theſe young Princes, thus *Aleyn* writes, in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the Seventh.

*Twin-Brethren by their Deaths: What had they (done?*
*O* Richard *ſees a Fault that they were in:*
*'Twas not an Actual, but a Mortal One;*
*They Princes were: 'Twas an Original Sin.*
*Why ſhou'd ſo ſweet a Pair of Princes lack*
*Their* Innocents-Day *i' th'* Engliſh Almanack?

*But here ſtand ſtill, and gaze! Their Father did*
Richard *inſtruct*, Henry *the Sixth to Kill:*
*Their Father taught him, by the Blood he ſhed,*
*The Art how he his Children's Blood might ſpill.*
*Who value others Blood at a low Rate,*
*Do thereby make their own the cheaper Bait.*

Sir *James Tyrrel* having thus finish'd the Tragedy of the Young Princes, and ſent his Agents into the *Low-Countries*, poſts to the Uſurper, to receive the Reward of his Villany; which was only at firſt good Words and great Promiſes; but was never either preferr'd or employed by him afterwards: But ſcorn'd and deteſted by all that knew what he had done; was abandon'd by his own Brother, and became a Burden to himſelf. And ſuch is uſually the juſt Reward of thoſe that pawn their Souls to purchaſe uncertain Preferment: For as good Phyſicians do not love Poiſon, tho' ſometimes they make uſe of it in their Medicines, ſo neither do they affect the Traitor, who are willing enough to take Advantage of his Treaſon.

King *Richard* having thus rid his hands of his Nephews, finds now he is able enough to ſubſiſt of himſelf, without *Buckingham*'s further Aid or Advice; and therefore begins by degrees to wean himſelf from him, and carry it more ſtrange and coldly towards him: And then firſt delays, and at laſt denies to perform the Agreement ſo ſolemnly ſtipulated between 'em; and yet pretends to carry it fairly to him notwithſtanding. The Duke was ſenſible enough of his own Merits, and of King *Richard*'s bloody Diſpoſition; he had therefore ſo much Cunning as to carry it fairly, as well as the King; tho' in his Heart he began to be eſtranged from him, yet he plays with him at his own Weapon; for he thought it better to be content for the preſent with a ſmall Loaf, than to have no Bread at all; and therefore, with all the Profeſſions of Integrity, and formal Reſpect, he takes his Leave of the King, and repairs to his own Caſtle of *Brecknock*. The Truth is, both *Richard* and he were a couple of Villains; for *Buckingham* had been his great Tool (as we have ſeen before) both in helping to deſtroy the Queen's Relations, and after that the Lord *Haſtings*, becauſe he wou'dn't be ſo great a Villain as they; then he carries on the Deſign of making the young Princes Baſtards, and ſo of depoſing King *Edward*, and ſetting up the Uſurper: And now that he's deny'd the Reward of his Villany, he repents of what he had done; but had *Richard* gratify'd him according to his Stipulation, he wou'd both have juſtify'd and applauded the worſt of all his Actions. But let us trace things a little further, and we ſhall ſee how juſtly Divine Providence brings the Sins of wicked Men upon their own Heads, and makes 'em inſtrumental to deſtroy each other.

The Duke, upon his repairing to his Caſtle of *Brecknock*, finds there his Priſoner the Biſhop of *Ely*, whom *Richard* had committed to his Cuſtody; and now entertains him more like a Friend than a Priſoner: And indulging the Biſhop

the

the Liberty of Converſation with him, takes Occaſion to diſcourſe of the preſent State of Affairs; which Diſcourſe the Biſhop entertain'd with all the Caution and Warineſs imaginable; for tho' he perceiv'd there was ſome Difference between King *Richard* and the Duke, yet he was very loth that his Head ſhou'd be the Means of reconciling 'em: And therefore wou'd put off ſuch Diſcourſes, with ſaying, *He had waded too far into the Occurrences of this World; and therefore was now reſolv'd wholly to apply himſelf to his Books and Beads, and to turn his Meditations on the World to come.* The Duke well enough perceiv'd the Reaſon of the Biſhop's Shineſs; and therefore with many reiterated Proteſtations of Secrecy, importun'd the Biſhop to expreſs his Opinion of the preſent Condition of King *Richard*, and the Validity of his Title to the Crown of *England*; telling him, *He deſir'd his Faithful and Secret Counſel, as one upon whoſe Ability and Integrity he cou'd every way rely; and that for this Purpoſe it was, that he had procur'd leave from the then Protector to have him committed to his Cuſtody, that he might with more Conveniency, Freedom, and Safety, enjoy the Benefit of this retir'd Converſation with him:* Aſſuring him, *That he ſhou'd here find more Safety and Reſpect than he cou'd have met with in any other Place.* The Biſhop gave him many Thanks for his undeſerved Favour, deſiring the Continuance of it; but prudently told him, *That Princes were like Fire, which tho' at a diſtance it might give warmth; yet if touch'd, wou'd burn; and therefore he deſir'd not to entertain himſelf with ſuch dangerous Subjects: For Words,* added the Biſhop, *are ſo ſubject to Miſconſtruction, that they are often taken according to the Will of the Hearer, than the Intention of the Speaker, ſince, according to the common Proverb,* That only is well ſpoken, which is well taken. But by how much the Biſhop ſeem'd willing to wave this Diſcourſe, ſo much the more eager was the Duke to know his Mind.

At length, the Duke's Importunity prevail'd ſo far, that ſitting privately together one Evening, after Supper, the Duke having engag'd his Honour, laying his Hand upon his *George*, and calling his Maker to witneſs, That whatever the Biſhop ſhou'd ſay to him, ſhou'd be buried in Silence, and never go any further: the Biſhop diſclos'd his Mind fully to him; ſhewing him at large, *That* Richard's *Proceedings were highly Wicked and Criminal, his Ambition unſufferable, his Bloody Deſigns intolerable, and his Uſurped Government tyrannical; whereby the Honour and Welfare of the Kingdom were in apparent Danger.* And then with great Earneſtneſs, both of Speech and Geſture, he further ſaid, *Sir, I adjure you, by the Faith you owe to God, by the Care you have of your Poſterity, by your Oath made to St.* George, *the Patron of that Honourable Order of the Garter, whereof you are a deſerving Companion; by the true Affection you bear to your Native Country, and your Love to Vertue and Integrity,*

*That you will not be averse to, but bravely second that Honest and Honourable Expedient that I shall propose unto your Grace: For thereby all Tyrannical Usurpation may be suppress'd, Justice advanced, and future Peace everlastingly established; which GOD of his infinite Bounty will vouchsafe to accomplish, if you will, with what convenient speed you may, provide a fit and undisparagable Match for the Eldest Daughter of* Edward *our late King. And if with any Possibility it may be obtain'd, let him be such a Person as may re-unite the long since severed Bearings of the Red Rose and the White: For then will all intestine Broils be pacified, and every one shall freely enjoy the happy Benefit of the now so much-desired blessed Concord.*

The Bishop had no sooner ended his Speech, but the Duke, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, put off his Hat, and said. *To thee, O Heavenly Father, sole Giver of every good and perfect Gift, from the Altar of my humblest Heart, I render all possible Praise and Thanks, for that thou hast given Ability, through thy gracious Spirit, to this thy Servant, to invent a fair Means, whereby thy Glory may be propagated, Innocency preserved, and Inhumanity punished, the Good and Quiet of thy People procured, and every true Patriot have just Cause to rejoyce in thee.* And then putting on his Hat again, he spake to the Bishop as followeth.

" At what time my Brother-in-Law left this Life, (for I " presume it is not unknown to you that King *Edward* and I " marry'd two Sisters) I began to consider with my self " what little Advantage I receiv'd from such my Marriage " at his hands; notwithstanding my Readiness to do him all " the Service I cou'd. I will not therefore deny, that the " little Kindness I ever received from him, made me have " but a very indifferent Esteem for him, and a less for his " Children: And then remembring the Old Proverb, *That " the Realm often rues, where Children reign, and Women bear " sway*; I cou'd not but be perswaded that much Mischief " and Disturbance wou'd befall the whole Kingdom, if either " the young King were suffer'd to sway the Scepter, or the " Queen-Mother admitted to have the Government; and I " was the rather induc'd to think so, because her Brother's " Children, by a former Husband, tho' of no very Ancient " Nobility, assum'd a greater Power to themselves in mana- " ging of State-Affairs, than either the Deceased King's Bre- " thren, or any other Peer of the Realm: And therefore, to " prevent further Mischief, I thought it expedient, for the " Publick Good, (*and my own particular Interest*) to join with " the Duke of *Gloucester*, whom I then believed to be as free " from Dissimulation, and as far from Injustice, as I now, to " my Cost, have found him to be a Perjur'd Dissembler, and " a Cruel Tyrant; and thereupon I sided with him; and by

" my

" my ſole Labour and Induſtry, (without the leaſt Suſpicion, " I proteſt, of what happened afterward) he was at the firſt " Council held after the Death of King *Edward*, (as you my " Lord Biſhop, very well know) procured to be made Prote- " ctor both of King and Kingdom; whereto he had no ſooner " attain'd, but by like Policy he got into his Cuſtody his two " innocent Nephews, the King and the Duke of *York*. Then " he began to ſolicite me, ſometimes endeavouring to per- " ſwade, and at other times threat'ning by Force to take " upon him the Execution of the Regal State and Govern- " ment of this Kingdom, till the young King had attain'd " the Age of Four and twenty Years; Which Project, in re- " gard the Example was without Precedent; and that it would " be more ſtrange to have an Ambitious Mind diveſt himſelf " of that Eminent Power once obtain'd, than for him at " that Inſtant to effect it, I ſeem'd not well to reliſh it; and " the rather, for that I found by the Countenance of what " were then at the Council-Table, that he was unprovided " of Seconds to back his Propoſition. But ſince that Pro- " poſition didn't anſwer his Expectation, he went another " way to work, (which he made alſo a colourable Pretext " for what he had already moved) he produced many (at " leaſt ſeemingly) Authentick Inſtruments and Reſolutions, " upon Depoſitions of credible Witneſſes, ſubſcribed by the " Civilians and Canoniſts, the moſt Famous in theſe Times " for Judgment and Learning, by whom it was reſolved and " ſo adjudged, That the Children of King *Edward* the Fourth " were to be reputed illegitimate, and no way capable of " the Inheritance of the Crown: Which Overture then " (unfeignedly I ſpeak it) I thought as real and true, as I " know now that the Deponents Names were counterfeited, " and the whole Buſineſs forged. Theſe Depoſitions and " Reſolutions thus by him produced, were read, and through- " ly debated by us at the Council-Table, and long diſcuſ- " ſed upon; until the Protector himſelf ſtood up, and ſaid, " *My Lords, As on the one part, I and your Lordſhips are moſt* " *willing that King* Edward's *Children ſhould receive no Injury;* " *ſo on the other ſide, I beſeech you, do not you be the Occaſion* " *that I ſuffer apparent Wrong: For this Point being thus cleared,* " *that my Brother's Sons are not inheritable, behold me, the un-* " *queſtionable and undoubted Heir of* Richard Plantagenet, *Duke* " *of* York, *my deceaſed but dear Father, who was by Authority of* " *Parliament adjudged and proclaimed lawful Heir of the Crown* " *of* England. Whereupon we ſilly ſeduced Men, thinking all " that had been laid before us, was Real and Authentick, " gave Conſent, That in regard the Duke of *Clarence*'s Son, " by reaſon of the former Attainder of his Father, (beſides " his objected Illegitimacy too) was diſabled to carry the In- " heritance) to accept of the Bramble for our King and

" Soveraign Lord: Which I was the rather induc'd to do, by " how much he had often, with ſolemn Proteſtations, both " Publick and Private, given me his faithful Promiſe, that the " two young Infants ſhou'd no ways be abus'd; but that they " ſhou'd have ſuch ſufficient Aſſurance for Maintenance, as I " and the reſt of the Nobility ſhou'd well like and approve " of. Which how well he hath performed, judge you: " When he was no ſooner, by my Procurement, from a Pri- " vate Perſon, made Protector; and from a Subject, ſole So- " veraign, but he caſt down the Ladder by which he had " climb'd to his Preferment, changing his Manners with his " Honours: And not only denied me to enjoy the Liberty of " my undoubted Right, as touching the Earldom of *Hart-* " *ford*, unjuſtly detain'd from me by his Predeceſſor King *Ed-* " *ward*, and which at our firſt Conference about thoſe Pro- " ceedings, this *Richard* with many execrable Oaths and Pro- " miſes aſſured me, but kept touch in nothing of what was " formerly concluded between us; but inſtead of that, I " was treated with Diſdain, and with rude and uncivil Lan- " guage; denying that I any ways aſſiſted, but rather op- " pos'd him in his obtaining the Crown: Yet this his foul " Ingratitude, and barbarous Unkindneſs, I for the preſent " patiently ſuffer'd; but when I received certain Knowledge " of the unnatural Murder of his two Natural Nephews, I " became ſo tranſported with Hatred and Indignation, that " I cou'd hardly forbear publickly revenging their Death, " and my own Diſgrace, in his own Court: Till better con- " ſidering the Doubtfulneſs of the Event, I thought it more " ſafe with Patience to wait a fitter Opportunity; and in " the mean time taking Example from him, diſſemble and " ſmother my own Reſentments, ſeeming to take no notice " of his Unkindneſs, and appearing to be very well ſatisfy'd " with the Uſage I have receiv'd from him: Hoping that by " this means I may more unperceivably compaſs my own " Ends, and more certainly bring down upon his Head " that Vengeance which he has ſo juſtly merited. In order " to which, I obtain'd leave to retire my ſelf to this Place. " But in my Journey hither, I had many tumultuating " Thoughts in my Mind, by what means I might beſt ac- " compliſh what I had ſecretly deſign'd; that is, to pull the " Lion's Skin from that Uſurping Boar, that now makes ſuch " a Ravge in the Kingdom.

" Firſt, I thought with my ſelf, that there was now a " fair Path beaten out for me, (he being now, by the Mur- " der of his tender Nephews, grown deſpicable to God and " all good Men) to lay hold of the Crown; in regard " there was not one whom I cou'd then call to remembrance, " either of Power or Pretence ſufficient to debar me from " enjoying it; being no way unprovided of Means, Men,

" or

" or Money, for Employment; and in this laſt Contem-
" plation I continu'd a while, till afterwards it came into my
" Mind, that to come in by way of Conqueſt, wou'd prove both
" difficult and hazardous; in regard moſt of the Nobility
" and Gentry wou'd oppoſe me therein; if for no other
" End or Reaſon, yet for the Preſervation of their Tenures
" and Titles, which in a Conqueror's Hands are liable to
" his Diſpoſal.

" Then I bethought my ſelf of a Title, and my Fancy
" ſuggeſted to me, That the Lord *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*,
" my Grandfather, was within Degrees lineally deſcended
" from *John* of *Gaunt*: For *Edmond Beauford* Earl *Moryton*,
" was Son of *John* ſirnamed *Beauford*, of *Beauford* in *France*,
" which came to the Houſe of *Lancaſter* by *Blanch* of *Ar-*
" *thoys*, Wife to *Edmond* Firſt Earl of *Lancaſter*, Son of *John*
" of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*: That my Mother being Eldeſt
" Daughter, I was next Heir to *Henry* the Sixth. And here-
" upon I ſet up my Reſt, thereon to lay a Foundation
" whereon to erect my Building. But as God wou'd have
" it, whilſt my Brains were buſie, and as I rid debating
" with my ſelf how I might ſet my Engines going to the
" beſt advantage, betwixt *Worceſter* and *Bridgnorth* I acciden-
" tally encountred *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, the true
" and only Heir of my Grandfather's Elder Brother, *John*
" Duke of *Somerſet*, who married *Margaret* Daughter and
" Heir of Sir *John Beuchamp* of *Bletſo*, Knight; by whom he
" had Iſſue one only Daughter, *Margaret*, who married *Ed-*
" *mond* of *Hoddam*, Son of *Owen Tewdor* by Queen *Katherine*,
" and Half Brother by the Mother to King *Henry* the Sixth.
" But ſhe was as abſolutely forgotten by me, as if I had never
" ſeen or known her. Now ſhe, and her Son *Henry* Earl of
" *Richmond*, being both Outwork and Percullis between me
" and that Port, which I muſt of neceſſity paſs, if I ſhould
" at any time attempt to enter into the Court-Royal of
" Majeſty, my preſuppoſed Title was in my Imagination
" ſcarce worth a Tittle. And herewithal calling to mind,
" That thoſe inſeparable Dangers, inſupportable Cares, and
" almoſt unavoidable Troub'es, that are the conſtant Conco-
" mitants of a Crown, are ſo imminent and numerous, that
" no one, if he be but a Man, can with Safety eſcape, well
" undergo, or with Patience endure the leaſt of many of
" them; except by Lineal Deſcent the Law do caſt it upon
" him, or that he be, by God's ſpecial Providence, as *David*
" was, before-appointed thereunto. And further taking into
" Conſideration, That if I once aſſumed the ſwaying of the
" Scepter, tho' I might perhaps be of ſufficient Ability to lay hold
" of it, yet on the one part I ſhou'd be ſure to find many
" Foes, and but few faithful Friends; and on the other ſide,
" King *Edward*'s Daughters and their Allies, whoſe Patience

" being

" being so much abused, might stir up some to take their part: " Or my Cousin *Richmond*, with his Friends and Followers, or " some discontented Lords (for it wou'd be an impossible " thing to give full Satisfaction to all) wou'd be ever snatch- " ing or snarling at me, upon every the least Occasion, and " upon any Advantage; so that in all likelihood my Life " and Honour wou'd be always hanging but by a very slen- " der Thread; my Danger still over-ballancing my Security " and Repose: And therefore I from thenceforth concluded " with my self, to banish out of my Thoughts the building " of all those Castles in the Air, which my Imagination had " form'd to it self; resolving with my self neither to look " after the Government of the Kingdom, either in my own " Right, or to my own Use; but watchfully to attend, if at " any time it shou'd please God so to order it, that an Op- " portunity shou'd be put into my hand, whereby I might be " instrumental to relieve the Oppressed, and to pull down " the Oppressor; and now I am verily perswaded that it " is the good Pleasure of the Almighty to make this the " Means by which both may be effected to his Glory: For " the Earl of *Richmond* to take to Wife *Elizabeth* the Eldest " Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth. To bring which " about, neither my Person, Power, nor Purse shall be want- " ing: For by this Match, the two Houses of *York* and " *Lancaster*, at this time so miserably disjointed, may be " united, and brought into Conjunction. And whereas my " Grandfather and Father did both lose their Lives in abet- " ting the side of *Lancaster*; I will now hazard mine, to " conjoin them both hand in hand.

Tho' this Speech of the Duke's be somewhat long, yet I do not believe it will be thought tiresome to the Reader, because it gives so clear an Idea of the Causes of those things, the Effects whereof we have in part already seen: For here the Duke seems to have laid open his whole Heart to the Bishop: He shews what was the Cause of his Discontent under King *Edward* the Fourth, which begot in him a Prejudice against his Children; and how upon that Score he fell in with *Richard*, fearing the growing Power of the Queen's Relations under *Edward* the Fifth: He shews also the Villany and Baleness of *Richard*, in producing the forged Deeds concerning the Bastardy of the young Princes, in order to his own Accession to the Throne. And honestly tells the Bishop, That the Cause of his Aversion to *Richard* was, his not making good the Matters stipulated between them at their first entring into League with each other; and that *Richard* was so ungrateful, after he had got into the Throne by his means, to deny that he any way as- sisted him therein. And that the Duke (whatever King

*Richard*

*Richard* affirm'd to the contrary) was so conscious to himself of his helping of him in, that he resolv'd to help him out again. And is so ingenuous as to tell him what a Mind he had to the Crown himself; and tho' by meeting the Countess of *Richmond*, whilst he was building those Castles in the Air, as he himself calls 'em, he was put in mind that the Title of Earl *Henry* made his not worth a Tittle; yet it was from the Consideration of the Difficulty of getting it, and the Danger of holding it, that he relinquish'd those Thoughts.

However, this is certain, That from this Discourse of the Bishop and the Duke together, that Project was form'd for the Uniting of the Red and White-Roses, that took from *Richard* both his Life and Kingdom at the Battel of *Bosworth-Field*. The Duke indeed, tho' he laid the Foundation of the Design, yet liv'd not to see it accomplish'd, tho' the Bishop did. For King *Richard* knowing he had disoblig'd the Duke; and also that he had a Politick and Designing Head-piece, grew jealous of him, notwithstanding all the fair Weather that the Duke made towards him. And therefore he had always a watchful Eye upon him: And having by some means or other learn'd something of the Design of his bringing in the Earl of *Richmond*, he sends for the Duke to come to *London*, with all the seeming Kindness and Friendship imaginable: But the Duke knew the King too well to trust him any more; he knew that when he spoke so fair, there were seven Abominations in his Heart, and therefore resolv'd not to come at him; yet gave him no absolute Denial, but put him off with dilatory Excuses: Which the King knowing the Meaning of, as well as the Duke, sent him a peremptory Message to come forthwith away upon the Tye of his Allegiance: Upon which, the Duke, foreseeing there must be now an open Breach, returns this Resolute Answer, *That he wou'd not, if he cou'd avoid it, have any Conversation with such an Ingrateful, Perjur'd, Inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood.* And so makes Preparation to defend himself by the Sword.

The King, upon this, begins to march from *London*; and the Duke's Friends are in Motion in several Places, which yet cou'd not perswade the King to separate his Forces, nor divert him from marching towards the Duke of *Buckingham*; who having notice thereof, both readily and willingly sets forward, bending his Course towards the Forest of *Dean*, intending at *Glocester* to have pass'd the *Severn*, and so to have join'd his Forces with the two *Courtneys* and the Western Confederates; but by the long Continuance of Wet Weather, the Waters thereabouts were risen so high, that the *Severn* was broken out, and had

had overflown all the Countries; ſo that it was a thing impoſſible for the Duke's Forces to be tranſported; which the *Welſh* Men, who were drawn thither, more for Fear than Love, took Advantage of, ſaying, *It was a prodigious Token of their Ill Succeſs in the Enterprize*, and ſecretly by Night ſlipt away from him; whoſe Example the reſt following, the Duke upon this Disbanding was left to ſhift for himſelf: Whereupon he diſmiſs'd all his Followers, and without either Page or Footman, repair'd to the Houſe of one *Humphry Banniſter*, who dwelt near *Shrewsbury*, preſuming there he might ſafely lodge in Obſcurity, till the preſent Clouds of his Misfortune ſhou'd blow over; and he the rather choſe this Place, for that he had by many extraordinary Favours, obliged both this *Banniſter*, and his Father before him. But King *Richard* having publiſh'd a Proclamation, That if any one cou'd bring Tidings of the Duke of *Buckingham*, (who was now proclaim'd a Traitor, and all his Lands and Goods ſeized into the King's Hands) ſo that the Duke might be apprehended; if the Perſon were a Bond-man, he ſhou'd be manu-mitted; if a Free-man, he ſhou'd have a General Pardon, and a Thouſand Pound current *Engliſh* Coin. Soon after which, this *Banniſter*, (whether for Fear to offend the Law, or greedy Covetouſneſs to gain the Thouſand Pound, is yet diſputable) like an ungrateful Servant, perfidiouſly diſcovered his Maſter the Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Sheriff of *Shropſhire*, who thereupon apprehended him in a little Grove near *Banniſter*'s Dwelling-Houſe; from whence he convey'd him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then lay; and being from thence carry'd to *Salisbury*, he was there, without any Arraignment, or legal Proceedings, beheaded in the Publick Market-Place. And thus fell the Duke of *Buckingham* a Victim to Divine Juſtice, for the Blood he had before had a hand in ſhedding; tho' moſt ingratefully and villanouſly murder'd (for it was no better) by King *Richard*. And tho' at preſent *Richard* triumph'd, yet had the Duke (as I have ſaid before) laid that Deſign that in the End ſhall bring this bloody King to his deſerved Puniſhment. As for *Banniſter*, whether he receiv'd the Reward promis'd in the Proclamation, 'tis uncertain; but that God's Judgments ſoon after overtook him and his, is both very certain and remarkable; for he himſelf was afterwards hang'd for Manſlaughter, his Eldeſt Daughter was debauch'd by one of his Carters, and his Eldeſt Son and Heir grew diſtracted, and laid violent Hands upon himſelf, by which he miſerably dy'd. Theſe things I mention, as a proper Mirror for perfidious and treacherous Men to look into.

The Uſurper, tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was beheaded, was not therewith ſatisfied; his inſatiate Thirſt after Blood cou'd not be ſo quenched; and therefore made a diligent Enquiry

Enquiry after all those that might be suspected to be Favourers of Earl *Richmond*'s Association; and caused one *Collingborn*, a harmless Countrey-Gentleman, to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd, only for reproaching his chief Ministers with a Silly Quibble upon their Bestial Names, in the following Rhime:

*The* Cat, *the* Rat, *and Lovel the* Dogg,
*Rule all* England *under the* Hogg.

And soon after Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford*, were Executed at *London*, for being supposed to be the Earl of *Richmond*'s Friends. Nay, Sir *Thomas Sentleger* himself, tho' he had married *Anne*, the Duke of *Exeter*'s Widdow, who was the Kings own Sister, far'd no better; but with *Thomas Rame* Esq; was Executed at Exeter.

These things made him appear so lordid, as well as so savage, to all Foreign Princes, that they refused to have any Commerce with him: *Lewis* the French King, (to whom he sent to conclude a League) so abhorr'd his Amity, that he wou'd by no means see or hear his Ambassadors, but sent them away with Disgrace. The King of *Scots*, who had so lately submitted to his Brother, defy'd him and all his Power, as a Beast: What Scorn the Duke of *Britaign* put upon him needs no other proof, than the hanging his Chief Minister for holding Intelligence with him. Nor was he indeed in much better Esteem at home than abroad: For tho' he is by some cry'd up for making good Laws, because he pass'd that Act against Benevolences, in which was Enacted, That the Commonalty of the Realm shou'd in no wise be Charged with any Imposition call'd a Benevolence; yet that Act seem'd to be an Act fitted to the time he liv'd in; and 'tis very probable had never pass'd had he not known himself to be so generally hated, that he despair'd of ever having any Free-will Offerings. And yet it is possible he, as most Usurpers, might Endeavour to fortify himself with good Constitutions, being as much afraid of the People, as they were of him: But it is not likely so wicked a Man, cou'd make a good King. Nor did his People think themselves so obliged to him for any of his good Acts, as to make him any Return of Gratitude or Affection; but as soon as they had an opportunity, revolted from him to the Earl of *Richmond*: Insomuch that where King *Henry* came to a Close Dispute with him, he found little Difficulty to Conquer him, tho' *Richard*'s Army wanted not Conduct, nor himself Courage. But indeed, that which contributed most to his Ruine, was the Self-Condemnation which appear'd in his own Conscience. Which he cou'd neither Smother nor Conceal, the Terror of it being manifest. As appear'd not only by the causless Jealousies he conceiv'd of those of neareſt Trust about him, making the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Stanly*, his too greateſt

teſt Friends his Enemies; by ſuſpecting them to be ſo; but alſo by the poor Shifts he made to ſupport his tottering Title; firſt marrying the Widdow of Prince *Edward* the Son of *Henry* (whom he had murther'd) to gain the Earl of *Warwick* on his ſide; and after making her away, in hopes to marry his Neece, *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter to his Brother King *Edward*, and Strengthen himſelf with her Title, (notwithſtanding he had but a little before caus'd her, and all her Fathers Children, to be declar'd Illegitimate.) Nay, ſo bruitiſhly wicked and deviliſh was he reſolv'd to be; that if he had fail'd in his Deſign of Marrying her, he fully purpos'd to raviſh her, and had actually accompliſh'd it, had not Earl *Richmond* (who knew the Danger that Lady was in) been ſo quick upon him, that he only adjourn'd it till after he had ſuppreſs'd the Earl, as he intended to have done.

Theſe low and vile Practiſes, as they ſhew'd him rather Politick than Wiſe, ſo they gave ſuch an Umbrage to his own Party, and ſo ſhock'd their Confidence, that (as if they had foreſeen his Fall by Inſtinct, before there were any viſible Symptoms of Decay in his Power) every Man ſeem'd Creſt-faln in his Court, a long time before they had any Alarm from Abroad: But after they had heard of the Arrival of the Earl of *Richmond*, he himſelf ſaw the Preſages of his Deſtiny in their Countenances; found they follow'd him as a Tyrant, rather than a King; drawn by a Principle of Fear, and not of Affection; which ſo ſenſibly diſquieted him within, that inſtead of being Couragious, he grew Deſperate.

But now the Fatal Day was come! Both ſides being equally inclin'd to fight; being thereto moved by their ſeveral Fears; *Richard*, of his being abandoned; the Earl, that his followers might grow weary; either by the Incommodities they might Suffer, or by their Expences; ſince he had no Authority but what they of their free Will gave him. But *Richard*'s Condition was much worſe of the Two, for ſtill ſome or other fled from him. So that ſeeking out a fit Place to fight in, he encamped himſelf near a Village called *Boſworth*; not far from *Leiceſter*; where having refreſhed his People, he prepared to fight. It is ſaid that the Night preceding, he had in his ſleep ſtrange and frightful Apparitions, which he believed to be Devils; and that troubled him, and broke his ſleep, leaving him ſo affrighted, that every one wondred at it. Whereupon he, who had always wont to appear Chearful in Fight, thought, that if now any Sadneſs ſhou'd be diſcovered in him, it wou'd be accounted Cowardiſe: And that therefore it was neceſſary for him to tell his Dream, that his Diſturbed Countenance being known to ariſe from another Cauſe, might take off that Imputation. And who can blame him, for being ſo diſturb'd now that his Fate drew nigh, when he had ſuch a load of Guilt ſtill dogg'd him at the heels?

*Richard*

*Richard* therefore proceeds to draw out his Troops, and puts 'em into such a figure as for Terrors sake might make the greatest shew. He made the Ranks of the Vantguard very long; which was Commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*: For that Duke wou'd not be prevail'd with to leave King *Richard*, tho' the Night before the Armies joyn'd, this Rhime was fix'd upon his Chamber Door.

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too Bold*:
*For* Dickon *thy Master is Bought and Sold.*

The Armies being joyn'd, when King *Richard* perceiv'd that those who fought for him, fought but faintly; and that those who fought not, withdrew themselves and forsook the Camp; he commanded those he most rely'd upon, to have a Care that Business might be carried without Disorder; and that they should advertise him of any Danger that should appear: These seeing how some were negligent and others withdrew themselves, advised him to save himself, judging that he was betray'd: But Divine Justice would not suffer him to listen to such Advice; no, not when Victory appear'd Evidently on the Adversaries part; tho' they presented him with a Fleet Horse whereon to Escape: But he was obstinate, and refus'd it, saying, That Day was either to terminate the War, or his Life: And understanding afterward, that *Richmond* was not far from him, guarded but with a few Gens d' Arms, he spurr'd on towards him, and knowing him by some Marks, he ran at him with his Lance in Rest: *Richmond* was not at all displeas'd with the Encounter, judging it the true way to decide their Countroversie, but could not meet him hand to hand, being thwarted by some of his own Men: *Richard* running furiously on, slew Sir *Robert Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-Bearer; and Sir *John Cheney* stopping his passage to the Earl, was by him born down to the Ground, tho' he was a strong Man, and of great Valour: But the Earl with his Sword in his hand stop'd his Fury, at the very instant that the Lord *Stanly* investing the Kings Squadrons, afforded occasion to those that were so minded to run away: Which when *Richard* perceiv'd, he left the Earl, and thrust himself into the thickest of the fight, to re-unite his own Men, or dye the Sooner, the latter of which befell him; for fighting valiantly, he fell with his Sword in his hand, all besmear'd with Blood; obtaining only this point of Glory by it, that he dy'd more honourably than he liv'd: dying with his Sword in his hand in the Field, who ought rather to have fallen by the hands of an Executioner.

And now having brought him to the End of all his Glory, I cannot forbear telling the Reader, what shameful Promotion he came to at last: For his Body, after the Battel of *Bosworth Field*, starknaked, all mangled and besmeared with Blood and Dust, without so much as the least Rag to cover his Privities,

was

was truſſed behind *Blanch Senigleer*, his own Purſevant of Arms like *Butchers* Ware, his Head and Arms hanging on the one ſide of the Horſe, and his Legs on the other; and ſo was brought to *Leiceſter*; where, as he was carried over the Bridge, 'tis ſaid his head hit againſt a Stone, againſt which his Spurs hit, as he rid out of *Liecester* to the Field. Being brought in that ſhameful manner to *Leiceſter*, his Carcaſs became a Spectacle of Shame and Scorn to the People, for the Space of two Days; during which time he lay bare and unintern'd. And at laſt was by the Charity of the Gray Fryars there, without any Funeral Pomp, and ſcarce with ordinary ſolemnity, buried in their Monaſtery.

To recite his Character, or deſcribe his Perſon, is enough to ſet a Mans Teeth on Edge, and turn his Stomach; and yet no Man had a greater Uniformity in Mind and Body, than himſelf; for both were Equally Deform'd: He was born a Monſter in Nature, with all his Teeth, with Hair on his Head, and Nails on his Fingers and Toes, forcing his paſſage into the World, like a Viper through his Mothers Womb, whom afterwards he was not aſham'd to accuſe of Adultery. He was low of Stature, Crook-back'd, hook-ſhoulder'd, goggle-Ey'd, and ſplay-footed. His Face was little and round, and his Complexion ſwarthy. He wou'd look Fawningly when he Plotted, and Sternly when he Executed: His Cruelty was not Occaſional but Natural: If at any time he ſhew'd any Vertue, it was but Pretence; the Truth of his Mind was only Lying and Falſehood. I will conclude all, with what one has long ſince ſaid of him: "*King* "Richard *the third was a Monſter of Luſt and Cruelty; whoſe* "*Murders, too many to be here repeated, are at large ſet down in our* "*Chronicles; with his Attempts of Rape and Inceſt: So perfect he* "*was in Villany and Hypocriſie, that he wou'd always uſe moſt fair* "*Language, and ſhew greateſt ſigns of Love and Courteſie to that* "*Man in the Morning, whoſe Throat he had taken Order to be Cut* "*that Night: And was the firſt I read of in our Story, that ever* "*uſed that Oath,* God-Damn-me. *He was ſlain at* Boſworth "Field; *his Body ſtark naked and Mangled, beſmear'd with Blood* "*and Duſt, was brought upon a Horſe to* Leiceſter; *where for a* "*Spectacle of hate and Scorn, he lay two Days unburied.*

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Seventh.

KING HENRY *the Seventh, of the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *ſucceeded to* Richard *the Third, ſlain in* Boſworth *Battel*: *He was the Son of* Edmund Tewdor *Earl of* Richmond, *and* Margaret *his Wife. His Birth-place was* Pembrook-Caſtle *in* Wales; *So that the Prophecy of* Cadwallador *the laſt King of* Britain, That the Britiſh Blood ſhould Reign in Britain, *came to be fulfilled in this King. He married* Elizabeth, *Eldeſt Daughter of* Edward *the Fourth, whereby the two Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter *became united into one. A great part of his Reign, he was troubled with ſeveral Impoſtors, which in the end were both detected and puniſhed. A Rebellion was raiſed againſt him in the North, by one* John a Chamber, *a poor ſorry Fellow*; *and another in the Weſt, headed by the Lord* Audley, *both which were happily ſuppreſſed. He takes part with the Duke of* Britain *againſt the French King*: *He beſiegeth* Bulleign; *and afterwards makes an Honourable Peace with the* French. *He Marries his eldeſt Daughter into* Scotland, *and his youngeſt Daughter into* France, *and his Son* Arthur *to the Infanta of* Spain, *he dying five Months after his Marriage. The King and Queen of* Caſtile *being driven into* England *by a Storm, were Royally entertained by the King. He ſets up* Empſon *and* Dudley, *to oppreſs the People, by proſecuting them upon Obſolete Laws. And having reigned near Twenty four Years, he departed this Life at his Royal Palace of* Richmond, April 22. 1509. *having lived Fifty two Years, and was buried at his Chappel, adjoyning to* Weſtminſter-Abbey, *called* Henry *the Seventh's Chappel.* Thus far his General Hiſtory.

His Secret Hiſtory will run through a great part of his Reign: For his Title to the Crown, and his Relation to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, is a Secret to this very Day; being ſo remote from laying any Claim to the Crown by Right of Blood, as it was even then the common Opinion that he had no Right at all thereunto: For his Father, *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, was Son to *Owen Teudor*, and Queen *Katharine*,

Relict of King *Henry* the Fifth, whose Houses had no Affinity, nor relation of Kindred, to the House of *Lancaster*: By his Mothers side, indeed, there may be somewhat said for him; since *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* (only Daughter to the first Duke of *Somerset*, and Grandchild to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, the Father of *Henry* the Fourth, the first King of that House) pretended, that in case the then present Succession should fail, she and her Son were to succeed, as rightly descended from the said *John*, the Father as well of the House of *Somerset*, as of that of *Lancaster*. But this pretended Title meets with two Oppositions; The one, That the House of *Lancaster* had no Right at all to the Crown; The other, That say it had, the House of *Somerset* did not partake therein, tho' sprung from the same Head. The Reasons why the House of *Lancaster* had no Pretence, are these; *Henry* the Fourth usurped the Crown from *Edmund Mortimer*, descended from *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to the Duke of *Lancaster*; upon whom (King *Richard* the Second dying without Issue, as he did) the Succession fell: So as the Usurpation having continued from Father to Son, in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth *Henries*, it was impossible for them to transmit that Right to others, which they had not themselves. But tho' the other had had Right, yet that the House of *Somerset* did not partake therein, is manifest. For the Duke of *Lancaster* having had three Wives, *Blanch*, *Constance*, and *Katharine*, the Due Claims of his Children, had by them, were not the same, with respect to the several Dowries, and different Qualities of the three Mothers; *Blanch* brought with her the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, *Constance* the Pretences to the Kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon*; but *Katharine* (from whom our Seventh *Henry* was descended) nothing at all; being indeed but a meer Waiting-Woman to the above-said *Blanch*: So as if *Henry* the Fourth, and the Daughters born of *Blanch*, could not pretend to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, in prejudice to the Daughter of *Constance*, nor the Daughter of *Constance* to the Dukedom of *Lancaster*, to the Prejudice of *Henry* the Fourth and his Sisters; much less could the Children of *Katharine* the third Wife, have any Pretence at all, in Prejudice to the Children of the two former Wives, unless we allow it meerly in respect of the Father's Inheritance; and as to that, there is the apparent Disadvantage of their being last born, who for that reason, could not enjoy the Prerogative which the Law gives to the First-born. To which, there is also a greater Obstacle, if we consider that they were born whilst *Constance* yet lived, and so were not only Bastards, but on the Father's side born in Adultery. And tho' after the Death of *Constance*, he married *Katharine*, (by which the Children were made Legitimate, by the double Legitimation both of Pope and Parliament, yet they not being of the whole Blood, the House of *Somerset* had nothing to do with the

House

Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in what belong'd to the Inheritance of the Crown; their Legitimation making them only capable of the Inheritance by their Father. So as *Henry* the Fourth, being eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom by the Authority of Parliament, and by the ſame Authority his Sons, and ſuch as ſhould deſcend of them, being declared his lawful Succeſſors therein; he (in caſe his Succeſſion ſhould fail) made no mention at all of his Half-brothers, or ſuch as ſhould deſcend from them. So as let it be granted, that *Henry* the Fourth's Uſurpation was no longer ſuch, after it was allowed by a Publick Act of Election in Parliament; yet had not the Houſe of *Somerſet* (tho deſcended from the ſame Father) the ſame Pretence: Since not being able to pretend to the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, much leſs could it pretend to the Crown, to which even the Father himſelf had no Pretence at all, there being an Elder Brother before him. And if *Henry*, his eldeſt Son, obtained the Crown, it was by Purchaſe, and ſo as none ſhould enjoy after him, but ſuch deſcending from him, as he ſhould ſpecifically name. So as the Crown (according to the Laws of *England*) belonging to the Houſe of *York*, by the Marriage with *Anne*, Siſter and Heir to the aforeſaid *Edmund Mortimer*, there remains at leaſt ſomewhat of Doubt, whether the Parliament could inveſt the Houſe of *Lancaſter* with a Right to the Crown, in prejudice to the firſt *Mortimer*, and conſequently to the Houſe of *York*; they not having done any thing to forfeit that Right. And if they could not do it juſtly then, neither could they do it juſtly after *Henry* the Seventh's Pretence to the Crown. And if it could do it, in the ſame manner, and by the ſame Right, as it did operate to the Prejudice of *Mortimer*, and the Houſe of *York*, by making *Henry* the Fourth King; it might do the ſame to the Prejudice of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by making *Edward* the Fourth King. So as *Henry* the Seventh, whether it be by Election, or natural Deſcent, is totally Excluded from any Right to the Crown: Which ſhews an unaccountable Ambition in *Henry*, to pretend at all thereunto, before his Marriage with King *Edward*'s eldeſt Daughter. Nor can I imagine, why *Edward* the Fourth, and his Brother *Richard*, ſhould be afraid of him, who was ſo remote from the Crown; unleſs it were, that he, as being Head of the Lancaſtrian Faction, ſhould be troubleſome to them. For, tho *Henry* the Sixth, and the Prince his Son, were Extinguiſh'd, (they being the laſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*) yet that Party, or Faction, was ſtill in being, and might poſſibly be revived again under his Conduct, who had the neareſt Relation thereunto. And for this reaſon it was, that *Humphrey Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, (not calling *Henry* to mind before his meeting with his Mother) thought he himſelf had reaſon to pretend thereto: For in ſuch a caſe, the Right and Lawful Title of King, imports not ſo much as the Lawful Title to be Head of a Party. The firſt is attainable

by Fortune, Force, or Favour of Parliament; the other only by Deſcent; And on ſuch occaſions Law is not ſo much ſought after, as a Pretence; to pretend, is that which is deſired, and that which ſufficeth: And this it was that moved the two Brothers to ſolicit to get him into their Tuition, from the Duke of *Britany*; for, as for any thing elſe, they had no reaſon to fear him. For moſt probable it is, the Lancaſtrian Faction had never been revived, had not *Richard* been a Tyrant. For *Edward* the Fourth, had, through his Affability, in the latter part of his Reign, grounded ſuch an Affection of the People towards the Houſe of *York*, as neither *Richard*'s Wickedneſs, nor *Henry*'s ſeeming Goodneſs, would have been able to have ever rooted out. Nay, *Henry* would have had none at all to have ſided with him, (tho againſt a Man ſo much abhorred as *Richard* was) had it not been for his Promiſe to Marry *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the Houſe and Kingdom.

I had not ſo much inſiſted, in this Secret Hiſtory, upon King *Henry*'s having really no Title to the Crown, had not he ſo much inſiſted on his own Title; which he was ſo fond of, that he made his firſt Appearance to the People with a Trine Aſpect of *Deſcent*, *Conſent*, and *Conqueſt*; ſetting forth a Proclamation, by which he declared himſelf King *Jure Divino*, *Humano*, & *Militari*: The firſt (which was pretended to be proved by the Union of the Two Nations, the *Britains* and *Normans*) was ſaid to have been written in the Stars, and revealed from Heaven (if we may believe Tradition) near Eight hundred Years before, to his great Anceſtor *Cadwallader*, the laſt of the Britiſh Kings, who having loſt almoſt all that little that was left him, is ſaid to have rejoyced in the Aſſurance he had, That one of his Poſterity ſhould recover back the Imperial Diadem of this Iſle. Which Prophecy King *Henry* the Sixth, (who had the Repute of being an Illuminated Man too) apply'd to this King, being then a Child, many Years before it was accompliſhed, ſaying, to ſome Lords that were preſent, when the Youth was playing by him, *This is he that ſhall enjoy what we now Conteſt for*; himſelf having then a hopeful Heir alive, and the Houſe of *York* ſeveral. So that being Juſtified by no leſs than two ſuch Notable Predictions of two Kings, it may doubtleſs paſs for a ſufficient Proof, that he was *Rex*, *Jure Divino*. But as to his *Jure Humano*, his Marrying the Undoubted Heir of *York*, and being Recognized by Act of Parliament, whatever he thought of it, were the two beſt Evidences of that Right; for it was thereby he brought all Hearts to bow to his Title, as before all Knees to his Fortune; the People generally believing, what they were never likely to find, that the Roſes which ſprang from this Conjunction, would never more have any Prickles. And for his being King *de Jure Belli*, he thought it was ſufficiently Juſtified, by his Conquering King *Richard* in the Field, and there receiving the Crown, as the Trophy of his Victory.

But for all his threefold Title of *Deſcent*, *Conſent* and *Conqueſt*, his ſtrongeſt Title was that which he leaſt accounted of, and which he had the great Averſation to, and that was his Title by Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*: For having gotten the Victory, and ſlain his Enemy, he grew Obſtinate in his Will, not to be King but by his own Title. And therefore he deferred his Marriage ſo long, that he began to be ſuſpected of being falſe to his Promiſe; and this Suſpition was increaſed, becauſe of a Report that was ſpread abroad, of his having given his Word to Marry *Anne* the Daughter and Heir of the Duke of *Britany* (which in reſpect of the Favours he had received from that Duke, was believed to be true.) To obviate which Report, he yet thought it convenient, in an Aſſembly of the chiefeſt Lords of the Kingdom, which was called for that purpoſe, to ratifie his Promiſe to Marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; which was indeed the only way he had left, to ſtop the Whiſpers, and diſſipate the Fears the People had of him. Notwithſtanding which, he deferred the Conſummating of his Marriage, till being Crown'd, and in Poſſeſſion by his own Title, he might avoid being called King in the Right of his Wife; Which was, indeed, the true Reaſon, why he ſhew'd himſelf ſo lukewarm in his Affection towards his Wife; Not, perhaps, that it was ſo much againſt her Perſon, as the irreconcilable Enmity he had to her Houſe: Which prevailed more with him, than the Goodneſs, Fruitfulneſs and Beauty, of ſo worthy a Wife. For when after ſo long Delays, he made good his Promiſe, and Married her, he was not well pleaſed with the extraordinary Joy the People expreſſed on that Occaſion.

But ſince King *Henry* has obtained, among Hiſtorians, the Name of a Wiſe and Prudent Prince, why ſhould he ſhew ſuch an unaccountable Averſion to the Title of his Wife? I anſwer, Conſidering his own Crazy Title, it was rather a proud and obſtinate piece of Folly, than any real Point of Wiſdom; For it was the ſlight he put upon his Wife, whom he never would ſuffer to be ſolemnly Crown'd, as was uſual to other Queens, that created him ſo much Trouble and Diſquietment, both with reſpect to *Lambert Simnel*, and *Perkin Warbeck*. The true and Secret Reaſon, therefore, of his Acting after this manner, ſeems to be, not ſo much out of the Hatred he bore to the Houſe of *York*, as out of Love to himſelf: For he conſidered, that a Noiſe being rumour'd about the Duke of *York*'s being alive, (preſerv'd from Death, by thoſe that had the Charge to Kill him) which if it had proved true, his Claim by his Wife would have failed him; for nothing could have Excluded that Duke, had he been living, but the Conteſted Title of *Lancaſter*. And ſuppoſe this News to be falſe, yet there remained other Doubts: for if ſhe ſhould have dyed without Children, the bare Title of Marriage would not have made good the Crown to him, which

then would have fallen to the next of her Sisters. And suppose she should have dyed before him, leaving Children behind her, the Crown would fall upon them; so as many Inconveniencies might have happened unto him thereby. For no doubt but he was sensible, that in this case, tho' his Children, and the Parliament, should both of them have acquiesc'd in continuing him in the Government, yet there is a great deal of difference between Reigning by Vertue of Birth and Law, whereby he was not obliged to any; and Reigning by Vertue of anothers Consent, which obliged him to every one. In the first he was Free and Independent; in the second, Dependant and of Courtesie. So that he was so Wise, as to consider it was unsafe to rely upon his Wife's Title; and that his own Title, tho' it was more Crazy, was yet more Safe. He also saw, that to make use of his Title of Conquest, would have been dangerous, forasmuch as it might have alienated even those that sided with him; for thereby he had Authority to take what he would from whom he would; to make what Conditions he pleased; to make Laws at his pleasure; and to disannul Laws already made, when he thought fit; and to dispose of Men, not as a King of his Subjects, but as a Lord of his Slaves. And therefore, tho' the Title of *Lancaster* was condemned by Parliament, as Usurped and Unjust, and that he himself was called to the Crown, not by Vertue of his own Title, but that by Marrying with the Princess *Elizabeth*, the true Queen and Heir to the House of *York*, all those Disputes might be ended. Yet moved by the Considerations before-mentioned, and not valuing the Inconveniencies that might arise, he declared himself King by Vertue of his Birth, not naming the Princess *Elizabeth* in any thing; as being willing to run any danger, rather than to be a King by his Wife's Courtesie while she should live, or the Good-will of his Children, if she should die; or the Permission of Parliament, if he should have no Issue by her.

Having thus resolved, therefore, to stand upon his own Legs, he was Crown'd in his own Right, before his Marriage, by Cardinal *Bourchier*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and called a Parliament seven Days after; wherein he passed two Notable Acts; the first of which was, *The Act of Repeal of the Attainder against himself and his Party*; whereby the Adversary had cast so much Dirt and Blood upon them, as left an Eternal Blemish upon Record, to Sully their Memory, as well as Invalidate their Interest. For, however, the Lawyers had assured him, that the Possession of the Crown took off all Defects; yet in respect they were not able to give him like Assurance of continuing that Possession, his Jealousie of the Worst, prompted him to provide for the Best, by obliterating the Reproach, as well as taking off the Force of the Statute. The Second was, *That no Person assisting the King*

for

*for the time being, by Arms or otherwiſe, ſhould ever after be Impeached for it, or Attainted, either by Courſe of Law, or by Act of Parliament. And that if any ſuch Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it ſhould be void in it ſelf, and of no Effect.* Which Law, tho' it were like a two edg'd Weapon, that (if not wiſely manag'd) might as well wound him in whoſe Hand it was, as thoſe againſt whom it was directed; yet it ſerved his turn for the preſent, and ſecured the Subject no leſs than the Prince. And, indeed, had this Law been ſooner made, it had prevented a great deal of Blood being ſpilt. And ſucceeding Parliaments were ſo ſenſible of the Uſefulneſs of this Law, that it has been continued ever ſince. Tho' there is no doubt to be made, but it was King *Henry*'s Conſciouſneſs of his own Crazy Title, and the tickliſh Ground he ſtood upon, that was the occaſion of this Law.

There was alſo another Act made by his Procurement, (for it was indeed the Act of the Pope) viz. *A Prohibition of the Benefit of Sanctuary, for all ſuch as fled thither for any Offence of Treaſon, as Enemies to the Chriſtian Faith, as well as to the Crown. With a Prohibition likewiſe, of all Priviledge to any, that came a ſecond time to ask the Benefit of the Sanctuary, for any Offence whatſoever.* This was a very Politick Contrivance, and gave him a vaſt Advantage over any of his Predeceſſors, by how much he had rendred it almoſt impoſſible for any of his Subjects to ſtart out of their Allegiance; well knowing, *Quod aliud eſt Regem eſſe aliud Regnare.*

But King *Henry* would not truſt wholly to his Security by Law; for *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had raiſed up ſo many Apparitions againſt him, that he began to be afraid even of his own Shadow; and therefore for the Security of his Perſon, he inſtituted a Guard of Fifty Archers, under the Command of a Captain; which was a new thing in *England*, where their Kings are only guarded by the Laws and their Subjects Affections. But finding it was like to create ſome Jealouſie in the People, he declared the Inſtitution to be Perpetual; and that he was moved thereto, by what he, in the time of his Exile, had obſerved others to do; and alledged, That the want of a Guard, did mis-become the Majeſty of a King; and that it was requiſite to be had, if not for Neceſſity, for Decency.

I have already obſerved, how King *Henry*'s Lukewarmneſs to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, whom he had Married, occaſioned him many Troubles, by Mock-Princes ſet up by the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, of which it will be neceſſary to ſhew the true Reaſon; for ſhe was really the only Enemy that ever match'd King *Henry*; for tho' ſhe was one of the Feminine Gender, yet ſhe had the Spirit of a Man, which being joyn'd with the Malice of a Woman, and both elevated by the Greatneſs of her Fortune, rendred her rather his Superior than Equal. This Lady *Margaret*, was ſecond Wife to that Famous *Charles*

*the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Sister of King *Edward* the Fourth; who observing that King *Henry* (tho' at the best he had scarce half the Blood) had the whole hate of the House of *Lancaster*, to the House of *York*, was so far charg'd with Envy towards him, that she even hated her own Neece for consenting to Marry him. But after she saw, that tho' he had made her his Wife, he still refused her to be his Queen, denying her the Rites of Majesty by Coronation, as other Queens usually had, tho' she had bore him a Son to be a Pledge of her Faith and Affection to him; When she saw that Marriage, which makes all Persons Equal, had subjected her Neece to this Inequality, the Indignation she conceived at it, did so rankle within her Breast, that she could never have any Rest within her Thoughts, while he had any within his Dominions: And therefore she made it the whole Labour of her Mind, to contrive all the Ways and Means imaginable to Dethrone him; becoming the avowed Foster-Mother of almost all the Rebellions during his Reign; setting up several Impostors to Personate the Parts of Princes; of which two were especially remarkable; the first was *Lambert Simnel*, a Baker's Son; and the other was *Perkin Warbeck*, of Flemish Extraction. The first was to Personate the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, Prisoner in the Tower; and the last, *Richard* Duke of *York*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fifth, who was, with him, murdered in the Tower: but by the Impostor, pretended to be saved by the Villains imployed to Murder him. Both these made a considerable Progress in their Imposture, insomuch that *Lambert Simnel* was Crown'd King in the Cathedral of *Dublin*; and *Perkin Warbeck* had great Honours done him in several Countries, particularly in *France* and *Scotland*, as a Prince of the Royal Blood of *England*; which the King of the *Scots* did so far believe, as to Marry his own Kinswoman to him. And yet after all, the Cheat came to be discovered, and *Lambert Simnel*, of a new-broach'd King, came to be admitted a Turn-broach in King *Henry*'s Kitchin. But *Perkin Warbeck* had a more Tragical (tho' deserved) Fate, for after having been first Pillory'd, he was Hang'd at *Tyburn*.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus Haunted with Ghosts and Apparitions, of which, 'tis said, some were of his own raising, he had no time to advance his Prerogative; for now his chief Business was, to secure his Title: But having laid all those Spirits, he began to look on himself, as free from either Foreign or Domestick Competitors, the Coast of State seeming clear from all thickening Weather, he thinks of redeeming what he had lost by Factions, and uses all his Endeavours, for bringing down the Heighth of the English Nation; and plucking down their Courage: And was especially Jealous of his Nobility, as remembring how himself was

let

ſet up. And thinking the Riches of the *Engliſh* occaſioned their Rebellions, he took a Courſe to Empty their Coffers into his own. And ſince the People had Plotted againſt him, by putting up of Counterfeit Princes, he was reſolved to be even with them, by Plotting againſt them; which he did ſo effectually, that he did not only eat up their Fleſh, but even grind their very Bones. For which end, he met with two Pernicious Inſtruments, *Edmund Dudley* and *Richard Empſon*; the firſt being born a Gentleman, did by his Wickedneſs obſcure the Splendor of his Blood: The other, being the Son of a Shoe-maker, made good the Proverb, *That from Pollution and Mire, nothing but Filth and Stench can be expected.* Theſe two finding King *Henry* naturally Covetous, increaſed it in him by unjuſt means, and by drawing Blood from the Purſe-veins of Thouſands of Innocent People. Tho' they were of different Extraction, they were both of one Profeſſion, that is, Lawyers, and by a like means, got a like Preferment, being both made Privy-Councillors: So as their Ambition being ſatisfied, their Avarice remained to be ſo likewiſe, which is the drift of Ambition in baſely-minded Men. Ingenuity and Juſtice, tho' they may ſerve the Moderate, cannot ſatisfie the Inſatiate; and therefore they would not make uſe of them, but of their Contraries; that from thoſe Rivers of Gold, which they cauſed to flow into the King's Coffers, ſome Streams of the ſame Metal might run into their own Purſes, at the Charge of the King and Subject. The Laws at that time, either by reaſon of the Civil Wars, or through the Negligence of Judges, were either forgotten, or grown out of uſe; and the Patrimony of the Crown enjoyed by many, by Vertue of long Leaſes, being become almoſt as good as Fee-ſimple to the Enjoyers, cauſed the King (moved thereto by his Natural Avaricious Temper) to look into them. And theſe two were choſen by him, as proper Tools to manage his Deſign; and had full Authority given them for that purpoſe. In the Execution whereof, they raiſed up many Accuſers; and the Accuſed being put in Priſon, and there kept (the time appointed for their Juſtification being maliciouſly Prorogued) they were forced to Purchaſe their Liberty with great Sums of Money. Others being cited by them, or their Delegates, the uſual Courſe of Law not being obſerved, were condemned; they abounded in Falſe Witneſſes, and Falſe Pretences, whereby they Impoveriſh'd all that were worth any thing; not ſuffering Wards to enter upon their Lands, without vaſt Diſburſements. And becauſe theſe two were unable to manage all the various ways of Rapine and Extortion that was now ſet on Foot, they were attended by whole Troops of baſe Informers, Catch-poles, Cheaters, Promoters, Knights of the Poſt, and all other Inſtruments of Villany, who went up and down the Kingdom, and cruelly Polled and Taxed all ſorts of People; and Proſecuted in every

every Shire, the moſt Deſerving and Generous Men; that in a little time, the Kingdom was more Beggar'd, than by moſt of the Civil Wars; and all this was done by the King's Special Command and Countenance; ſhewing the People, by this, what the Reaſon was, that he began to Play *Rex* no ſooner; which was, in ſhort, only for want of Opportunity, and fear of loſing his Crown, while he was advancing it. And under all this Oppreſſion, it was in vain to complain; for even ſuch Judges, as, through their Integrity, reſiſted their Wills, were either better Taught by Impriſonments, or Ruin'd by Fines and Amerciaments. Laws which had been at ſundry times Enacted, rather *in Terrorem*, than with a Deſign to puniſh, (a great part whereof were repealed too) were, without any manner of Remiſſion, vigorouſly put in Execution. So that tho' *Richard* the Third was a Barbarous and Inhumane Villain, and aſcended the Throne by the Blood of his Nephews; yet with reſpect to the Oppreſſing of the People, and the Executing of Juſtice, he might be deemed a Saint, in reſpect of *Henry* the Seventh; who if he could but any ways Squeeze his Subjects, ſo as to bring Money into his own Coffers, he valued neither Honour, Honeſty, Gratitude, nor any thing elſe. And leſt I ſhould be thought to ſpeak without Book, I will only relate the following Story, which may ſerve *inſtar omnium*.

The King coming to *Henningham*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Oxford*, (one whom he was wont to make uſe of both in War and Peace) he was there received, and Feaſted with much Splendor and Magnificence: For which end, all that held any Land of the Earl, by what Title ſoever, came at that time to give their Attendance upon him; of which many were Gentlemen, and others Yeomen; Theſe, and the Gentlemen likewiſe, wore all of them the Earl's Blew Coats, and Feathers in their Hats of the Earl's Colours: For the reſt of their Apparel, they were all richly Clad, every Man according to his Ability: When the King came forth, they placed themſelves in two Rows, making a very fine ſhew in the Great Hall. The King looking wiſtly on them, asked the Earl, *If they were all his Servants?* Who ſmiling, anſwered, *No; for then* (ſaid he) *I ſhould be thought an Ill Husband; but they are all my Tenants, who are come upon this Occaſion to wait upon your Majeſty.* The King thanking him for his good Entertainment, ſaid, *The Report of your Hoſpitality comes ſhort of the Truth; But I cannot ſuffer my Laws to be broken in my Preſence, without reſenting it. And therefore my Attorney-General ſhall talk with you about it.* It ſeems the Lords were then to give but a certain Number of Liveries, or Blew Coats (and ſo they may be ſtill for ought I know) and the Earl, for his greater Magnificence in Entertaining the King, had exceeded the Number, which coſt the Earl Ten Thouſand Pounds, (for, for ſo much he compounded with the King's

King's Officers) beſides the Charge he had been at in his Entertainment, which was very great; and which might have freed him from the Puniſhment he was run into, had but the King's Gratitude been anſwerable to his Covetouſneſs, in emptying the Purſe of one of the Nobleſt and beſt-deſerving Subjects he had. But as it was, what could be more mean and Sordid in King *Henry*, than thus to Extort Ten Thouſand Pounds from a Peer that had treated him ſo Magnificently, and Offended only that he might do ſo? But what will not that Devil of Covetouſneſs do, where it is become Predominant?

During the Impoſture of *Perkin Warbeck*, one *Robert Clifford*, a Perſon of a very good Family, was with one *Barly* ſent over into *Flanders*, to ſee whether *Perkin* was the true Duke of *York*, as he pretended, or not? *Clifford* ſends over word, he was ſure that it was the true Duke. King *Henry* hearing of theſe Mens being gone over, thought the only way to diſcover what Engliſh Gentlemen were Friends to *Perkin*, would be to bring *Clifford* over into his Intereſt, which upon Promiſe of Pardon and Preferment, is done, and *Clifford* ordered to come home. Upon this King *Henry* goes to the Tower, and orders *Clifford* to be brought to him there, his Lords and chief Officers being about him: *Clifford* being admitted to the King's Preſence, threw himſelf at his Feet, and begg'd his Pardon; which having before granted, he confirmed again unto him. And being commanded to ſpeak, if he had any more to ſay concerning the Conſpiracy, he named the Lord Chamberlain, Sir *William Stanley*; at whoſe Name all the Standers-by were ſtartled, it not being likely that a Man of his Quality, Rich, the Favourite neareſt to the King, and the chief Inſtrument of his Aſſumption to the Crown, ſhould be a Traytor. Whereupon, being adviſed to conſider better what he ſaid, he, without Heſitation, or altering his Colour, accuſed him as before. Hereupon *Stanley* was ſhut up in his Chamber, and the next day examined by the Council, before whom he denied ſome few Circumſtances, but confeſſed, that in his Diſcourſe with *Clifford* concerning *Perkin*, he had ſaid unto him, That if he ſhould for certain know he were the Duke of *York*, Son to *Edward* the Fourth, he would not take up Arms againſt him. Which manner of Speech, tho' it did not openly declare any ill Will to the King's Perſon, yet it did not ſound well in his Mouth, who was the King's Servant; and the Words not admitting of any other Interpretation, than his Opinion of *Henry*'s Unjuſt Title to the Crown, which derogated from the Pretences of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and from the Authority of Parliament, he was adjudged Guilty of High Treaſon. But in regard of his former Services, and the Love and Reverence which *Henry* bore to his Father-in-Law, he was in great Doubt whether he ſhould put him to Death or no. But thoſe that beſt knew the Secret Springs

which

which moved all the King's Actions, have affirmed, that it was his Riches bore the Ballance down for his Deſtruction, he being eſteemed one of the greateſt Money'd Men in *England*. Neither were Men deceived in their Opinion, for in his Caſtle of *Holt* were found Forty Thouſand Marks in ready Money, (his Jewels and Moveables not being comprehended therein; and in Revenues and Penſions he had Three Thouſand Pounds a Year, which was a conſiderable Sum in thoſe days. And the love of Money having ſuch a powerful Aſcendant over King *Henry*, no former Service, or Senſe of Gratitude, could over-ballance it, but he muſt fall a Victim to the Treaſure he had heap'd together. So that after having deferred the Buſineſs ſome ſix Weeks, he was condemned to die, and loſt his Head.

Another Inſtance of King *Henry*'s Covetouſneſs, was his delaying to help the Duke of *Britain*, to whom he had been ſo exceedingly obliged, when he was beyond Seas, and who withſtood all the Solicitations both of *Edward* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Third, to deliver him up into their hands; and yet he would rather ſuffer him to be made a Prey to the *French*, and his Country raviſh'd from him by them, than be at any Charge to help him, tho' the Parliament had granted him Money for that very end. Which, with his other Actions before recited, do not only in a high degree declare his Covetouſneſs, but his Ingratitude alſo. It was therefore a good Obſervation which was made of him by an Italian Knight, who underſtanding that King *Henry* was cryed up as a Second *Solomon*; *It was not* (ſaid he) *that, like* Solomon, *he brought Peace to the Kingdom, but becauſe, like him, he was very Grievous and Burdenſome to his People.*

Nor can he be excuſed from Cruelty, in cauſing that Innocent Prince, *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, to be Beheaded in the Tower, only for attempting to eſcape out, having been kept a Priſoner there (for no Crime, but being the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*) ever ſince he was Nine Years old. And being always under Fears of Death, who can blame him for ſeeking to obtain his Liberty? And indeed King *Henry* himſelf was ſo far convinced of the hard Meaſure the Prince met with, that he attributed the cauſe of his Death to Reaſon of State, rather than to any Crime he was guilty of; alledging, that the King of *Spain* was the cauſe of his Death, in that he would not reſolve to Marry his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, ſince as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived, he was not certain of the Kingdoms Succeſſion; which might indeed be a Reaſon of State, but not of Juſtice: Whence, perhaps, it was, that God would not give a Bleſſing to that Match: Which the Princeſs *Katharine* obſerved ſeveral Years after; for Prince *Arthur* dying ſoon after his Marriage, and ſhe being repudiated by King *Henry* the Eighth, after ſhe had been

been Married to him Twenty Years, she said, It was no wonder that God had made her Unfortunate in her Marriages, since they were Seal'd with Blood; meaning thereby the Death of this Earl.

As to King *Henry*'s Religion, he made it subservient to his Secular Interest, notwithstanding the Building of that Famous Chappel, which goes by his Name, adjoyning to the Abbey of *Westminster*. And this will sufficiently appear to those that will reflect, how he sent over several Spies into *Burgundy*, to the Court of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and into other places in *Flanders*, to discover the Intrigues that were carrying on there against him. And to make it the more believed, that those Persons were really his Enemies, he caused them to be solemnly Excommunicated and Cursed at St. *Pauls*, as the King's Enemies, that so no Man might Support them. From whence it is evident, that he had but little regard to Religion, and the Profanation of Holy things, so as he could but thereby serve his Particular Interest.

Some time before his Death, he began to think of doing some Good Works, which he had all his Life-time been such a Stranger to: And therefore he set all Prisoners at Liberty, who were in for Debt of not above Forty Shillings, he himself paying the Creditors; giving also greater Alms than he had done before. But tho' at the same time he felt great Remorse at the daily Complaints made against *Empson* and *Dudley* for their Oppressions, yet did he not seek to remedy them. So that his Conscience and his Covetousness wrought quite different Effects in him; for many, for slight Causes, were still troubled in their Estates, and in their Lives: Some dying in Prison before their Cause was heard, and others lying in Prison for refusing to pay what contrary to the Laws they were adjudged to.

I will conclude what I have farther to say of him, in shewing you what was said of him long ago; "This King, my "Lord of *Verulam* hath washed his Face so clean with good "Language, that without a near approach, he is hardly dis-"covered. But surely I find no Right he had to the Crown, "more than the Consent of the People, (which was not then in "Fashion) whom he never durst trust; his Heart continually "burning to destroy all Sparks of the Right Blood, and their "Abettors. How was the Lord Chamberlain's Life Juggled "away, for his Thoughts and his Estate, which was so consi-"derable? with many more of our Nobility. And for that "Story of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Son to *Edward* the Fourth, "under the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, * I do as verily

* *Here my Author was mistaken, as I have shewed in the Secret History of* Richard *the Third, the Bodies of the two Princes being since found in the Tower.*

believe

" believe he was the ſaid Duke of *York*, as I believe *Henry* " the Eighth was the Son of this *Henry* the Seventh; the " Circumſtances being ſo pregnant, from ſo many Perſons of " Honour; but nothing more confirms me in it, than this " King's indefatigable Pains, and moſt infinite Coſts to get " him, and ruin him, and with him the Harmleſs Earl of " *Warwick*, the one Beheaded, the other Hang'd at *Tyburn*. " And ſurely, tho' this King did far exceed all his Prede- " ceſſors in Craft, yet was he as guilty of Cruelty and Blood, " as the worſt of them. Nor can all the Water in the Sea " waſh him from thoſe two Monſtrous Sins of Avarice and " Ingratitude.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *HENRY* the Eighth.

KING HENRY *the Eighth, Heir to both the Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter, *and the only Surviving Son of* Henry *the Seventh, ſucceeded to his Father at the Age of Eighteen, and reigned with much Applauſe, till being vitiated by Cardinal* Wolſey *his Chief Miniſter, he hardly kept within any Bounds, but made his Will a Law to his Subjects. He had ſix Wives,* viz. Katharine *of* Spain, Ann Bullen, Jane Seymour, Ann *of* Cleve, Katharine Howard, *and* Katharine Parr. *Two of them he repudiated,* Katharine *of* Spain, *and* Ann *of* Cleve; *the firſt as an Inceſtuous Match, being the Widow of* Arthur *his Elder Brother, the laſt for ſome Natural Defect. Two he publickly Beheaded,* Ann *of* Bullen *for pretended, and* Katharine Howard *for real Adultery.* Jane Seymour *died in Child-bed, and* Katharine Parr *ſurvived him. For his Marriage with* Katharine *of* Spain, *he had a Diſpenſation from the Pope, notwithſtanding which, after being Twenty Years Married, he ſcrupled the Lawfulneſs thereof, and queſtioned the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation; and thereupon threw off* Katharine, *and Married* Ann Bullen: *Which made ſo great a Breach between the King and the Pope, that the King was Excommunicated, and the whole Realm Interdicted. But* Henry *was Proof againſt the Thunder-bolts of* Rome, *and the* Thames *began to bid Defiance to the* Tyber. *So that the King ſhook off the Pope's Supremacy, as an Uſurpation upon the Rights of the Crown, and re-aſſumed the Ancient Power of his Predeceſſors the Britiſh Kings, who reigned independently from the Papal See. The Pope's Supremacy being diſannulled, an Inquiry was made into the Corruptions and Errors of the Church, in order to a Reformation, which was happily brought about in a great meaſure, by the Prudent Management of the then Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *a great Light of the Church in thoſe times of Darkneſs: Whereupon there happened two deſperate Rebellions, one in* Lincolnſhire, *and another in* Yorkſhire, *but were both happily ſuppreſſed. In* Ireland *alſo*

*there*

there broke out a Rebellion, which proved Fatal to the Noble Family of Kildare. Cardinal Wolsey, who lived in the greatest State of any Prelate next to the Bishop of Rome, fell under the King's Displeasure, and was strip'd of all. Thomas Cromwel, who was by the King made Earl of Essex, was soon after Beheaded. Sir Thomas Moor, who had succeeded the Cardinal in the Chancellorship of England, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, were both Beheaded for Disowning the King's Supremacy. The King, before he fell off from the Pope, had writ a Book against Luther, the great Reformer of the Church in Germany, for which Pope Leo honoured him with the Title of Defender of the Faith, since made Hereditary to the Kings of England by Act of Parliament. Wales was also, in this Reign, Incorporated into England, and Ireland made a Kingdom. As to Foreign Affairs, Henry's first Warlike Attempt was made against France, which he took Trouene and Tournay, in the Taking whereof, the Emperor Maximilian served under the King of England's Pay. This Breach with France, drew on a War with the Scots, who were utterly routed at the Battel of Flodden-Field, and their King, James the Fourth, slain. After this, Charles the Fifth Emperor, and Francis the First, King of France, being at War with each other, sought after King Henry's Friendship with great Emulation. And the Emperor coming twice over into England, at first, carried it, tho' afterwards the King was brought over to the French Interest, and had several Interviews with the French King near Calais, in great Pomp and Splendour. To Unite Scotland with England, a Match was concluded betwixt Prince Edward, and Mary the Young Queen of Scots, which was afterwards broke off, by the Power of the Hamiltons, and the Interest of the French, which occasioned a new War both with France and Scotland. And King Henry took Boloign from the French, and destroy'd with Fire Leith and Edenburgh in Scotland. At home six new Bishopricks were Erected by this King, upon the Dissolution of the Monasteries, viz. at Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester and Glocester, all which, except Westminster, continue Episcopal Sees. And having Reigned 37 Years, 10 Months, and one Day, he died on January the 28th 1546. leaving behind him one Son and two Daughters, who each of them succeeded him in the Kingdom, and all of them died without Issue. Thus far his General History.

His Secret History begins not with the beginning of his Reign, as that of his Fathers did, for he had an Undoubted Title to the Crown, as Heir to both the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*: And yet it is observable, that at his Coronation (notwithstanding his Right of Succession) the People were ask'd, Whether they would receive him for their King? Which if it does not shew, that the Consent of the

People

People, is neceſſary to the being of a King, it muſt paſs for an inſignificant Ceremony. It is ſaid, his firſt Years were a Reign by Book; being come from good Inſtruction and Contemplation to Action: So that the Notions he had at firſt learn'd, ſtuck by him ſome years. And therefore in the beginning of his Reign he Redreſs'd the Grievances of his People, and gave up thoſe two devouring Caterpillars, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, as Victims to the Rage of his Oppreſſed Subjects, cauſing them both to be Beheaded upon *Tower-hill*; and the reſt of that Rabble of Informing Catchpoles, Promoters, Knights of the Poſt, &c. were expoſed to the too Eaſy Puniſhments of the Stocks and Pillories, in divers Places of the Kingdom. And thus far the King run well: But who hinder'd him from purſuing this Courſe? I anſwer, 'Twas his giving himſelf up to the Conduct of Favourites, and particularly Cardinal *Woolſey*; who having Engroſs'd the King's Favour, Piouſly told him, He might lay aſide the uſe of his Underſtanding, and his own Conſideration, (no doubt to rely upon his) That he ſhou'd not need to trouble himſelf with frequenting the Council-Table, but might take his Pleaſure, and he himſelf would give him Information: This was admirable Counſel to be given by a Prieſt! But by this means he cauſes the King to give up the Reins to his own unbridled Inclination, and by ingroſſing him to himſelf, diſoblig'd the King's real Friends, and caus'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to withdraw from Court, and topp'd his Prerogative upon the King's, and led him away by his own miſ-guided and falſe Oracle; and perſwades and puts the King upon lending the Emperour Money, who was poor and Inſolvent; becauſe, forſooth, the *French* King had with-held the Revenue of the Biſhop of *Tournay*, that is, his own. It would be endleſs to run over the ſeveral Inſtances of *Wolſey*'s Pride, wherein he even out-did the *Pope*; I was about to ſay, and the Devil himſelf too; for nothing could reſtrain it. But whilſt *Woolſey* was thus guilty, to be ſure the King could not be Innocent: For, whatever the King proteſted, I can't believe that the Cardinal, wou'd without the King's knowledge grant Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England*, whereby every Man was required to depoſe the true and certain value of his Eſtate, and then to pay Four Shillings in the Pound, of every Fifty Pounds and upwards; which, at that time of Day wou'd have been a great Oppreſſion, had it been by Parliament: But that this ſhou'd be done by the Cardinal, without the King's knowledge or conſent, is ſuch a Piece of Treaſon as I believe no Subject before was ever guilty of; and which the Cardinal himſelf durſt never Attempt. 'Tis true, when the King ſaw it wou'dn't take, and that the People refus'd to pay it in all parts of the Kingdom, he put a ſtop to the Execution of thoſe Commiſſions,

and disown'd the thing. And well he might, for it was a bold violation of the Fundamental Rights of the People; and a dissolving of *Magna Charta* with a witness. And therefore the King to salve all, declares that he would not but by Course of Law desire any thing of his People, tho' his Wants were great. And yet at the same time asks 'em for Money by way of Benevolence; which was by many of the Commissioners exacted with as much Rigour as tho' it had been done by Law; (for Kings seldom want Arbitrary Tools to execute their Lawless Wills.) Yet it seems the People understood themselves so well, that many refused to give any thing; alledging the Statute that was made against the demanding of Benevolences in the Reign of King *Richard* the Third. So that the King's very desiring a Benevolence was contrary to Law. Which gives me further ground to believe that the King was Privy to the giving forth of those Commissions, tho' he thought it not so proper for him to own it; which yet the Cardinal's Proud Spirit knew not how to bear. And therefore, let who will have the Odium of granting those Commissions, he was resolv'd to have the Credit of recalling 'em himself; in order whereto, he requir'd the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come before him, to whom he protested, that because he saw and perceiv'd that those Taxes were too heavy for 'em to bear, and because he had a hearty Affection for 'em, he therefore had been a humble Supplicant to the King to revoke the said Commissions, and wholly to rely upon their free Benevolence and good Will. By which it appears that he valu'd his own Reputation more than the Kings, notwithstanding the Kings Extraordinary Favours to him: Which is no unusual thing with Favourites, especially those who from a low Condition are advanc'd to the highest Dignities. It was charg'd as an Article against *Woolsey*, that he was in all his Letters wont to use this Phrase, *Ego & Rex meus*, setting himself above the King; but even this did not content him, for he wou'd have been above all Kings, aspiring to have been Pope; but because the Emperour made an Interest against him in the Conclave, he was resolved to be Reveng'd of the Emperour, by causing the King to Repudiate Queen *Catharine* which was the Empeerur's Aunt. And yet this Revenge upon the Emperour ended in his own Destruction, as in the Prosecution of this matter will appear. Which tho' it made at that time so great a noise in the World, yet a true Account thereof deserves as much to be part of our Secret History, as any other thing whatsoever; and which will instruct us how to make a true judgment both of the King and of his Favourite; and shew us the Reason of some Transactions that before were in the Dark, and kept as a Secret Arcana.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Woolsey*, upon his first Promotion by the King, made it his Business to dive into the King's Secret Inclinations; and finding him a Man given to Pleasures, he was very willing to indulge him therein: And therefore it was, that when his Ancient Counsellors advised him to be sometimes present in Council, to consult about the Weighty Affairs of the Government; *Woolsey* on the contrary perswaded him from Fatiguing himself with State-Affairs, assuring him, That if he wou'd allow him sufficient Authority, he wou'd ease him of that Trouble, and manage all things to his own content. This Advice was readily embrac'd by him who valu'd more the gratifying of his Juvenile Inclinations than he did the Prosperity and Welfare of the Kingdom: By which means the Cardinal had the opportunity of killing two Birds with a stone, and at the same time both gratify'd the Prince, and got the chief Management of all Affairs into his own Hands, the King seeing only with his Eyes, and hearing with his Ears. And to secure this Power which he had gain'd over the Kings Affections, he contriv'd all manner of Pleasures and Diversions suitable to his Juvenile Temper; as Masking, Dancing, Banqueting, Entertaining young Ladies, and variety of other Pastimes; by which means he still riveted himself further into the King's Affections, and Ruled even more than the King himself.

The Cardinal being Naturally of a Proud and Ambitious Spirit, and knowing his Interest in the King, thought nothing cou'd be too great for him to attempt; and therefore sent to the Emperour to use his Interest to advance him to the Papacy, Pope *Adrian* the *6th.* being newly dead: But not having so great an Interest in the Emperour as he had in the King, he receiv'd from him a disobliging Answer: the Emperour it seems not looking upon him as a Person qualify'd for the Papal Dignity; or at least, as one that wou'd not promote his Interest. The Cardinal hereupon grew so furious, that he sent the Emperour word, That *if he wou'd not endeavour his Advancement, he wou'd make such a Rustling among the Christian Princes, that there had not been the like for an hundred years before, tho' it shou'd cost him the whole Kingdom of* England. The Emperour, amaz'd at this insolent Letter, answer'd it in Print, bidding the Cardinal have a care of going about what might Ruin himself and the Kingdom.

The Cardinal, to avenge himself in some measure of the Emperour, put a Scruple in the King's Head about the Legality of his Marriage with the Queen, who had been his Brother *Arthur*'s Wife: Whereby the Cardinal knew he gratify'd the King, who thought he had had the Queen long enough, and whom he knew to be desirous of change; for he had before Emasculated his Mind with Vicious Pleasures; and made him readily susceptible of Leudness: For as to

ſcruple of Conſcience, that that was only a Trick to cover and conceal the true Cauſe: And now was an opportune time to do it: For a Report was ſpread abroad that Pope *Clement* (who ſucceeded *Adrian*) was Dead, and the Cardinal having been long ſick of the Pope, and finding the King lately ſick of his Wife, *Woolſey* perſwades the King there was no ſpeedier way to compaſs his Deſires, than to procure him to be choſen Pope, and then to requite him for his kindneſs, he wou'd Divorce him from his Wife: And this Argument had ſo much force with the King, that he immediately ſent away to *Gardiner*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Winchester*) who was then at *Rome*, to make all the Intereſt he cou'd amongſt the Cardinals, and to omit no means that might bring it about. Tho' this indeed was but building Caſtles in the Air, for the ſame Report that had made Pope *Clement* dead, had brought him to Life again, ſoon after the Meſſenger was gone.

But tho' there was at preſent no Proſpect of *Woolſey*'s being made Pope, yet the King's pretended Scruple of Conſcience ſtill continued and increaſed; and the Cardinal being unwilling to be known to be the Perſon that firſt put this Scruple into the King's Head, had ſecretly influenc'd *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincon* (his Majeſtie's Confeſſor) to inſtill his own doubts into the King, as living in Adultery with his Brother's Wife; which the ſaid Biſhop did, at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal, who both hated the Emperour, and had an Averſion to the Queen; for that ſhe, (being a very Religious Princeſs, according to the Popiſh Religion) had often reproved the Cardinal for his Looſe and Inordinate Life: Nor is it without Reaſon that the Cardinal was alſo ſuſpected to have influenc'd the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, who coming to conclude an Alternative Treaty between the *French* King and King *Henry*, whereof one Article was of a Marriage between *Francis* the *French* King, and the Lady *Mary*, the King's only Daughter; the Biſhop objected againſt the Legitimacy of the ſaid Lady *Mary*, on the account of her Mother's being his Brother's Wife. And tho' theſe things gave the King a Plauſible Pretence for his fore-mention'd Scruple; yet it was the Voice of the People that the Cardinal was the Fomenter of all, as has been declared; tho' the Iſſue was far otherwiſe than what the Cardinal at firſt intended. For the Cardinal propounded to the King, upon the obtaining of a Divorce, to take *Margaret* the Dutcheſs of *Alanſon* to Wife, who was Siſter to the *French* King, and a very Beautiful Lady.

The King being now reſolved upon a Divorce, ſends to *Rome*, to obtain it there, where his Father obtain'd a Diſpenſation for his Marriage: And made this the ground of his deſiring it, that the having of his Brothers Wife was againſt the Law of God; and that therefore the Legitimacy of his only Child, who was like to be the Heir of his Crown,

was

was queſtion'd by other Princes; for which Reaſon he deſires a Divorce, that he may be enabled to Marry again, and leave an unqueſtionable Iſſue behind him. But the Pope, however willing he wou'd have been to gratify the King; yet in this tender Point fore-ſaw ſo many Inconveniencies, that he knew not how to do it; for by granting the King's deſire, he ſhou'd not only diſoblige the Emperour, which was much nearer him than King *Henry*, and therefore of whom he was more afraid; but alſo he ſhou'd thereby give a blow to the Papal Chair it ſelf: For if the Diſpenſation of the Pope to enable the King to Marry his Brothers Wife, were not Valid, then was the Pope miſtaken in his Grant, and ſo not infallible; by which means the whole Doctrine of the *Romiſh* Church might be call'd in Queſtion, and oppugned, as being contrary to God's Law: Theſe things the Pope was well enough aware of, and yet was not willing to break with King *Henry* neither; but hoping time might alter things, finds out continual delays before he came to any Determination: And then, becauſe it was in a Matrimonial Cauſe, pretends the Perſons muſt be actually preſent; to which end he Empowers Cardinal *Campeius* with Legantine Power, to hear and determine matters in *England*, joyning Cardinal *Woolſey*, without whom nothing cou'd be done, in the ſame Commiſſion with him; and Cardinal *Campeius* knowing the Pope's Mind, made not over-much haſte in his coming; by which delays not only the King's Patience was try'd, but the Mouths of the People were open: For when *Campeius* was arrived in *England*, and Cardinal *Woolſey* his Colleague was joyned with him, they ſpent Six whole Months in Conſultation, only concerning their manner of Proceeding in the King's Divorce.

In the mean time, the King underſtanding that for all his Pretences, of Scruple of Conſcience, he was hardly ſpoken of by many of his Subjects, eſpecially of the Women-kind, as if he took this Courſe, and made all this ado, more to ſatisfy his Luſt, than his Conſcience: He thought it convenient, for the putting a ſtop to all ſuch Rumours, to Aſſemble all the Nobles of the Realm, Judges, Lawyers, Knights and Gentlemen, as cou'd conveniently attend; to whom he ſpoke as followeth,

"Twenty Years have almoſt run their Courſe, faithful "and loving Subjects, ſince We began Our Reign among "you; in all which Tract of Time We have ſo behaved Our-"ſelf, that We hope We have neither given you cauſe to "Complain, nor Our Enemies to glory. No Foreign Power "hath endeavoured ought againſt you, but to his own Loſs; "neither have We employed Our Arms any where, but We "have Triumphantly Erected Our glorious Trophies: So "that whether you conſider the Sweet Fruits of Peace and "Plenty, or the Glory of Our Warlike Exploits, We dare

" boldly avouch We have ſhewed Our-ſelf not unworthy of
" Our Anceſtors, whom ( without Offence be it ſpoken )
" We have in all Points Equalled. But when We reflect
" upon the neceſſary End of Our frail Life, We are ſurprized
" with Fear leaſt the Miſeries of future Times ſhould ſo ob-
" ſcure the Splendor of Our preſent Felicity, that as the
" *Romans* did after the Death of *Auguſtus*, ſo you may here-
" after be forced to wiſh with Tears, either that We had
" never been born, or that We might have perpetually lived
" to govern you. We ſee many here preſent, who in re-
" gard of their Age, might have been Parties in the late
" Civil Wars, which for Eighty Years together, ſo miſerably
" rended this Realm, no Man knowing whom to acknow-
" ledge for his Soveraign, until the happy Conjunction of
" Our Parents did not only reſolve, but took away all Cauſe of
" further doubt. Conſider then whether after Our Death
" you can hope for better Days, than when the Factions of
" *York* and *Lancaſter* diſtracted this Realm. We have a
" Daughter, which We the more Affectionately tender, be-
" cauſe ſhe is Our ſole Iſſue. But We would have you
" know, that having lately treated with our dear Brother of
" *France*, between this our Daughter, and *Henry* Duke of
" *Orleans* his younger Son, both of Us were well pleaſed
" with this Alliance, until one of his Privy Council made a
" Queſtion of Our Daughters Birth; for it was much to
" be doubted leſt ſhe were to be held Illegitimate, being
" begotten of Us and that Mother who had before been
" Married to Our Deceaſed Brother: Saying, It was utter-
" ly repugnant to the Word of God, that any one ſhould
" Marry his Brothers Widow; wherefore he was of Opinion
" that this Match with Our Beloved Spouſe, was to be
" deemed no other than Inceſtuous. How grievouſly this
" Relation afflicted Us, GOD, the Searcher of Our Hearts,
" knows: For theſe Words did ſeem to queſtion not only
" Our dear Conſort and Our Daughter, but even the very
" Eſtate of Our Soul, which after Death muſt neceſſarily
" undergo Eternal and Inevitable Torments, if being ad-
" moniſhed of ſo horrible an Inceſt, We ſhould not endea-
" vour an Amendment. And for your parts, you cannot
" but foreſee how great Dangers, by reaſon of this doubt,
" do threaten you and your Poſterity. Being therefore de-
" ſirous ( as the caſe indeed required ) to be reſolved in this
" Point, We firſt conferred with Our Friends, and then with
" the moſt Learned in the Laws, both Divine and Human;
" who indeed were ſo far from Satisfying Us, that they left
" Us more perplexed. We therefore had recourſe to the
" Holy Apoſtolick See, to the Decree whereof We think it
" fitting that Our Self and all others ſhould be Obedient.
" To this and no other End, We call Immortal GOD to
" witneſs, have we procured this Venerable Legate. As for

" the

" the Queen, our moſt beloved Conſort, whatſoever Wo-
" men may Tattle, or ill-will mutter in private, We do
" willingly and moſt Ingenuouſly profeſs, that in Nobleneſs
" of Mind ſhe far tranſcends the Greatneſs of her Birth:
" So that if we were now at Liberty, and free for a Second
" Choice, We take GOD to Witneſs that among all the
" Plenty of the World's Beauties, We would not make choice
" of any other, if lawfully We might, than of this our now
" Queen; one, in regard of her Mildneſs, Wiſdom, Humility,
" Sanctity of Mind and Converſation, We are verily per-
" ſwaded not to be parallel'd. But when we conſider that
" we are beſtowed on the World to other Ends than the
" purſuit of Our own Pleaſures, We have thought it meet
" rather to undergo the hazard of an uncertain Judgment,
" than to commit Impiety againſt GOD, the Liberal giver
" of all Bleſſings, and Ingratitude againſt our Country, the
" Weal and Safety whereof, each one ſhou'd prefer before
" his Private Life or Fortunes. Thus much have you heard
" from Our own Mouth. And we hope that you will here-
" after give no heed either to Seditious Detractions, or idle
" Rumours of the People.

This Speech of the King's was either taken well or ill, according to the divers Diſpoſitions of the Hearers; ſome indeed lamenting the King's, but many more the Queens Caſe; notwithſtanding the King's fair Pretences, and plauſible Proteſtations, eſpecially thoſe that knew he had already caſt an Amorous Eye upon another Lady, which made the King the more Impatient of Delay.

At length therefore the Legates began the Suit concerning the King's Divorce, the King reſiding then at his Palace of *Bride-well*, near *Black-Friars*, *London*. In which there was ſuch a Mock-Scene brought upon the Stage, as the Hiſtories of no other Nation ever afforded: In which a Puiſſant Monarch, actually bearing Soveraign Rule in his Kingdom, being cited by the Voice of an Apparitor, made his Perſonal Appearance before his own Judges: (For tho' Cardinal *Compeius* was no Natural born Subject of the King's, yet as Biſhop of *Saliſbury* he was alſo his Subject, and admitted to act his Legantine Power by the King's Conſent).

For the acting of this Interlude, a Chair of State, whereto was an Aſcent, of ſome Steps, was placed for the King; and by the ſide of it another, (but a little lower) for the Queen. Before the King, at the South Step ſat the Legates; but ſo, as the one ſeemed to ſit at his Right hand, the other at his Left. Next to the Legates ſtood the Apparitors, and other Officers of the Court; and among them *Gardiner*, (after Biſhop of *Winchester*) appointed Regiſter in this Buſineſs. Before the Judges, within the Limits of the Court ſat the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the other Biſhops of

the Realm: At the further End, of each ſide, were the Advocates and Proctors retain'd for each Party.

The Court being thus formally ordered, the Apparitor was ordered by the Regiſter to cite the King, who forthwith cried aloud, HENRY, *King of* England, *Come into the Court*: Who thereupon anſwered, *Here I am.* Then the Apparitor being alſo ordered to cite the Queen, cried, Catharine, *Queen of* England, *Come into the Court*: To which the Queen made no Anſwer, but riſing from her Seat, went directly to the King; to whom on her knees, purpoſely raiſing her Voice that every one might hear her, ſhe is ſaid to have ſpoken as follows: *Sir, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty ſo to deal with me at this preſent, that I may neither have cauſe to complain of Injuſtice, nor that you have debar'd me the favour of your wonted Clemency. I am here a Woman and a Stranger, deſtitute of Friends and Counſel; ſo that plead for my ſelf I cannot, and whom elſe to Employ, I know not. My Kindred and Friends are far off, neither can I ſafely rely on any here, in a matter of ſo great Conſequence. They that are here retain'd for me, are no other then whom you have been pleas'd to appoint, and are your own Subjects, who if they wou'd deal uprightly, (which few believe they dare do) yet can they not here withſtand your determinate Will and Pleaſure. But what have wretched I committed, that after Twenty years ſpent in Peaceable Wedlock, and having born you ſo many Children, you ſhou'd now at length think of putting me away? I was, I confeſs, the Widow of your Brother, if at leaſt ſhe may be accounted a Widow, whom her Husband never knew. For I take Almighty GOD to witneſs, and I am perſwaded you cannot be Ignorant of it, that I came to your Bed an Unſpotted Virgin; from which time, how I have behav'd my ſelf, I am content to appeal even to them, whoſoever they are, that do wiſh me leaſt good. Certainly whatſoever their Verdict may be, you have always found me a moſt faithful (Servant, I may better ſay, than) Wife; having never, to my knowledge, withſtood your Pleaſure ſo much as in ſhew. I always loved thoſe whom I thought you favoured, without queſtioning their deſerts. I ſo carefully furthered and procured your Pleaſures, that I rather fear I have offended God, in too much endeavouring your Content, than that I have any way failed in the leaſt performance of my Duty. By this my Obſervance unto you, if ſo be you ever thought it worthy of Regard, by our Common Iſſue, by the Memory of my Father, whom you ſometimes held dear, I do humbly beg that you would be pleaſed to defer the farther hearing of this Cauſe, until having ſent into* Spain, *I may thence be adviſed by my Friends in this Caſe what Courſe to take. If then in Juſtice it ſhall be thought meet to rend me from you, a part of whom I have ſo long been, (the apprehenſion whereof doth more terrify me than Death) I will even in this continue my long obſerved courſe of Obedience. But as often as I call to mind the Wiſdom of Our Parents, by whoſe Endeavours and Conſent this Match was*

*ratified,*

*ratified, I cannot but hope very well of my Cauſe. Your Father was for his admirable Wiſdom accounted a Second* Solomon; *neither can* Spain *throughout the whole Succeſſions of the Kings of ſo many Kingdoms, produce any one who may parallel my Father* Ferdinand: *And what kind of Counſellors muſt we think theſe Princes had, that all ſhould as it were conſpire to hurle Us into the Miſeries of an Inceſtuous Marriage? No queſtion was then made concerning the Lawfulneſs of this Match, and yet thoſe Times afforded Learned Men: Yea, and (whereof to my harm I have had Experimental knowledge) in Holineſs of Life, and love of the Truth, far ſurpaſſing the Flatteries of theſe Times.*

The Queen having ended her Speech, roſe up, and making a low Courtſy to the King, inſtead of returning to her Seat, as it was thought ſhe would, went ſtraight out of the Court; every one Wondering what the Queen intended. But before ſhe had gone far, the King perceiving ſhe was going out, commanded the Apparitor to call her back again; who cried out, Katharine, *Queen of* England, *come into the Court*: Whereupon the Gentleman who led her, told her ſhe was called; to whom ſhe replied, *I hear it very well, but go you on; I cannot hope for Juſtice in this Court: Let them proceed againſt me in what manner they will, I am reſolved not to ſtay.* So away ſhe went, and wou'd never after be perſwaded to make her Appearance either Perſonally or by a Proctor.

After ſhe was gone, the King commended her in thoſe Terms that might befit a great Affection, and her Excellent Vertues; largely proteſting *how deſirous he was to continue in that Eſtate, ſo that neither his Soul, nor the Common-wealth might be endanger'd by it.* And upon this *Woolſey* takes the opportunity of endeavouring to clear himſelf of firſt putting the Scruple into the King's Head, beſeeching his Majeſty, *That foraſmuch as it was bruited abroad that it was he that had perſwaded him to this Divorce, his Majeſty wou'd vouchſafe to ſignify to the preſent Aſſembly how far this Report was true.* The King, tho' he knew well enough that Fame had not at all herein belied the Cardinal, yet to ſecure his Favourite from the general hate of the People, affirmed the Biſhop of *Tarbe* to have firſt mention'd this Scruple to him, and adviſed him to this courſe: And that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his Confeſſor, and other Biſhops with whom he had conferred, did the like. *And you, my Lord of* Canterbury, ſaid the King, *you being Metropolitan, I got Licenſe of you to put the Matter in queſtion, to which grant you all put your Seals, as here in Court is to be ſeen. True it is*, ſaid the Archbiſhop, *and I doubt not but all my Brethren here will acknowledge the ſame.* Not ſo, (ſaid the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) *you never had my hand to that Inſtrument, nor never ſhall. Indeed*, ſaid the Archbiſhop, *you did it not your ſelf, but admitted me to ſubſcribe your Name, and allowed me your Seal. Under your Correction*, ſaid *Rocheſter*; *that is not ſo. Well, well*, ſaid the King, *you*

*are*

*are but one Man, againſt whom at this time we will not diſpute.* And ſo roſe up, and the Court adjourn'd till another day. And theſe were the Acts of the firſt Day.

But tho' the Queen refuſed to appear any more, yet the Court went on, Examining Witneſſes, and made a ſhew at leaſt, as if they wou'd have come to a Determination, the Lawyers pleading on each ſide. The Advocates for the King alledging that it was not in the Pope's Power to Ratify the Marriage, and make that Lawful, which the Law of GOD and Nature had pronounced Unlawful. That *Catharine* had been lawfully Married to Prince *Arthur*, the King's Elder Brother; and that the Nuptials were publickly Solemniz'd no Man cou'd deny: And many Circumſtances did manifeſt the Conſummating of the Marriage by a Carnal Conjunction. And indeed conſidering the Age of Prince *Arthur*, and of Queen *Catharine*, at the time of their Marriage, the Prince being Fifteen, and the Queen ſomething more, and that they Bedded together for near Five Months, it ſeems to me very ſtrange that the Queen ſhou'd call GOD to Witneſs, as ſhe did, *that when ſhe came to King* Henry's *Bed ſhe was an unſpotted Virgin.* I will therefore ſet down ſome of the Depoſitions that were made, and then let the Reader judge as he pleaſes.

The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who was preſent at the Marriage, declared the Age of Prince *Arthur* at the Time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about Fifteen; and did poſitively affirm, That ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catharine* alone in Bed together, the next Night after their Marriage.

*George* Earl of *Shrewsbury* depos'd the Marriage was Celebrated at St. *Paul's* *Decimo Septimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. Adding further that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter Secundo Henrici Septimi*, and that he believ'd the Prince knew his Lady Carnally; both as being able ſo to do, as alſo becauſe himſelf knew his Wife, not being Sixteen.

Sir *William Thomas* Knight, depoſed, That Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catharine* lived five Months, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in Houſhold together, as Man and Wife; and that he heard Sir *William Woodal*, who was at the Princes Chriſtning ſay, that he was above Fifteen, at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Catharine* Elder.

*Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet* depoſed, he ſaw a Regiſter of the Nativity of the King's Children, by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20*th* of *September*, 1486. And that at the time of his Marriage, (which was upon a *Sunday*, *Decimo Septimo Henrici Septimi*) he was of a good and Sanguine Complexion, and able as he ſuppos'd, for that purpoſe.

*Robert* Viſcount *Fitzwaters* depos'd the Prince was then about Fifteen, and Queen *Katharine* Elder; and that the next day after, being in Bed together, (which he remembred

bred after they Entred to have been Solemnly Bleſs'd) he waited at Breakfaſt on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice St. John's* did carve, and he the Lord *Fitzwater* gave Drink; at which time the ſaid *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how he had done that Night? The Prince anſwer'd, *I have been in* Spain *this Night.*

*Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* depoſed, That he was in the Biſhop of *London's* Palace the Morrow next following the day of Marriage; and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breaſtfaſt, confirming moreover in Effect the Words of *Maurice St. John*, before-mentioned. He alſo added, That the *Shrove-tide* following the Marriage, (which was in *November* preceding) the ſaid Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in Body; which grew, as the ſaid *St. John* related, by reaſon the ſaid Prince lay with the Lady *Katharine.*

*Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, depoſed, That he being the Day of the Marriage in the Biſhop of *London's* Palace, and the Morrow after at the Prince's Breakfaſt, heard the Prince his Words to *Maurice St. John*, when he ſaid he had been that Night in the midſt of *Spain*; by which Words, as alſo becauſe Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion, and Nature, and above Fifteen, he believes that he Carnally knew his Lady, becauſe himſelf at the ſame Age did carnally know and uſe: And he believes this the rather, that he heard from Credible Perſons that the ſaid Prince *Arthur* did lie with the ſaid Lady *Katharine* five or ſix Nights after.

*Anthony Willoughby* Knight, depoſed, That being the Morrow after the Marriage in the Prince's Privy-Chamber, the ſaid Prince ſpake before divers Witneſſes theſe Words, Willoughby *give me a Cup of Ale, for I have been this Night in the midſt of* Spain: After which he ſaid, *It is a good Paſtime to have a Wife*: Which Words he repeated alſo divers other times. Moreover he heard ſay they lay at *Ludlow* together the *Shrove-tide* next following.

And now I will leave it to the Reader, whether he will believe theſe Depoſitions, or Queen *Katharine's* Proteſtation, *That ſhe came an unſpotted Virgin to King* Henry's *Bed.* Which if the Reader can believe, I muſt acknowledge he has a ſtronger Faith in that particular, than I have.

But however that matter be, the Legates made but ſlow proceedings in determining this matter; and the King obſerved that Cardinal *Campeius* went more coldly to work than he was wont, from whom before this, he expected the Promiſed Deciſion; but it ſeems Fortune had ſince that turned her Wheel, the Emperour's Affairs proſpered in *Italy*, and Pope *Clement* knew it was not the way to wipe out the Remembrance of an Old Offence by committing a New, and therefore he found ſome other pretence to ſend one *Francis Campana* into *England*; but his chief Errand was to will

*Campeius*

*Campeius* to burn the Bull whereby the King's Marriage had before been pronounced void, and to return to *Rome* with ſpeed. But the News of the Pope's Sickneſs at the ſame time, made him defer the Execution of his Mandate: For if *Clement* had dy'd, the Cardinal might with ſafety have gratified the King, who, to bribe him thereto, had conferred on him the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*; and to whom the Cardinal had promiſed Succeſs anſwerable to his deſires. And if he ſhould permit the King to be thus illuded, he fear'd he might be counted both Ingrateful and Treacherous. But *Campeius* underſtanding the Pope was well again, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of obeying his Mandate, and burning the Bull.

In the mean time, the King, who was become deeply in love with *Ann Bolen*, according to the Nature of Lovers, counting each minute an hour, quickly reſented this Change, and never reſted till he knew the whole Carriage of the matter. Which as ſoon as he underſtood, his Wrath like Thunder fell upon Cardinal *Woolſey*; who might now well cry out with the Comedian,

Ὡς ἄχθαλον πρᾶγμ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,
Δεῦλον γένεσθαι παραφρονοῦντος δεσπότου.

Jove, *and ye gods!* How hard a thing
*It is to ſerve a Raging King!*

The King had notice that *Woolſey* had adviſed the Pope not to approve of the Divorce from *Catharine*, foraſmuch as the King was then reſolved to Marry another infected with Lutheraniſm. For tho' the Cardinal firſt broach'd this Buſineſs, yet when he found the King wou'd Marry *Ann Bolen*, who was a Favourer of the Reformation, and conſequently an Enemy to him, he was under-hand as much againſt the Divorce, as he had before been for it, to be reveng'd on the Emperour: And when the King came to know this, *Woolſey* was ſo ſharply taken up and threatned by him, that it was eaſy to Read in his Face and Geſtures the Symptoms of his Waining Fortune: For the Cardinal at that time returning from the Court by Water, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* being with him in the ſame Barge, complained of the heat, which was then Extraordinary; to whom *Woolſey* reply'd, *My Lord, if you had been but now in my Place, you wou'd have found it hot indeed*: And as ſoon as he came home, he put off his Cloaths, and went ſick to Bed. Before he had repoſed himſelf an Hour and half, the Viſcount *Rochfort* came to him, and in the King's Name commanded him and his Colleague to repair inſtantly to the Queen, and exhort her not to contend any longer with the King; ſince it wou'd be more for her good, and the Honour of them both, to ſubmit herſelf

to

to the King's Pleaſure, than to undergo the Diſgrace of a Publick Judgment; for that it was now brought to that Puſh, that longer defer'd it could not be. The Cardinal being acquainted with the King's Pleaſure, preſently got up, and went to *Campeius*, who went along with him to the Queen, who having notice of their coming, went forth and met them. After mutual Salutations, the Cardinals deſired ſhe wou'd vouchſafe a few Words in private; but the Queen refuſed to entertain any Conference with them, but where ſhe might have Witneſſes of what paſſed. *Woolſey* then began to ſpeak in Latin: but the Queen interrupted him, deſiring, tho' ſhe underſtood Latin, that he would ſpeak in Engliſh. He thereupon, in the Names of both Legates, began a Speech in Engliſh, wherein he profeſſed a great deal of Obſervance and Duty to her; and that they came to no other End, but to adviſe her for her good. To which the Queen return'd them this Anſwer:

*As for your good Will, I thank you: As for your advice, I will give you the hearing, but the matter, I believe, about which you come, is of ſo great Importance, that it will require a great deal of Deliberation, and the help of a Brain ſurpaſſing that of Feminine Weakneſs. You ſee my Employments,* (ſhewing them a Skein of white Thread hanging about her Neck) *in this I ſpend my Time amongſt my Maids, which indeed are none of the greateſt Counſellors; yet I have none other in* England: *And* Spain, *where they are, on whom I dare rely, GOD knoweth, is far enough off. Yet I am content to hear what you have to ſay, and will give you an Anſwer when we can conveniently.*

So taking the Cardinal by the hand, ſhe brought them into a withdrawing-Room; where having attentively heard what they had to ſay, ſhe made this Reply:

*That now after Twenty Years, the Lawfulneſs of my Marriage ſhou'd be queſtion'd, I cannot ſufficiently wonder; eſpecially when I conſider who were the Authors of it: Many of them are yet alive both in* England *and* Spain. *What kind of Men the reſt were, who are now dead, the World knows.* Henry *and* Ferdinand *Our Parents, the moſt ſage Princes of their time; and their Counſel ſuch without doubt, who for their Wiſdom were approved of as fit Servants for ſo Judicious Maſters. Beſides the Pope, whoſe Diſpenſation I have to ſhew, and which was procured by my Father at no ſmall Charge. But what thing is there ſo ſincere and firm, which Envy will not ſeek to blaſt? Of theſe my Miſeries I can accuſe none but you, my Lord of* York: *Becauſe I cou'd not away with your Monſtrous Pride, Exceſſive Riot, Whoredome, and intollerable Oppreſſion, therefore do I now ſuffer. And yet not for this only; for, for ſome part of your hatred, I am beholden to my Nephew the Emperour; whom, becauſe he did not ſatisfy your inſatiable Ambition, by advancing you to the Papacy, you have ever ſince maligned.*

You

*You threatned to be Revenged on him and his Friends, and you have performed your Promise; for you have been the only Incendiary and Plotter of all the Wars and Miſchief againſt him theſe late years: And I am his Aunt, whom how you have perſecuted by raiſing this new doubt, GOD knows, to whoſe Judgment only I commend my Cauſe.*

This ſhe ſpake in *French*, appearing very much moved, and wou'd not ſuffer *Woolſey* to ſpeak in Defence of himſelf: But took her leave of Cardinal *Campeius* very courteouſly, having given Cardinal *Woolſey* ſuch a Choak-Pear, as he knew not well how to digeſt, and yet knew not how to help himſelf: For he knew what ſhe had ſaid, eſpecially relating to his own particular, to be nothing but the Naked Truth.

The King being now hopeleſs of the Queen's conſent, haſted his Lawyers to forward the Divorce; which they did with that Diſpatch, that nothing was now wanting but giving of Sentence, for which a Solemn Day was appointed; which cauſed many of the Nobility, and a Multitude of the Commonalty to repair to the Court, expecting that Judgment wou'd have been given for the King. And the King himſelf having conceived ſome hope of the Legates good intents towards him, cauſed a Seat to be placed for himſelf behind the Hangings, where without being ſeen, he might hear whatever paſſed, or was ſpoken in Court. The Cardinals being Seated, the Kings Advocates earneſtly required that Sentence might be given on their ſide: Upon which *Campeius* ſtanding up, as well as he could for the Gout, ſpake as follows:

"I have heard and diligently Examined whatſoever hath "been alledged in the King's behalf. And indeed the Argu- "ments are ſuch, that I might and ought to Pronounce for "the King, if two Reaſons did not controul my own deſires "of doing his Majeſty Right: The Queen you ſee with- "draws herſelf from the Judgment of this Court, having be- "fore us Excepted againſt the Partiality of the Place, where "ſhe ſaith nothing can be determined without the Conſent "of the Plaintiff. Moreover his Holineſs, who is the Foun- "tain and Life of our Authority, hath by a Meſſenger given "us to underſtand, that he hath reſerved this Cauſe for his "own hearing: So that if we would never ſo fain proceed "any farther, peradventure we cannot, I am ſure we may "not. Wherefore (which only remaineth) I do here Diſ- "ſolve the Court. Other than this, as the Caſe ſtands, I "cannot do: And I beſeech them whom this Cauſe con- "cerns, to take in good part what I have done. Which if "they will not, altho' it may trouble me, yet not ſo much "as to regard the Threats of any one. I am a feeble Old "Man; and ſee Death ſo near me, that in a matter of ſo "great Conſequence, neither Hope, nor Fear, nor any other

"reſpect

" reſpect but that of the Supream Judge, before whom I find " my ſelf ready to appear, ſhall ſway me.

How the King was pleas'd to find himſelf thus diſappointed, may be eaſily imagined; and how it was taken by the Nobility and Gentry, the Words of the Duke of *Suffolk* declare, who ſtepping out of his Place, and ſtriking his hand upon the Table, ſaid, with a ſtern Countenance, *It was never merry with* England, *ſince we have had any Cardinals amongſt us.* To whom *Woolſey* in a few words replied, *That it was not in his Power to proceed without Authority from the Pope; and that no Man ought to accuſe them, for not doing that to which their Power did not extend.*

But the King's implacable Anger (having now loſt all hope of doing his Buſineſs at *Rome*, or by means of the Pope) admitted of no Excuſe, but *Woolſey* himſelf muſt become a Sacrifice to appeaſe it. As for *Campeius*, tho' he had leave to depart, yet at *Calais* he had his Carriages, even to his Cloak-bag and Males, ſearched by the King's Commands, upon pretence that *Woolſey* intending an Eſcape, had by *Campeius* convey'd his Treaſure for *Rome*. But the true and Secret Reaſon was, not ſo much for the Treaſure, as for the Bull he brought over with him for allowing the King's Divorce; but that being convicted of Hereſy, was upon *Francis Campana*'s coming over, committed to the Flames. But the King cou'd not believe it was burned; and if it was found, it wou'd be enough to Countenance his Second Marriage. But found it was not, nor ſcarce ſo much Money in all the Cardinal's Carriages as had been given him by the King.

The Cardinal Legates having thus Diſſolved their Courts, and left the matter of the Divorce in ſuſpence; the Secret Working of Divine Providence (which oftentimes brings forth Good out of Evil) did ſo over-rule this matter, as that it occaſion'd the Downfal of the Pope's Power in *England*: The Reformation having already begun to dawn: The black Miſts of Popiſh Ignorance and Error beginning to vaniſh, as ſoon as the bright Beams of Light and Truth began to ſpread its Inlightning Rays: For while the matter of Divorce hung thus in a Suſpence, it happened that Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Stephens*, and Dr. *Fox*, dined all together at *Waltham*; where the two latter, being great Agents for the King, fell into Diſcourſe of the King's Cauſe, diſcuſſing it by the Civil Law; *Well*, ſaid Dr. *Cranmer*, *if I might be heard, I think it might be much better try'd by GOD's Law, by which the* King *ſhou'd be ſurer ſettled in the Cauſe of his Conſcience, than thus to be poſted off with delays from year to year.* This Speech of *Cranmer*'s Dr. *Fox* made known to the King, who immediately ſent for *Cranmer*, and conferred with him, and commanded him to write his Mind in the matter, but with this Caution, not to reſpect the Perſons, but the Cauſe. And then ordered the Earl of *Wiltſhire* to take care of Books for him, and furniſh

furniſh him with what he wanted. In Proſecution whereof the Doctor proved by the Holy Scriptures, General Councils, Antient and Modern Writers, *That the Pope had no Authority to diſpence with the VVord of God, nor the Scriptures.* This, when he had finiſhed, he preſented to the King; who when he had Read and weighed it, ſaid to *Cranmer. VVill you, Mr. Doctor, abide by what you have writ? That will* I, *by God's Grace*, reply'd Dr. *Cranmer*, *even before the Pope himſelf. Marry* (quoth the King) *to him you ſhall go.* And thereupon *Thomas* Earl of *VViltſhire*, with Dr. *Stokeſly* Elect of *London*, *Cranmer*, and ſeveral other Doctors, were ſent to the Pope then at *Bonony* in *Italy*: Where the Day being come for Audience, and the Propoſitions being made, *That no Man*, Jure Divino, *cou'd or ought to Marry his Brothers VViſe, and that the Biſhop of Rome cou'd by no means diſpence to the contrary.* To this it was reply'd, *That it ſhou'd be anſwer'd at more leiſure, when the Pope return'd to* Rome. And ſo the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſs'd, and return'd to *England*: But *Cranmer* took his way to the Emperour, being then at *Vienna* in his Expedition againſt the *Turks*: Unto whoſe Learned Men he offered Diſputation; and in private Conference ſo ſatisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the moſt reputed for Learning in the Emperour's Court, that he held the Propoſition moſt true: Whereupon other Learned Men were diſcouraged from Diſputing, and ſuffered *Cranmer* to depart without Encountering him any further. But let us a little look back, and ſee what became of *VVoolſey*.

One well obſerves of this Cardinal, that his Riſing and his Fall were alike ſudden, neither of them by degrees; but as the Lion gets his Prey, by Leaps. For ſoon after the Departure of his Colleague, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* came to him in the King's Name, commanding him to ſurrender the Great Seal: But the Cardinal pleaded, That the King had by Patent made him Lord Chancellor during term of Life, and by Conſequence committed the Cuſtody of the Great Seal to him. Nevertheleſs he wou'd reſign his Place if his Majeſty ſo commanded: But he thought it not fit, having received the Seal from the King, to deliver it to any other, but upon ſpecial command. The Lords Returning to *Windſor*, where the Court then was, the next day brought the King's Letter, which being Read by the Cardinal, he immediately delivered the Great Seal; the keeping whereof was ſoon after given to Sir *Thomas More*. The Great Seal being thus taken from him, he was commanded by the King to leave *York-Place*, (ſince called *White-Hall*) and to depart to *Aſher*, a Country-Houſe, near *Hampton-Court*. His Officers were alſo charged to Inventory and bring forth his Goods, whereupon much brave Furniture made into Hangings, beſides whole Pieces of Rich Stuffs, were ſet upon divers Tables in his Houſe; which I wou'd ſcarce have mention'd but for

the vaſt quantity of them; for of fine *Holland* alone there was a Thouſand Pieces, beſides the Walls of his Gallery on the one ſide were hang'd with Rich Suits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, Cloth of Tiſſue, *&c.* On the other ſide was plac'd the moſt Glorious Suit of Copes that had been ſeen in *England.* In a Chamber near to the Gallery, was a great Cupboard of Plate of Maſſy Gold; and in a Chamber adjoyning vaſt quantities of other Plate. All which the Cardinal commanded Sir *William Gaſcogne* his Treaſurer, to be deliver'd to the King when he was requir'd.

Soon after this, *VVoolſey* was accus'd of Treaſon in Parliament, Forty five Articles being preferred againſt him, for which I refer the Reader to this Kings General Hiſtory, and ſhall only inſert two of them, that the Reader may have a Specimen of his Pride, and Leudneſs; and that Queen *Katharine* was in the right of it, when ſhe charg'd him with Whoredom. The Articles I ſhall inſert, are the Fourth and the Sixth.

" IV. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his Preſumptuous " Mind, in divers and many of his Letters, and Inſtructions " ſent out of this Realm to outward Parties, had joyned him- " ſelf with your Grace; as in ſaying and writing in his ſaid " Letters and Inſtructions, *The King and I.* And, *I wou'd* " *ye ſhould do thus. The King and I give you hearty Thanks.* " Whereby it is apparent that he uſed himſelf more like a " Fellow to your Highneſs, than like a Subject.

" VI. And alſo whereas your Grace is our Soveraign Lord " and Head, in whom ſtandeth all the Safety and Wealth of " this Realm, the ſame Lord Cardinal knowing himſelf to have " the Foul and Contagious Diſeaſe of the great Pox, broken out " upon him in ſeveral places of his Body, came daily to your " Grace, rowning in your Ear, and blowing upon your moſt " Noble Grace, with his Perilous and Infective Breath; to " the Marvellous danger of your Highneſs, if GOD of his " Infinite Goodneſs had not better provided for your High- " neſs. And when he was once healed of them, he made " your Grace to believe that his Diſeaſe was an Impoſthume " in his Head, and of none other thing.

By theſe Two Articles the Reader may give a gueſs at the Cardinal; in the firſt, he ſets himſelf on the ſame Foot with the King: *The King and* I *give unto you our hearty Thanks.* And as in his Writings he made himſelf equal to the King, ſo he alſo did in his Attendance: For his Retinue conſiſted of near about a Thouſand Perſons, among whom were one Earl, nine Barons, many Knights and Gentlemen, and of Officers belonging to his Houſe about Four Hundred, beſides their Servants, which far exceeded the former Number. His Chappel was ſerv'd by a Dean, a Sub-Dean, a Chanter, Thirty-five Singers, whereof Thirteen were Clergy, Twelve Lay, and Ten Choriſters, Four Sextons, Two Croſs-bearers,

and Two Pillar-bearers. Besides Sixteen Chaplains, the most sufficient for their Learning throughout all *England*. And what cou'd the King have more? But how abominably Scandalous was it, that such a Man as this, in so high a Station, should yet be so shamefully given to Whoring, as to get the Pox, in so notorious a manner as the Sixth Article describes?

But tho' these Articles were preferred against him, being presented to the King by the Lords, and then sent down to the Lower House, yet Mr. *Thomas Cromwel* (a Servant of the Cardinals) obtaining the place of a Burgess, so well defended the Cardinal his Master, that no Treason cou'd be laid to his Charge. And it was upon this honest beginning that *Cromwel* began to be first taken notice of, and obtained his Reputation, and open'd his way to those Honours, to which in a few years after he was advanc'd: For even they who hated *VVoolsey*, honoured *Cromwel*, for his Wisdom, Industry, and Fidelity, in defending his Dejected and Falling Lord. But tho' the Cardinal was not found a Traitor, yet was he found guilty of a Premunire, and all his Goods and Chattels seized on by the King's Officers. After which, how he went down to be install'd at *York*, his great Preparations for it, and how he was sent for back by the King, being Arrested by the Earl of *Northumberland*, I shall leave to others, and only set down his last Speech, when he found Death coming to discharge him of all Trials, but what he should meet with in another World. For Sir *Anthony Kingston* being by him, and exhorting him to be of good Courage, and take Comfort, for that the King, in whose Name he saluted him, had sent for him for no other End, but that he might clear himself from those things which Malice and Detraction had forged against him; the Cardinal made him this Reply.

"I am as truly glad to hear of his Majesties Health, as I "truly know my Death to be at hand: I have been now "Eight Days together troubled with a Flux, accompanied "with a Continual Fever; which kind of Disease, if within "Eight Days it remit nothing of its wonted Violence, by "the Consent of all Physicians threatens no less than Death, "or peradventure an Evil beyond Death, Distraction. But "being grown weak, and my Disease raging more and more, "I do each minute expect when GOD will be pleas'd to free "this Sinful Soul, from this loathsome Prison of the Body. "But shou'd my Life be a little prolonged, do you think I "perceive not what Traps are laid for me? You, Sir "*VVilliam*, if I mistake not, are Lieutenant of the Tower, "and I guess for what you come. But GOD hath justly "rewarded me, for neglecting my due Service to Him, and "wholly applying my self to his Majesties Pleasure. Wo is "me, Wretch and Sot, that I am! Who have been ungrate-"ful to the King of Kings, whom if I had served with that

"due

" due devout Obſervance that befits a Chriſtian, he would " not have forſaken me in the Evening of my Age. I would " I might be a general Example (even to the King him- " ſelf) how ſlipperily they ſtand in this World, who do not " above all things rely upon the firm ſupport of GOD's Fa- " vour and Providence. Salute his Majeſty from me, and " deliver this my laſt Petition unto him, which is, That he " live mindful of the Trial he muſt undergo before GOD's " High-Tribunal: So ſhall he by the Secret Teſtimony of " his own Conſcience, free me from thoſe Crimes wherewith " my Adverſaries ſeek to burthen me.

He wou'd have ſpoken more, but his Speech failed him, and he died ſoon after; and his Body apparelled in his Pontifical Robes, being expoſed to publick View all that day, (for he expired at the very break of day) was at Midnight, without any Solemnity, buried in the Abby-Church at *Leiceſter*, where he died. The News of his Death being brought to the King, he ſeem'd ſo much afflicted thereat, that he wiſhed it had coſt him Twenty Thouſand Pounds that he had lived, when yet his diſpleaſure was that which kill'd him. However he omitted not to enquire of about Fifteen Hundred Pounds which the Cardinal had lately got, without the King's being able to imagine how. So that, till it appeared he borrowed it of divers Perſons, the King might perhaps ſuſpect it to be the Remainder of ſome of his Ancient Acquiſitions. And this was the End of that Proud and Ambitious Cardinal, who thereby drew much Envy upon himſelf; for ſeeking to make himſelf great, and to do all himſelf, having ſuch a Multitude of Offices and Places inveſted, or rather Monopoliz'd in him, that it made every one glad of his Fall, hoping to get ſomething by it. He mightily affected outward Pomp and Grandeur, and his Buildings were the moſt Magnificent in the Kingdom; of which *Hampton-Court* and *Chriſt-Church-Colledge* in *Oxford* are ſufficient Witneſſes: The firſt of which he gave to the King, (and which indeed was a Gift fitter for a King to take, than for a Subject to give.) And the Second, tho' the King apply'd it to the ſame uſe the Cardinal deſign'd it, yet he made it his own Foundation inſtead of the Cardinals. And indeed conſidering that the King at laſt was *Woolſey*'s Heir and Executor, he made but the ſame uſe of him, as his Father had done of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, whom he allow'd by all unjuſt means to oppreſs and extort from his Subjects, and then ſqueez it all into his own Pockets.

The Cardinal being dead, the King Purſues his Divorce, in which matter *Cranmer* had made a conſiderable Progreſs; and having obtain'd the Judgment of the Univerſities of *Paris*, with the reſt throughout *France*, *Pavia*, *Padua*, *Bononia*, and others, who all came to this Concluſion; *That the Pope (who hath no Power over the Poſitive Law of God) could not*

*by his Diſpenſation ratifie a Marriage contracted between a Brother, and a Brothers VVidow, it being forbidden by the Expreſs VVords of Scripture.* And fair means not prevailing with the Pope, the happy Iſſue of it was, That the King by Publick Proclamation throughout the Kingdom forbids all Commerce between his Subjects and the Biſhop of *Rome*; commanding that no Man ſhou'd receive any thing from, or ſend any thing (eſpecially Money) to him, either by Exchange, or by any other means; calling him Tyrant, the Harpy of the World, the common Incendiary, and one utterly unworthy of that glorious Title which he had Vain-glorioufly uſurped, to wit, Chriſt's Vicar. King *Henry* herein making good the old Proverb, When Thieves fall out, True Men come by their Goods.

But in this bold and daring Attempt, the King was ſomewhat jealous of the Clergy, as well knowing how ſtrongly they had ſided with the Pope in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors; and therefore thought it beſt to clip their Wings; to which end he condemns the whole Clergy throughout the Kingdom, in a Premunire; becauſe they, without Licenſe from him, had been Obedient to the Authority of the Pope, in acknowledging *Woolſey* for his Legate. The Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, being afraid of falling into the King's Hands, and being Aſſembled in Convocation, buy their Pardon at a Hundred Thouſand Pounds; and in this Synod he is (tho' not without much ado) declar'd by the Clergy of both Provinces, next under Chriſt, Supream Head of the Church of *England*; and all Foreign Power and Authority diſclaim'd: The Province of *York* being fined at Eighteen Thouſand Eight Hundred and Forty Pounds. The King by this means killing not only two, but three Birds with one ſtone: For by this pretended Crime of acknowledging *Woolſey*'s Legantine Authority, for which *Woolſey* had the King's own Licenſe, (for ſo I find *Woolſey* affirming to the Judges that were ſent to take his Anſwer about it, in theſe Words, "It is well known to his Majeſty, that I would not preſume "to Exerciſe my Power Legantine before he had been pleaſed "to Ratify it by his Royal Aſſent given under his Seal; "which yet I cannot now produce, becauſe all my Goods have "been taken from me) he firſt Clipt the Wings of the Clergy, ſecondly got to be acknowledg'd Supream Head of the Church, thirdly got into his own Pocket a Hundred and Eighteen Thouſand Eight Hundred and Forty Pounds. And tho' the Laity were many of them as deep in the Premunire as the Clergy, yet (leſt they ſhou'd look too far into the matter) they were Pardoned by Act of Parliament.

The King having ſatisfy'd himſelf, by the Determinations of his own Subjects, and of the Learned Men of Foreign Univerſities, or at leaſt pretending to be Satisfied, (for if the Scruple was but fained, the Satisfaction might be eaſily obtain'd)

tain'd ) and his Love admitting of no longer Delays, he privately, and in the Preſence of very few, Married the Lady *Ann Bolen*; and ſoon after, his Marriage with his firſt Wife was declared Nuſl, Void, and Inceſtuous, by Act of Parliament, wherein alſo all Appeals to *Rome* were forbidden, and that none ſhould ſtile *Katharine* other then the Princeſs of *Wales*, or the Widow or Dowager of Prince *Arthur*. And by Vertue of the ſame Law, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ( which was now Dr. *Thomas Cranmer*, who ſucceeded *Warham*, deceaſed the year before ) accompanied with ſome other Biſhops, coming to *Dunſtable*, within Six Miles of *Ampthil*, where *Catharine* then reſided, cauſed her to be cited before him, next under the King Chief Judge in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, within the Province of *Canterbury*, to ſhew what Reaſons cou'd be alledged why the Marriage, not lawfully contracted between the King and her, ſhould not be diſannulled, and Pronounced Impious, Inceſtuous, and Void. To theſe things, by one of her Servants ſhe anſwered, That it beſeemed not the Archbiſhop to thruſt his Sickle into anothers Harveſt; this Cauſe did yet depend undecided before the Pope, who was Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, whoſe Decree ſhe wou'd obey, and other Judge ſhe wou'd acknowledge none: However ſhe was called Fifteen Days together, and not appearing, ſhe was pronounced Contumax, and for her Contumacy ſeparated from the King's Bed and Company. Whereupon the Lady *Ann* was Proclaimed Queen throughout the Kingdom; and on *Eaſter-Eve* ſhewed herſelf publickly as Queen, and was the *Whitſontide* following Crowned with all imaginable Pomp and Solemnity. But alas how often does the Sun that Riſes moſt glorioufly, ſet in a Cloud! And ſo it happened with this Queen, for after ſhe had been Married to the King about Three Years and four Months, the King having but one Child by her, and that a Daughter, and being very deſirous of Male-Iſſue, had fix'd an Amorous Eye upon the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and was reſolv'd to have her, and to that end was reſolv'd to be rid of Queen *Ann*: But by a way more cruel and unjuſt than that by which he got rid of Queen *Katharine*: For in that, there was a ſufficient Cauſe of Divorce, the Marrying of his Brother's Wife being really againſt the Expreſs Law of God; againſt which no Diſpenſation of any Mortal whatſoever cou'd be at all available. I ſay the Cauſe of Divorce was juſt, and yet *Henry* might be unjuſt in doing it; eſpecially if it were, as Cardinal *Pool* charg'd him, to wit, *That he neither out of Terror of Conſcience, nor fear of God as he pretended, but out of Luſt and blind Love, had forſaken the Lady* Catharine. But in the Caſe of Queen *Ann*, there cou'd be no ſuch Scruple, for which reaſon another Courſe muſt be taken.

And therefore the King being on *May-Day*, 1536. at *Greenwich*, where there was a Solemn Juſt, wherein *George* Viſcount *Rochford*, the Queens Brother, was Chief Challenger, and *Henry Norris* Principal Defendant, the King ſuddenly departed; which much troubled the whole Company, eſpecially the Queen, becauſe ſhe knew not the Reaſon thereof: Tho' ſome have ſaid, that the Queen accidentally letting fall her Handkerchief, it was taken up by one (ſuppoſed her Favourite) who wiped his Face therewith; and that this was perceived by the King; but I find no ground for this Story. That which is certain is, That the King being thus gone, the Queen retires her ſelf: Whilſt the King haſting to *Weſtminſter*, takes order to commit the next Morning *George* Lord *Rochford* and *Henry Norris* to the *Tower*. After which, the Queen coming to *London* in her Barge, was apprehended by ſome of the Lords, and carried towards the *Tower*; who telling her of her Offence, ſhe with great Earneſtneſs affirmed ſhe was wronged; and only deſired to ſee the King before ſhe went, but in vain, they having no ſuch Commiſſion. When ſhe Entred the Tower ſhe fell upon her Knees, beſeeching God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accus'd. After which, one *William Brereton* Eſq;, and Sir *Francis Weſton* of the King's Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a *Muciſian*, were committed on the ſame Occaſion. The Queen being thus in the Tower, and not permitted to ſee the King, found it difficult to Write to him alſo; for Sir *William Kingſton*, Conſtable of the Tower, at firſt refus'd to carry it: However on the Sixth of *May* (which was four Days after ſhe was Committed) ſhe ſent the following Letter, which is enough to diſſipate (if not the Malice of her Enemies, yet) all thoſe Odious and Cauſeleſs Slanders caſt upon her, the Letter in every part breathing the Natural Air of Innocence.

## *Queen* Anne *of* Bolen *to King* Henry, *from the Tower.*

*SIR,*

"YOur Graces Diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are "things ſo ſtrange to me, as what to Write, or what "to Excuſe, I am altogether Ignorant. Whereas you ſend "unto me, (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo to obtain your Favour) by ſuch a one whom you know to be my "Ancient Profeſſed Enemy; I no ſooner receive this Meſſage, "than I rightly conceive your Meaning: And if, as you ſay, "confeſſing a Truth may indeed procure my Safety, I ſhall "with all willingneſs and Duty perform your Command: "But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife "will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo

"much

" much as a Thought ever proceeded: And to ſpeak a " Truth, never Prince had a Wife more Loyal in all Duty, " and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Ann* " *Bolen*; with which Name and Place, I cou'd willingly have " contented my ſelf, if GOD and your Graces Pleaſure had " ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time forget my " ſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I " always look'd for ſuch an Alteration as now I find; the " ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation " than your Graces Fancy, the leaſt Alteration whereof, I " knew was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome o- " other Subject.

" You have choſen me from a low Eſtate to be your Queen " and Companion, far beyond my Deſert or Deſire: If then " you find me worthy of ſuch Honour, Good your Grace, " let not any light Fancy, or bad Counſel of my Enemies, with- " draw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that ſtain, " that unworthy ſtain of a Diſloyal Heart, towards your " good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt Dutiful " Wife, and the Infant Princeſs your Daughter. Try me, " good King, but let me have a lawful Tryal; and let not " my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges: Yea, " let me receive an open Tryal, for my Truths ſhall fear no " open Shames. Then ſhall you ſee either mine Innocency " cleared, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the Igno- " miny and Slander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt open- " ly declared: So that whatſoever GOD or you may de- " termine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open " Cenſure; and my Offence being ſo Lawfully proved, your " Grace is at Liberty, both before God and Man, not only " to Execute worthy Puniſhments on me, as an unfaithful " Wife, but to follow your Affection already ſettled on that " Party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am; whoſe Name I " could ſomewhile ſince have pointed to, your Grace not be- " ing ignorant of my Suſpicion therein. But if you have " already determined of me, and that not only my Death, " but an Infamous Slander, muſt bring you the Enjoying of " a deſired Happineſs, then I deſire of GOD that he will " pardon your great Sin herein, and likewiſe my Enemies, " the Inſtruments hereof; and that he will not call you to " a ſtrict Account for your Unprincely and Cruel Uſage of " me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both You and " my Self muſt ſhortly appear; and in whoſe Juſt Judg- " ment I doubt not, whatſoever the World may think of " me, my Innocency ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently " cleared.

" My laſt and only Requeſt ſhall be, That my ſelf may " bear the Burthen of your Graces Diſpleaſure, and that it " may not touch the Innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentle- " men, who, as I underſtand, are in ſtrait Impriſonment for

" my ſake. If ever I have found Favour in your ſight, if " ever the Name of *Ann Bolen* hath been pleaſing in your " Ears, let me obtain this laſt Requeſt, and I will ſo leave to " trouble your Grace any farther: With my earneſt Prayers " to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, " and to direct you in all your Actions.

*From my doleful Priſon in the Tower, this Sixth of* May, 1536.

*Your moſt Loyal and Faithful Wife,*

Anne Bolen.

It appears by this Letter of the Queens, that ſhe had ſome true Notions of the real Cauſe of her Diſgrace, and which ſhe rightly thought wou'd Iſſue in her Death, becauſe nothing elſe cou'd make way for the King's Marrying with *Jane Seymour*: And this it was that made him ſo deaf to the Queen's Petitions for her Brother, and thoſe other Gentlemen, who were likewiſe to dye for this only Reaſon, that the People might believe there was ſomething of Truth in the Queen's Accuſation; and to caſt a miſt before their Eyes, that they might not ſee into the real Cauſe, which the Queen ſo rightly gueſt at in her Letter.

The King's Paſſion for Sir *John Seymour*'s Daughter was Violent, it was therefore neceſſary that the Queen ſhou'd be diſpatch'd with all convenient ſpeed; in order to which, on the 15*th* of *May* ſhe was Arraigned in the Hall of the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolk* ſitting as High-Steward, with the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſeveral others of the Peers; among whom, ſome ſay, was the Queen's own Father, for the greater blinding of the matter: The Accuſers having given in their Evidence, and the Witneſſes being produced, (for King *Henry* wanted not Falſe-Witneſſes to take away an Innocent Life, any more than his Predeceſſor King *Ahab* of old) the Queen made her Defence; and being of an Excellent Underſtanding, and a Ready Speaker, did ſo well anſwer all Objections, and clear her own Innocency, that the whole Aſſembly expected ſhe would have been acquitted; but that wou'd'nt anſwer the King's Deſign; and therefore the Peers, (among whom the Duke of *Suffolk*, the King's Brother-in-law, was a chief Man, who wholly apply'd himſelf to the King's Humour, and was altogether at his Devotion) pronounced her guilty; whereupon Judgment of Death was given againſt her. Her Brother *George* Viſcount *Rochford* was alſo Arraign'd and Condemn'd the ſame day; and ſoon after *Norris*, *Brereton*, *Weſton*, and *Smeton*, were all Try'd and found Guilty, and on the 17*th*. of *May* Beheaded.

It

It ſeems the King had a mind to have made an Evidence of *Norris*, for whom it is ſaid, he had ſome kindneſs, and therefore offer'd him Pardon, if he wou'd confeſs that whereof he was accuſed. But the Man was more honeſt than to accept of a Pardon upon thoſe diſhonourable Terms; and therefore reſolutely anſwer'd, *That in his Conſcience he thought her guiltleſs of the objected Crime; but whether ſhe were or no, he could not accuſe her of any thing; and therefore had rather undergo a thouſand Deaths than betray the Innocent.* Which being told the King, he cry'd out with ſome Paſſion, *Hang him up then, Hang him up then*: And well he deſerv'd it, that for the ſake of Truth wou'd go about to ſpoil all the King's Meaſures, and hinder him from having a new Wife.

The Queen's Death, as a Mark of particular Favour, was reſpited till the 19*th.* of the ſame Month. About which time, Order being taken that all Strangers in the Tower ſhould be removed, I find that Sir *William Kingſton*, the Lieutenant of the Tower, in an Original Letter to *Cromwel*, the then Secretary, writ theſe Words, *viz.*

Sir, *If we have not an hour certain, that it may be known in* London, *I think here will be but few: And I think a reaſonable number were beſt; for I ſuppoſe ſhe will declare herſelf to be a good Woman to all Men, but for the King, at the hour of her Death: For this Morning ſhe ſent for me, and proteſted her Innocency, and now again; and ſaid unto me,* Mr. Kingſton, *I heard ſay I ſhall not dye before Noon, and I am ſorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and paſt my Pain. I told her it ſhould be no Pain, it was ſo ſoftly*; (I ſuppoſe he means ſubtle, or quick) *and then ſhe ſaid, ſhe heard ſay the Executioner was very good, and* I *have but a little Neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily.* I *have ſeen many Men and Women Executed, and they have been in great Sorrow; and to my knowledge this Lady hath much joy and pleaſure in Death.*

The 19*th.* of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the Expreſs Order given, was brought to a Scaffold Erected upon the Ground, in the Tower of *London*; where before a great Company there Aſſembled, ſhe ſpake thus:

*Friends, and Good Chriſtian People,* I *am come hither in your Preſence to ſuffer Death; whereunto* I *acknowledge my ſelf adjudged by the Law; how juſtly* I *will not ſay, for* I *intend not an Accuſation of any one.* I *beſeech the Almighty to preſerve his Majeſty long to Reign over you; a more gentle and mild Prince never ſwayed Scepter: His Bounty and Clemency towards me,* I *am ſure hath been eſpecial.* If *any one intend an inquiſitive ſurvey of my Actions,* I *intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not raſhly to admit of any hard Cenſorious Conceit. And ſo* I *bid the World farwel, beſeeching you to commend me in your Prayers to GOD. To Thee, O LORD, do* I *commend my Soul.*

Then

Then kneeling down, she earnestly repeated these Words, *Christ have mercy on my Soul*; *Lord Jesus, receive my Soul*; until the Executioner struck off her Head with a Sword. And thus died the Vertuous Queen *Anne*, falling a Victim to King *Henry*'s Lust. For the very next day after her Death, he was Married to the Lady *Jane Seymour*. She was lamented by all good People, both as she was desirous to advance Learned Men, and as she was a great Alms-giver. Insomuch that she was said in three quarters of a Year to have bestow'd Fourteen or Fifteen Thousand Pounds in this kind, besides Moneys intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realm. But because the King's falling in love with her, was judged the great Cause of his being divorced from Queen *Katharine*, she had therefore many Enemies; and her being a great Encourager of the Reformation, and that many believed upon her account the Pope's Supremacy was cast off, she had yet more and greater Enemies: Tho' it must be confest that all the Favourers of the Reformation were her Friends, and did much honour her; but the King was so violent in his Nature, that they durst not shew it; tho' the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Cranmer* (for whom the King had the most particular Favour) Wrote as much in her behalf as he durst; yet so as he made no Apology for her, but rather confesseth that divers of the Lords had told him of such Faults as he was sorry to hear of, desiring howsoever that he would continue his love to the Gospel, lest it shou'd be thought it was for her sake only he had so favour'd it. I shall say no more of Queen *Anne*, after I have observed how swift the Wheels of Providence turn'd round this Month: On the first of *May* Queen *Ann* was with the King at *Greenwich*, where there was a solemn Justs between the Lord Viscount *Rochford* the Queens Brother, and *Henry Norris*; the Second of *May* she was Imprisoned, the Fifteenth Condemned, the Seventeenth deprived of her Brother and Friends, who suffer'd in her Cause, the Nineteenth she was Executed; the Twentieth the King Married the Lady *Jane Seymour*, who on the 29*th*. was publickly shewed as Queen. So that in the same Month one might have seen Queen *Anne* Flourishing, Accus'd, Condemn'd and Executed; and another in the Possession of her Bed and Honour.

Soon after the Death of Queen *Anne* followed the immature Death of the Duke of *Richmond*, the King's only, but Natural Son, a Prince of Excellent Form and Endowments; for whom the King a long time mourned; and which was look'd on by many as a Judgment upon him for the Death of Queen *Anne*.

But it was now a thing grown Common with the King to raise Persons up to great Honour, only that they might fall the greater Sacrifices. For so *Cromwel* came to be served next; who being Originally a Smith's Son, but a Man of Excellent

Excellent Natural Parts, and for that reaſon Employ'd by Cardinal *Woolſey*; his Fidelity to him in his declining Condition made him be taken notice of at Court, and Employ'd by the King; by whom he was made firſt Secretary of State, afterwards Baron, then Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Eſſex*, Knight of the Garter, and Vicegerent General of the King's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; ſitting in the Convocation-Houſe among the Biſhops, and preſiding over them. He was a mighty Promoter of the Reformation; and finding the King, after the Example of Cardinal *Woolſey*, had a Mind to ſuppreſs the Monaſteries, (not out of any Zeal to Religion, but that he might Convert them to his own uſe, and ſeize upon the Riches that were found in them) *Cromwel* was very Active therein; but finding that the Clergy were very much diſguſted at it, and many of the Laity alſo; and that it was like to indanger a general Inſurrection, he adviſed the King to try another Engine, which ſhould batter them more forcibly than thoſe he had hitherto uſed, and that was to make a general Viſitation of them: Which being agreed to by the King, (who wou'd do any thing to compaſs his own Ends) he ſends abroad Subtile-headed Fellows, who warranted by the King's Authority, ſhould throughout *England* ſearch into the Lives and Manners of Religious Perſons. It would amaze one to conſider what horrid Villanies were diſcovered among them by the means of *Cromwel* and others: Few were found ſo guiltleſs as to dare to withſtand their Proceedings; and the Licentiouſneſs of the reſt divulg'd, render'd them all ſo truly odious to the People, that never any Undertaking of ſo great Conſequence, ſo full of Hazard and Danger, was more eaſily Accompliſh'd, than was the Subverſion of our *Engliſh* Monaſteries, which inſtead of being found Houſes of Religion, were plainly found to be (for the generality) nothing but Nurſeries of Vice, and Cells of Sodomy: And as to the Nunneries, the many Skulls of Infants, found in moſt of 'em, too plainly declar'd what Trade they drove.

Nor was the Suppreſſing of Religious Houſes, as they were called, all that was done; but by the means of the Lord *Cromwel*, the King was prevail'd with to ſuppreſs the Worſhiping of Images, whereby God was Robb'd of his due Honour; and the People in danger of Committing Idolatry; which the Pious King wou'd by no means ſuffer! For he was exceedingly prone to Reformation, eſpecially where there was a Proſpect of any thing to be got by it. And indeed the true but Secret Reaſon of his giving way to the removing of this Stumbling Block, was, becauſe he conceived his Treaſury wou'd be thereby ſupplied; and he had Reaſon to think ſo, for there were ſome Images of Special Fame, and Shrines of reputed Saints, whereunto Pilgrimages were made from the fartheſt parts of the Kingdom; nay, even from Foreign Countries alſo: The Oblations which were offered thereto being

being ſo many, and ſo Rich, that they not only maintained the Prieſts and Monks, but alſo inabled them to heap up incredible Wealth and Riches: The Shrine of *Thomas Becket* the Traitor, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was cover'd with Plates of Gold, and laden with Gifts of Ineſtimable Value. The Blind Zeal of thoſe former Times, had deck'd it with Precious Gems, Chains of Gold of great Weight, and Pearls call'd *Uniones*, which are of the largeſt ſize: This Tomb was razed, and his Bones found intire; inſtead of whoſe Head the Monks uſually obtruded the Skull of ſome other, perhaps more deſerving than their ſuppoſed Martyr. The Spoil of this Monument, wherein nothing was meaner than Gold, filled two Cheſts ſo full, that each of them required Eight ſtrong Men to carry it away. Among the reſt was a Stone of Extraordinary Luſtre, called The Royal of *France*, offered by *Lewis* the Seventh, King of *France*, in the year 1179. together with a great Maſſy Cup of Gold; at which time he alſo beſtow'd an Annuity on the Monks of that Church, of an Hundred Tuns of Wine. This Stone was afterward highly priz'd by the King, who continually wore it on his Thumb. And as this, ſo Shrines in other Places were proportionably Rich, according to the Number and Ability of the Offerers. So that the Treaſure which the King raiſed by the Spoils of Shrines, Churches, and Religious Houſes, was exceeding great. For the ſake whereof, and not out of Love to Religion, he Encourag'd the Reformation.

And yet after all this Service that *Cromwel* had done him, he ſuffer'd him to be arreſted at the Council-Table, and carried to the Tower, to the great Rejoycing of the Popiſh Party, and moſt of the Nobility, who hated him, becauſe from ſo mean an Original, the King had advanc'd him to ſo great Honour: Tho' to ſpeak truth, he is much more honourable that owes his Advancement to his own Vertue, than he that is beholden for it to his Progenitors. What Opinion the honeſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Cranmer*, had of the Lord *Cromwel*, his Letter to the King on the hearing of his Impriſonment, will beſt tell us, in which he uſes theſe Expreſſions: "That tho' he heard in his Graces Council, that he is a "Traitor, yet who cannot be ſorrowful and amaz'd that he "ſhou'd be a Traitor againſt your Majeſty? He that was "ſo advanc'd by your Majeſty, he whoſe Surety was only by "your Majeſty, he who loved your Majeſty, (as I ever "thought) no leſs than God. He who always ſtudied to "ſet forward whatever was your Majeſties Will and Pleaſure. "He that car'd for no Man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your Ma"jeſty. He that was ſuch a Servant, in my judgment, in "Wiſdom, Faithfulneſs, Diligence and Experience, as no "Prince in this Realm ever had. He that was ſo Vigilant "to preſerve your Majeſty from all Treaſons, that few cou'd "be ſo ſecretly conceiv'd, but he detected the ſame in the "beginning?

" beginning? If the Noble Princes of Memory King *John*, " *Henry* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, had had such a " Counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have " been ſo Traiterouſly abandoned and overthrown as thoſe " Princes were. After which he ſays again, " I loved him " as my Friend, and ſo I took him to be; but I chiefly loved " him, for the love which I thought I ever ſaw him bear to- " wards your Grace, ſingularly above all others. But now, " if he be a Traitor, I am ſorry that ever I loved him, or " truſted him; and I am very glad that his Treaſon is diſ- " covered in time; but yet again, I am very ſorrowful; for " who ſhall your Grace truſt hereafter, if you might not " truſt him? Alas, I bewail and lament your Graces " Chance herein; I wot not whom your Grace may truſt: " But I pray God continually Night and Day to ſend ſuch a " Counſellor in his Place, whom your Grace may truſt, and " who for all his Qualities can and will ſerve your Grace " like to him; and that will have ſo much Solicitude and " Care to preſerve your Grace from all Dangers, as I ever " thought he had.—— This is the Character of the Lord *Cromwel* in *Cranmer*'s Opinion, which I faithfully Copied out of the Original.

But let me now ſhew the Reader what *Cromwel*'s Crime was; and in ſhort it was this, He unhappily fell and daſh'd himſelf againſt that Rock on which two before had Split themſelves: For Queen *Jane* dying in Childbed of Prince *Edward*, the King (pretending more love than Ordinary to her) had not ſo ſoon provided himſelf of another Wife as he us'd to do: And *Cromwel* willing to ſtrengthen the begun Reformation, adviſes the King to Marry *Anne*, the Sifter to the Duke of *Cleave*; which Match was ſoon after conſummated; but after Six Months Co-habitation, this ſecond Queen *Anne* was repudiated, and inſtead of the Title of Queen, was forc'd to be contented with that new-invented one of the King's Adopted Sifter. The Cauſes for the Divorce of this Lady were diverſly ſpoken of, but three things there were contributed towards it; Firſt, That the King having Courted her unſeen, found himſelf miſtaken in her Beauty when he came to ſee her; for it ſeems Nature in that reſpect had not been very bountiful to her. The ſecond thing was, ſome Natural Defect there was in this Lady, which was a Bar to Enjoyment; and that this was ſo, ſeems the more probable, in that ſhe her ſelf (in that Letter in which ſhe ſubmitted her ſelf to the Judgment and Determination of the Parliament) affirmed that the King never knew her Carnally. The third thing was, that the King had another he fancied better in his Eye; which was the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard*, who was Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom ſuddenly after this Divorce he Married. Now *Cromwel* having been the Promoter

of

of the Match with *Anne*, and the King having a Mind to *Katharine*, who look'd upon *Cromwel* as a Remora to her Advancement, became an Enemy to him, and perſwaded the King to be rid of him; and ſo violent was the King's Paſſion, (or rather Luſt) that he threw down whatever ſtood in his way to the gratifying of his Deſires. And ſo poor *Cromwel* fell a Victim to the Lady *Howard*'s Enmity, and King *Henry*'s Love. And tho' 'twas but on the 18*th* of *April*, that he had been created Earl of *Eſſex*, yet on the 13*th* of *June* he was Arreſted at the Council-Table, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, as has been before related: And tho' he quietly obey'd it, yet he knew his Fall was inevitable, when he ſaw the Duke of *Norfolk* was employ'd therein, who was Unkle to the Lady *Katharine Howard*, the Kings New Miſtreſs. And tho' the Crimes objected againſt him, were Capital, yet the Accuſations of ſome were conceal'd two years after they were alledg'd, and the Particulars of others not at all ſpecify'd; and not being permitted to ſpeak for himſelf, the Proceedings againſt him cannot but be thought Extreamly Rigorous. The Crimes objected againſt him, were chiefly an Uſurpation of Power, in ſetting at Liberty certain Perſons not capable of it, and granting certain Licenſes, and making certain Commiſſions in high Affairs, without the King's Knowledge; he was alſo accuſed for being an Heretick, and favouring of them; but that the Head of the Churches Vice-gerent in Spiritual Affairs, ſhould be an Heretick, ſeems very Heterodox: But theſe were but pretended Crimes, to put the better Colour upon the King's Injuſtice; his Miſtreſs hated him, and the King reſolv'd he ſhould dye; and accordingly on the 28*th* of *July* he was Beheaded upon *Tower-hill*, dying with a great Preſence of Mind, profeſſing himſelf upon the Scaffold, to die a true Catholick Chriſtian; which being a general term, it is uncertain whether he meant of the Roman or Reformed Communion. And ſo quick was the King in his Amour with the Lady *Katharine Howard*, that ſcarce was this Remora remov'd, but he was Married to her, and on the 8*th* of *Auguſt* ſhe was in all her Royal Habiliments publickly ſhewed as Queen, Which Honour notwithſtanding ſhe Enjoyed not long, for on the 12*th* of *February* 1542. ſhe was deſervedly Executed for her known and confeſſed Adultery. And having ſeen an Original Letter ſent from divers of the King's Council, to *Paget*, the King's Ambaſſador then in *France*, giving a full Account of the Queens Crime, and the manner of its diſcovery, I could not but inſert it in our Secret Hiſtory, Verbatim, as I find it.

## *A Letter from the Duke of* Norfolk, *and ſeveral others of the Council, to* William Paget, *Ambaſſador in* France.

"AFter our hearty Commendations, by theſe our Letters we be commanded to ſignifie unto you a moſt Miſerable Caſe, which came lately to Revelation; to the intent, that if you ſhall hear the ſame ſpoken of, you may declare the Truth, as followeth:

"Whereas the King's Majeſty, upon the Sentence given of the Invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highneſs and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleave*, was earneſtly and humbly ſolicited by his Council, and the Nobles of this Realm, to frame his moſt Noble Heart to the Love and Favour of ſome Noble Perſonage to be joyned with him in lawful Matrimony, by whom his Majeſty might have ſome more ſtore of Fruit and Succeſſion, to the Comfort of this Realm; it pleaſed his Highneſs, upon a Notable Appearance of Honour, Cleanneſs, and Maidenly Behaviour, to bend his Affection upon Mrs. *Katharine Howard*, Daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to me the Duke of *Norfolk*; inſomuch as his Highneſs was fully contented to honour her in his Marriage, thinking now in his old days, after ſundry troubles of Mind, which have happened unto him by Marriages, to have obtained ſuch a Jewel for Womanhood, and very perfect Love towards him, as ſhould not only have been to his Quietneſs, but alſo brought forth the deſired Fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the ſemblable, and in reſpect of the Vertue and good Behaviour which ſhe ſhewed outwardly, did her all Honour accordingly. But this Joy is turned into Extream Sorrow, for when the King's Majeſty received his Maker on *Allhallows* day laſt paſt, and then gave him moſt humble and hearty Thanks for the good Life he led, and hoped to lead, with her; and alſo deſired the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, his Ghoſtly Father, to make like Prayers, and give Thanks with him: On *All Souls* day, being at Maſs, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having a little before heard that the ſame Mrs. *Katharine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that Pureneſs and Cleanneſs that ſhe was eſteemed; but a Woman, who before ſhe was joyned with the King's Majeſty, had lived moſt Corruptly and Senſually; for the Diſcharge of his Duty, opened the ſame moſt Sorrowfully to his Majeſty, and how it was brought to his Knowledge, which was in this form following:

"Whilſt the King's Majeſty was in his Progreſs, one *John Loſſels* came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and declared

"unto

" unto him, That he had been with a Sifter of his Married in " *Suſſex*, which ſometimes had been Servant with the old " Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who did alſo bring up the ſaid Mrs. *Ka-* " *tharine*; and being with his Sifter, chanced to fall in Com- " munication with her of the Queen, wherein he adviſed her " (becauſe ſhe was of the Queens old Acquaintance) to ſue to " be her Woman: Whereupon his Sifter anſwered, That ſhe " ſhould not ſo do; but ſhe was very ſorry for the Queen. " Why, quoth *Loſſels?* Marry, quoth ſhe, for ſhe is light " both in Living and Conditions. How ſo, quoth *Loſſels?* " Marry, quoth ſhe, there is one *Francis Derrham*, who was " Servant alſo in my Lady of *Norfolk*'s Houſe, which hath " lien in Bed with her in his Doublet and Hoſe between the " Sheets, an hundred Nights. And there hath been ſuch " puffing and blowing between them, that once a Maid which " lay in the Houſe with her, ſaid to me, She would lie no " longer with her, becauſe ſhe knew not what Matrimony " meant. And farther ſhe ſaid unto him, That one *Mannock*, " ſometimes alſo Servant to the ſaid Dutcheſs, knew a Privy " Mark of her Body. When the ſaid *Loſſels* had declared this " to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he conſidering the " Weight and Importance of the Matter, being marvelouſly " perplexed therewith, conſulted in the ſame with the Lord " Chancellor of *England*, and the Lord *Hertford*, whom the " King's Majeſty going in his Progreſs, left to reſide at *Lon-* " *don*, to order his Affairs in thoſe parts; who having weighed " the matter, and deeply pondered the Gravity thereof, where- " with they were greatly troubled and unquieted, reſolved " finally that the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould reveal the ſame to " the King's Majeſty: which becauſe the matter was ſuch as " he hath ſorrowfully lamented, and alſo could not find in his " heart to expreſs the ſame to the King's Majeſty by word of " mouth, he declared the Information thereof to his Highneſs " in Writing. When the King's Majeſty had read this Infor- " mation thus delivered unto him, his Grace being much per- " plexed therewith, yet nevertheleſs ſo tenderly loved the " Woman, and had conceived ſuch a conſtant Opinion of her " Honeſty, that he ſuppoſed it rather to be a forged matter, " than of Truth. Whereupon it pleaſed him ſecretly to call " unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admiral, Sir *An-* " *thony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly*, to whom he opened " the Caſe, ſaying, He could not believe it to be true: And " yet ſeeing the Information was made, he could not be ſatis- " fied till the certainty thereof was known; but he would not " in any wiſe, that in the Inquiſition any Spark of Scandal " ſhould riſe towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majeſty " reſolved, that the Lord Privy Seal ſhould go ſtrait to *Lon-* " *don*, where the ſaid *Loſſels* that gave the Information, was " ſecretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try " whether he would ſtand to his ſaying: Who being ſo ex-

" amined,

" amined, anſwered, That his Siſter ſo told him, and that he
" had declared it for the diſcharge of his Duty, and for none
" other reſpect; adding, That he knew what danger was in
" it; nevertheleſs he had rather die in declaration of the
" Truth, as it came to him, ſeeing it touch'd the King's Ma-
" jeſty ſo nearly, than live with the concealment of the ſame,
" Which Aſſeveration being thus made by the ſaid *Loſſels*, the
" King's Majeſty being informed thereof, ſent the Lord Privy
" Seal into *Suſſex* to examine the Woman; making a Pretence
" to the Womans Husband of Hunting, and to her for re-
" ceiving of Hunters; and ſent the ſaid Sir *Thomas Wriothesly*
" to *London* at the ſame inſtant: Both to examine *Mannock*,
" and alſo to take the ſaid *Derrham*, upon a Pretence
" of Piracy, becauſe he had been before in *Ireland*, and
" hath been noted before with that Offence; making
" theſe Pretences to the intent no Spark of Suſpition
" ſhould riſe of theſe Examinations. The ſaid Lord Privy Seal
" found the Woman, in her Examination, conſtant in her for-
" mer Sayings; and Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* found, by the Con-
" feſſion of *Mannock*, that he had commonly uſed to feel the
" Secrets, and other parts of her Body, ere ever *Derrham* was
" ſo familiar with her; and *Derrham* confeſſed that he had
" known her Carnally many times, both in his Doublet and
" his Hoſe between the Sheets, and in naked Bed; alledging
" ſuch Witneſſes of three ſundry Women one after another,
" that had lien in the ſame Bed with them, when he did the
" Acts, that the matter ſeem'd moſt apparent. But what in-
" ward Sorrow the King's Majeſty took, when he perceived
" the Information true! As it was the moſt woful thing that
" ever came to our Hearts, to ſee it, ſo it were too tedious
" to write it unto you. But his Heart was ſo pierced with Pen-
" ſiveneſs, that long it was before his Majeſty could ſpeak,
" and utter the Sorrow of his Heart unto us: And finally,
" with Plenty of Tears, (which was ſtrange in a Man of his
" Courage) opened the ſame. Which done, ſhe was ſpoken
" withal in it, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord
" Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Great Cham-
" berlain of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, to whom
" at the firſt ſhe conſtantly denied it. But the matter being
" ſo declared unto her, that ſhe perceived it to be wholly diſ-
" cloſed, the ſame Night ſhe diſcloſed the whole to the Arch-
" biſhop of *Canterbury*, who took the Confeſſion of the ſame
" in Writing, ſubſcribed with her Hand. Then were the reſt
" of the number, being eight or nine Men and Women which
" knew of their Doings, examined, who all agreed in one Tale.
" Now may you ſee what was done before the Marriage;
" God knoweth what hath been done ſince: But ſhe had al-
" ready gotten this *Derrham* into her Service, and trained him
" upon occaſions, as ſending of Errands, and writing of Let-
" ters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often

" into her Privy Chamber. And ſhe had gotten alſo into her " Privy Chamber, to be one of her Chamberers, one of the " Women which had before lien in Bed with her and *Derr-* " *ham*. What this pretended, is eaſie to be conjectured. " Thus much we know for the beginning, whereof we thought " meet to advertiſe you, to the intent before-ſpecified. And " what ſhall farther ſucceed and follow of this Matter, we ſhall " not fail to advertiſe you thereof accordingly. Thus fare you " heartily well.

From the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, the 12th of *Nov.* 1541.

*Tho. Norfolk*,
*Thomas Audley*, Chancellor,
*William Southampton*,
*Robert Suſſex*,
*Stephen Winton*,
*Anthony Wingfield*.

This Letter gives a full and clear Account of Queen *Katharine*'s Leudneſs, who, no doubt, drove the ſame Trade after, as ſhe had done before: And becauſe the King had got a Name abroad, of Parting with his Wives when he pleaſed, ſo that his Proceedings of that kind were grown Scandalous in all Foreign Courts; therefore this Letter was ſent to the Ambaſſador in *France*, that by an Account of the Truth of the matter, he might ſtop Mens mouths. But that the King was ſo wonderous Penſive, and ſhed ſo many Tears for this Unfaithfulneſs of the Queen, I muſt confeſs I have not ſo much Faith as to believe. Indeed the Conſideration of his being to loſe this Queen, and not being yet provided of another, might make him a little Penſive; but that he ſhed any Plenty of Tears, I believe not.

But beſides the Perſons ſpecified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the ſame Name with the Queens Mother) was Indicted for the ſame Fault; which he and *Derrham*, at their Arraignment, confeſſing, *Culpeper* had his Head cut off, and *Derrham* was Hang'd and Quarter'd. Neither did it reſt here, for the Lord *William Howard*, the Queens Unkle, newly return'd from an Ambaſſage in *France*, and his Wife, and the Old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and divers others of the Queens and of the Dutcheſſes Servants, as alſo a Butter-wife, were indicted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, (as Concealers of this Fact) and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment; tho' ſome of them were afterwards releaſed, upon Application to the King. And yet after all this, the Parliament ſitting, and being made acquainted with the buſineſs, both Houſes Petitioned the King that he would not vex himſelf, (of which there was no great danger) but give his Royal Aſſent to what they ſhould do: In anſwer to which, they had not only leave to proceed, but Thanks given them that they took his Sorrow (poor Man!) to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen, and the Lady *Jane Rochford*, as alſo *Culpeper*, *Derrham*, &c. And thereupon

upon the Queen, and the Lady *Jane Rochford*, (by whose means *Culpeper* had so many Secret Meetings with the Queen after her Marriage, that their Adultery was manifest) were brought to the Tower, and after Confession of their Faults, had their Heads cut off. This Lady *Rochford*, who now justly suffered by being a Bawd to the Queen, was Wife to the Lord Viscount *Rochford*, Brother to Queen *Anne Bolen*, who by her malicious Calumnies had been made a Tool to betray both her Husband and that good Queen his Sister, to Death. Whose Death was the more taken notice of, as having a kind of Divine *Nemesis* in it; for tho' the Hand of Justice be often slow, 'tis always sure.

But the King having such bad Luck with his Wives, the Parliament took the same into Consideration; and to prevent any more such After-Claps as this last, they pass'd an Act, That if the King should Marry a Woman that was before Incontinent, if she conceal the same, it shall be High Treason. But this Act, how well soever intended, did the King a Diskindness, for making it Death to conceal their Incontinency in former times, so few durst run the hazard of entering into the Bonds of Matrimony with a King, who was look'd upon to have so much Facility in Dissolving them: And therefore refused the King's Courtship, as knowing in what a slippery State they were, if the King, after his receiving them to Bed, should, through any Mistake, declare them no Maids. So that in short, henceforward no Maid would venture on him; and therefore he fix'd at last upon the Lady *Katharine Parr*, a Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who being indeed a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and of some Maturity of Years also, the King lived after Marriage apparently well with her; but yet not so well neither, but that towards the latter end of the King's Life, she was in great danger of losing hers; not for Adultery (for she was always free from the least Suspicion thereof) but for a Crime he used to punish as severely, and that was Heresie, of which she was much suspected by *Stephen Gard'ner*, and some others of the same Kidney: In which, even by the King's Consent, they had proceeded so far against the Queen, as to procure a Warrant to carry her to the Tower; but the Queen, by her prudent Submission to the King, took off the Edge of his Anger, and thereby defeated the Designs of her Enemies.

Tho' it cannot be denied, but that in this King's Reign the Groundwork of the Reformation was laid, yet even in this Reign (as well as in his Daughter *Mary*'s afterwards) it was watered with the Blood of the Martyrs, many of them in this King's time expiring in the Flames; for when he had cast off the Pope, and made himself the Head of the Church, it was a common thing to have the Protestants burn'd one day for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, and the Papists Hang'd and Quarter'd the next day, for denying the King's

Supremacy. Nay, at the very same time, and the same place, that those three Worthy and Eminent Divines Dr. *Robert Barns*, Mr. *Thomas Gerrard*, and Mr. *William Jerom* were condemned for Heresie, and suffered the Torments of the Mercileſs Fire, three Popiſh Doctors, *viz.* *Powel*, *Abel* and *Featherſtone*, were hang'd for denying the King's Supremacy. The ſight of which made a French-man cry out in theſe words, *Deus Bonus! Quomodo vivunt gentes? Suſpenduntur Papiſtæ, Comburuntur Antipapiſtæ?* Good God! How do the People make a ſhift to live here? Where Papiſts are hang'd, and Antipapiſts burn'd? But this was a thing ſo common, that he needed not have wonder'd at it. The truth is, the Alterations in Religion made in this King's Reign, were not made upon a Religious Account. He only conſulted his own Intereſt, and acted accordingly: His caſting off the Pope's Supremacy, and making himſelf Pope in his ſtead, was for his own Advantage, for by that means he ſtood not in need of any Diſpenſation from the Pope for his Divorce from his firſt Wife; by this means alſo the Annates, or Firſt-Fruits of Biſhopricks, uſually paid to the See of *Rome*, was by Act of Parliament to be paid unto himſelf. The Suppreſſing of Monaſteries put Money alſo into his Coffers, and gave him an Opportunity to gratifie his Friends without any Charge; and thereby ſtrengthened himſelf againſt Foreign Enemies. His permitting the Bible to be read in the Engliſh Tongue, (that is, ſuch a Tranſlation thereof only as he allowed) gratified the Favourers of Reformation, and was no Charge to him. And therefore that he might ſeem to Foreign Princes to have only caſt off the Pope's Supremacy, but not the Popiſh Religion, he eſtabliſhed the Six Articles by Act of Parliament, whereby the chief Doctrinal Points of Popery were ſtill retain'd, and many Worthy Perſons burn'd for Hereticks for their oppoſing thereof. And therefore whatever Advances were made in this Kings Reign, towards a Reformation, were brought about by the wonder-working and over-ruling Providence of GOD, who can glorifie himſelf by bringing Good out of Evil; and not from any Deſign or Intention of the Kings, who neither minded God's Glory, nor the good of his People, in what he did, any farther than it contributed to the ſerving of his own Luſts, and the gratifying his Corrupt and Vicious Inclinations.

That he was a bloody King, the greateſt part of his Reign abundantly teſtifies: The Death of *Empſon* and *Dudley* at the beginning of his Reign, (tho' they received but the Juſt Reward of their Unjuſt and Arbitrary Practices) yet does it reflect Diſhonour upon the King, by the Command of whoſe Father it was done, and whoſe Coffers were filled thereby. But far leſs cauſe had he to put to Death (as he did) *Edmund de la Pool*, (Son of *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Elizabeth* Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth) who had been made Priſoner by *Henry* the Seventh, and had continued ſo ever ſince: Tho' indeed

indeed there was a reaſon of State for it: For the King being reſolved to go in Perſon againſt *France*, he was loth to leave any one related to the Houſe of *York* behind him. And therefore that he was Son to *Elizabeth*, Sifter to King *Edward* the Fourth, was Crime ſufficient to take away his Life, Juſtice having nothing to do in that matter. For the ſame reaſon it alſo was, that *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, was attainted of High Treaſon, being Threeſcore and ten Years of Age, and condemned without hearing, and was Beheaded two Years after, for no other reaſon, but becauſe there had been a Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*, and the King thought they had a Kindneſs for this Aged Counteſs, who was of the Blood Royal of the Houſe of *York*. The like Kindneſs he alſo ſhewed to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who was the Kings firſt Couſin by the Mothers ſide, being the Son of *Katharine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, and Sifter to *Elizabeth* the Kings Mother.

It would take up too much time to enumerate all the Noblemen that he cauſed to be put to Death: Nor would he ſpare the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' the Pope had made him a Cardinal; againſt whom he had ſo great an Antipathy for denying his Supremacy, that when he heard his Cardinals Cap was come as far as *Calais*, he Swore by the Mother of God he ſhould have never a Head to put it on, and accordingly cauſed him to be Beheaded. Nor did Sir *Thomas More* find any more Favour; tho' he had a little before honoured him with the keeping of the Great Seal of *England*. And it is obſervable of this King, that the longer he Reigned, the more Cruel he was, and the more Blood he ſhed.

To Sum up all, In this King's Reign there fell by his Severity, two Queens, two Cardinals, (for Cardinal *Pool* ſtood Condemned, tho' not Apprehended) three Dukes; Marqueſſes, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights, eighteen; which could not but much irritate the Temporal Nobility; and of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Monks and Prieſts (which as much incenſed the Clergy) no leſs than Seventy Seven: And having offended his Roman Catholick Subjects, by Diſowning the See of *Rome*, and his Proteſtant Subjects by rejecting the Reformation, he was brought at laſt to that unhappy Period, to leave the Crown to a Child, whoſe Condition was like to prove as uncertain under the Government of a Protector, as the Kingdom under his; which in caſe of want of Iſſue of his Body, was to deſcend to his two Sifters ſucceſſively; of whoſe Legitimacy, Religion and Title, there were as many Scruples before they parted from the Sovereignty, as ever their Father conceived in point of State, Conſcience, or Honour, before he parted from their Mothers. So from the Cataſtrophe of his whole Story, we may bring this Remark, That as no Man could meaſure his Happineſs by his Greatneſs, ſo neither can they take any Scantling of his Greatneſs, by any thing the

World calls Happineſs: It being very true which the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* told him very plainly, and not unpleaſantly, at a time when he was ill-diſpoſed to hear a Jeſt, and not well prepared to be Serious: To wit, *That no Man could be truly Merry, that had above one Wife in his Bed, one Friend in his Boſom, and one Faith in his Heart.*

I will conclude what I have to ſay of this King, in the words of an Anonymus Author, whom I have often quoted, " To " ſay much of him, were to make you Surfeit: Sir *Walter Ra-* " *leigh*'s Teſtimony of him is ſufficient, *If all the Pictures and* " *Patterns of a Mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might* " *all be Painted again to the Life out of the Story of this King.* " His vaſt Expence of Treaſnre, and profuſe Bloodſhed, made " this Kingdom look with a Ghaſtly Face; and to expreſs him " fully, this remains of him to everlaſting, *That he never ſpared* " *Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Luſt.* And this puts me " in mind of a Story I have heard in *Spain*, a Friar preach'd " before *Don Pedro* the King, ſirnamed *the Cruel*, took his " Text, which invited him to extol Regal Dignity to its " higheſt pitch, often ſaying, *Few Kings went to Hell*; but in " the cloſe of his Sermon, ſaid, *You may peradventure wonder,* " *that I ſo often tell you, that few Kings go to Hell: Marry the* " *reaſon is, There are but few Kings; for if there were more,* " *they would go all to the Devil.*

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King *EDWARD* the Sixth.

KING EDWARD *the Sixth, the only Son of* Henry *the Eighth, by* Jane Seymour *his Third Wife, was born at* Hampton-Court, *the* 12th *of* October 1537. *and was but in the* 9th *year of his Age, when he Aſcended the Throne of his Father. His Reign began with a Proſperous War againſt the* Scots, *to whom the Duke of* Somerſet *his Unkle and Protector, gave a great Overthrow at* Muſcleborough: *But we loſt ground in* France, *by reſtoring* ( *as we did at laſt* ) Le Boulonois *to that Crown. The beſt Tranſaction of this Reign, was the great Progreſs made in it of the Reformation begun by* Henry *the Eighth, and now brought to good Perfection by the indefatigable Zeal of Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *and the Powerful Aſſiſtance of the Protector, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of ſtiff Men againſt it, eſpecially* Gardiner *Biſhop of* Winchester, *and* Bonner *Biſhop of* London. *In this Reign fell the Lord Admiral* Thomas Seymour, *one of the Kings Uncles, and the Lord Protectors Brother; and not long after the Protector himſelf, by the great Power and Influence of the Duke of* Northumberland, *a Man of great Ambition: Who ſeeing the King in a Conſumptive Condition, meant to ſettle the Crown in his Family, by making a Match between* Guilford Dudley, *his fourth Son, and the Lady* Jane Gray, *Daughter to* Henry Gray *Duke of* Suffolk, *by* Frances *his Wife, Daughter of* Mary, *Siſter to* Henry *the Eighth. Which done, he got King* Edward *to declare her his Succeſſor by Will, to the prejudice of the true Heirs,* Mary *and* Elizabeth *his Siſters: Which Will he got confirmed by the Council and the Judges of the Realm. He died at* Greenwich, *the fifth day of* July, 1553. *having Reigned Six Years, five Months, and* 19 *days.* Thus far his General Hiſtory.

The Secret Hiſtory of King *Edward* the Sixth, will take up but a little room. The tender years of this King, but much more his Excellent and Illuſtrious Qualities, keeping him from any ſiniſter or indirect Deſigns. So that with reſpect to himſelf, a Panegyrick is more proper than a Secret Hiſtory. For of this King it may be ſaid, as was formerly of *Abijah* the Son of *Jeroboam*, *In him only* ( of all that went before him ) *was there found ſome good thing towards the Lord God of Iſrael* But the Secret Contrivances of ſome of his

Chief Miniſters, both againſt the King and the Kingdom, will furniſh us but with too much matter for our Secret Hiſtory. In which we ſhall yet be as brief, as the Secret Deſigns we are to unravel, will let us.

Royalty, like a Pythagorean Soul, Tranſmigrates: For altho' *Henry* was dead, yet the King was ſtill alive, ſurviving in the Perſon of *Edward*; who began his Reign the 28*th* of *January*, 1547. and having been Proclaimed King, came the ſame day from *Enfield*, where he then kept his Court, and lodged in the Tower, according to the Cuſtom of former Kings, there to continue till his Coronation. The next day the Council being met, choſe *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hartford*, for Protector of the King and Realm; who, to begin his New Dignity with ſome memorable Action, dubb'd the King a Night; the King preſently imparting the ſame Honour on Sir *Richard Hubblethorn*, then Lord Mayor of *London*. Two Days after the King dignify'd ſeveral Perſons with new Honours, amongſt whom were his two Uncles; for the Lord Protector, Earl of *Hertford*, was made Duke of *Somerſet*; and his Brother, *Thomas Seymour*, was made Baron of *Sudley*, and Lord High-Admiral of *England*. But theſe were not the only Perſons advanc'd, for *William Par*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was made Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, and *John Dudley*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Earl of *Warwick*. Two Days after which, the King was Solemnly Inaugrated at *Weſtminſter*, being Crown'd by *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The War with *Scotland* ſoon after proſecuted, with the Victory obtain'd over the *Scots* at *Muſcleborough*, I leave to the Writers of this Kings General Hiſtory. But thoſe Wars did not hinder the King from purſuing the Reformation out of a better End than it was firſt begun by his Father: For now all Images were pull'd down, Prieſts were permitted to Marry, the Liturgy was ſet forth in the *Engliſh* Tongue, the Euchariſt Adminiſtred in both kinds, Auricular Confeſſion forbidden, no Man prohibited from Reading of the Scriptures in any Language that he underſtood, no Maſſes to be ſaid for the Souls of the Departed; and many other things ordained, ſo far differing from the Inſtitution of our Fore-Fathers, that many of the Ignorant People, ſet on thereto by the Fautors of Popery, took occaſion therefrom to break out into Rebellion: Which when the King's Reaſons (which he Piouſly ſet forth for that purpoſe) would not reduce them to Obedience, he was forc'd to make uſe of ſtronger Arguments.

But that which gave more diſturbance to the King, was a fatal Conteſt between his two Uncles; which ended not but in the Deſtruction of 'em both; and at the long run, of the King himſelf: And therefore will require to be ſpoken to at large.

The Wiſe Man tells us, That *a Brother offended is harder to be won than a ſtrong City, and their Contentions are like the Bars*

of

*of a Caſtle:* And ſo it prov'd between theſe; for Jealouſy, Envy, and Ambition, like Infernal Furies, had arm'd them againſt each other; and the Pride of the Feminine Sex prepar'd them for the Liſts. For the Lord *Sudley* had taken to Wife *Katharine Par* the Queen Dowager, laſt Wife to King *Henry* the *VIII.* who Challenging Precedence before the Protector's Wife, began, or rather heighten'd the Quarrel between them. What Agreement would be between theſe two Women, (one having been the Wife of the late King, and therefore thought all Preheminence and Honour due to her; the other being Married to him who was Protector of the Preſent King's Minority, and ſo in point of Command differ'd little from a Soveraign himſelf) they may eaſily imagine who have Read in the firſt Book of *Herodian*, the Contentions that aroſe between *Criſpina*, the Wife of *Commodus*, and *Lucilla*, who had been formerly Married to *Lucius Verus* the Emperour. Yet it was not in the Power of Envy or Pride ſo to have divided them, had not Nature had its ſhare in the Feud, as well as Providence; that giving them different Conſtitutions, as t'other had created them different Intereſts. For the Protector was Mild, Affable, Open, and Well-meaning; and had he been as free from Covetouſneſs, as he was from Jealouſy, he muſt needs have had the better of his younger Brother. The other was Fierce, Turbulent, and Ambitious, but withal very Generous and Magnificent: and had not his Reſolution tended to Raſhneſs, he muſt needs have had the better of his Elder Brother. Preſently after the Death of King *Henry*, the Admiral, thruſt on by the flattering Opinion of his own Merits, reſolved to add a luſtre to his good Parts by Marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, as yet indeed ſcarce Marriageable. But the Protector wiſely conſidering how Raſh and Perilous this Project was, fruſtrated that Deſign. And by his Marriage afterwards, with *Katharine* Queen Dowager, a Beautiful and Noble Lady, with an Eſtate ſuitable to her Dignity, it was thought the gulf of his Deſires would have been ſatisfy'd. But finding ſtill that his Brother over-topp'd him by vertue of his Place, and that he could not be his Equal till he became his Superiour, reſolv'd to attempt to pluck him down, and vault into the Empty Saddle; to ſeize on the King; and, by having him, to get likewiſe the Power of the Kingdom. Neither wanted he Courage, Money, or Friends, to accompliſh the Deſign: All the Roman Catholick Nobility being Well-wiſhers to him; but particularly he had engaged the Earl of *Warwick*, (after Duke of *Northumberland*) the greateſt Man of Power, and the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, (after Duke of *Suffolk*) the greateſt Man of Intereſt; the one drawn in by hopes of Advancing his Son, t'other his Daughter. For the Admiral was ſo Inſolent as to promiſe them, that the firſt ſhould Marry one of the King's Siſters, and t'other the King himſelf. Whereby

'twas

'twas apparent he intended to make the Conſequences of his Succeſs no leſs fatal to the whole Kingdom than to his Brother.

Now whether his Lady, that had been the Wife of a King before, did (while ſhe was alive) put him upon any hopes of being ſo now, (for Ambitious Men, like ſeal'd Doves, fly the higher for being blinded) is not certain. But moſt certain it is, that as ſoon as ſhe died, (which was not long after) he reſum'd the Confidence to approach ſo near the Throne, as to Court the Lady *Elizabeth* the ſecond time, now grown a little riper for Conſent, than when he firſt mov'd the Queſtion to her. But this was not carried ſo ſecretly, but that his Brother had an inſight into the whole Practice; and at laſt diſcover'd the whole Plot, but conceal'd his knowledge of it, either out of Pity or Prudence, as loth to Ruine him, with the hazard of loſing himſelf; or as doubting perhaps that the Sword of Juſtice was not long enough to reach him; or at leaſt not ſharp enough to cut through the knot of the whole Conſpiracy. But as Fate never fails undoing the Man ſhe has a Mind to deſtroy; and when ſhe falls upon him, makes the firſt ſtroke at his Head: So it happen'd with this unhappy Lord; who being unexpectedly undermin'd, was blown up by a Train, that ſeems to have taken fire as it were from Heaven; his Treaſon being firſt detected out of the Pulpit; and the Protector ſo preſt by an Eloquent Sermon of Biſhop *Latimer*'s to Impeach him, that he being not able to clear him, was in ſome ſence obliged to clear himſelf, by a Speech which prov'd as Ominous as it was Obvious, ſaying at the ſame time he caus'd him to be apprehended, *He wou'd Do and Suffer Juſtice.* And ſo he did when he ſign'd the Warrant for his Execution, after the Parliament had found him guilty, with his own hand. Which was a ſingular Piece of Self-denial, and ſuch as is rarely found in Story: There being very few that ſo much preferr the Publick before their own Private Intereſt, as not to ſpare their own Fleſh and Blood. However, tho' perhaps it might be Juſtice in the Duke that prevail'd with him, yet it look'd ſo much like Revenge, that it was by moſt Men judg'd Unnatural, and took no leſs from the Honour of his Juſtice, than t'other intended to have taken from the Prerogative of his Honour; and ſo ſhook the Frame of his Authority, that it broke in Pieces preſently after: For both Papiſts and Proteſtants falling off from him, he was expos'd to the Cunning of *Warwick*, and the Scorn of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who were both his Irreconcileable Enemies, and had ſecretly fomented the Difference between him and his Brother, aggravating his Crimes in Parliament, and helping forward his Condemnation, that they might the better afterwards Effect the Ruine of the Defenceleſs Duke. The Papiſts quitting him, as believing the Obligation ceas'd by which, when he ceas'd by whom, they were held in; having been.

been true to him no otherwiſe, but for his Brothers ſake only. The Proteſtants fail'd him, becauſe they doubted he might fail them: For how could they think he would give them any Aſſiſtance, that had given ſo little to his own Brother? Thus when two great Trees grow up together out of one and the ſame ſtock, we ſee that the cutting down of the one, commonly Endangers the blowing down of the other; which remaining ſingle, and Expos'd to ev'ry Storm, cannot ſtand, unleſs it have a firm ground, as well as a ſpreading Root. Neither were there ſome wanting to do him the kind Office (tho' he would not hear them ſo as to take their Advice) as to tell him his Brothers Faults proceeding from the violence of Youthful heat, might far better be pardon'd, than the King left deſtitute of an Uncle's help, or himſelf of a Brothers; adviſing him before he proceeded to this utmoſt Severity with the Admiral, to have a heedful Regard to what he did: Telling him, That ſome might perhaps be willing to let an Offending Brother ſhed ſome Tears; but to ſhed his Blood when they could prevent it, ſcarce any: And that it was much to be fear'd leſt his Brothers Death would be his Ruine, and the loſs of ſuch Friends a hazard to the King. 'Tis true, there were others that us'd Arguments on the other ſide: Theſe highly extoll'd his Impartial Proceedings, whom Fraternal Affection could not divert from doing Right to his Country; maintaining the Neceſſity of cutting off the Admiral, and that it ſtood the Protector upon ſo to do, if he either regarded his own, or the Kings Safety: For (ſaid they) at what other mark did the Admiral Aim, but that having ſeiz'd on the King's Perſon, remov'd his Brother from the Protectorſhip, and Married the Lady *Elizabeth*, he might by Poyſon, or ſome other means, make away the young King, already depriv'd of his Friends, and as in the Right of his Wife, inveſt himſelf in the Royal Throne; to which the Lady *Mary*, (altho' the Elder Siſter) as Inceſtuouſly begotten, could make no Claim. The Subſtance of this being deliver'd in a Sermon before the King, by Biſhop *Latimer*: For whom, tho' I have a very great Eſteem, as being one of our Worthy Martyrs in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; yet I muſt here take the Liberty to ſay, the Biſhop was buſied beſides his Buſineſs, and was a far better Divine than a Stateſman: For had he kept only to his own Province, the King might have been preſerv'd from the Secret Deſigns of *Northumberland*, and then the good Biſhop might alſo have eſcap'd that Fiery Trial which he afterwards went thorow.

But tho' the Protector took the Advice of the laſt, (by which the Admiral was cut off) yet the Event ſhewed, that the firſt was the beſt Counſel; for it was not long that the Protector bore up after his Brother's Fall. The great Care he took to build his Houſe (*Somerſet-Houſe* in the *Strand*, from him

him ſo called) being no leſs fatal to him, than the little Care he had to Support his Family: For he had pulled down ſeveral Churches, Chappels, and other Religious Houſes, for the Building thereof; which raiſed a great Cry againſt him; the People Ecchoing to the Defamation, and charging him with the Guilt of Sacriledge ſo furiouſly, that he was forced to quit the place, and retire with the King to *Windſor*, leaving his Enemies in Poſſeſſion of the Strength of the City, as well as the Affections of the Citizens, as we ſhall preſently ſhew.

The Tumults and Inſurrections that had happened in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, upon the Account of the Reformation, the People being ſtirred up by thoſe that were the Enemies thereof, and the Loſſes that happened in *France*, brought the Protector into Diſcredit among the Vulgar, and afforded ſufficient matter for Envy to work on. Amongſt the Lords of the Privy Council, the moſt Eminent was the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a vaſt Spirit, which was the more inlarged by the Contemplation of his great Actions performed both abroad and at home. This Man had long look'd a Squint on *Somerſet*'s Greatneſs; and having a high Opinion of his own Abilities, thought *Somerſet* much beneath him; and was ſtrongly perſwaded, that if he could but remove the Duke, his own Merits would make himſelf ſtand faireſt for the Protectorſhip. To which, the Conſideration of the Duke's Nakedneſs (being now diſarmed of his Brother that ſhould have ſupported him) was no little Encouragement to him to attempt it. Which brings to mind that of the Poet:

*——— En quo Diſcordia Fratres,*
*Per duxit Miſeros!———*

*——— O ſee the Fatal Ill,*
*When Brother yields his Brother's Blood to ſpill!*

But whilſt *Warwick* was curious and buſie to find out matter to lay to the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Charge, the Duke comes to hear of his Deſigns: Who finding himſelf the Mark that was aimed at, and yet not being certain whether by force of Arms, or under a Pretence of Law and Juſtice, the Earl of *Warwick* intended to Aſſail him; the King and the Protector being then at *Hampton-Court*, the Protector diſpatched Letters to the Citizens of *London*, requiring them forthwith to make ready a Thouſand Men in Arms, and ſend them to him, wherewith he might defend the King's Perſon and himſelf, from the Treachery and Violence intended againſt them. Then in the Country round about *Hampton-Court*, he got a Select Band, and conveyed the King to *Windſor* the ſame night, attended by ſome of the Nobility, and ſome of the Council; *Windſor* being a place much better Fortified, and far more ſtrong, and able to make reſiſtance, than *Hampton-Court*. But the Earl of

*Warwick*,

*Warwick*, at the ſame time, had gathered together the greateſt part of the Lords of the Council now at *London*, and there made many Complaints againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, beſeeching them, by their Aſſiſtance, to ſecure him from the Protector's Malice, who ſought to intrap him for his Life; accuſing the Duke of that Crime which he himſelf was guilty of.

The Lords hereupon ſend their Letters alſo to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, to Levy Forces, and ſend them to them, for the Delivery of the King's Perſon out of the Hands of his Enemy; for ſo they were pleaſed to ſtile the Protector; and withal, publiſhed Proclamations, wherein they laid to his Charge many hainous Crimes, as, That the Protector had greatly diſturbed the Commonwealth, which King *Henry*, at his Death, left in the midſt of Peace and Tranquility: That he had done this, by ſcattering abroad ſecretly the Seeds of Contention; and ſo had been the cauſe of the Death of many Thouſands of Men, who periſhed in the late Civil Broils and Diſſentions: That many Fortifications, and places of Defence, which King *Henry* had conquered with the hazard of his Perſon, were now utterly loſt, through either the Cowardiſe, Sloth, or Treachery of the Protector: That he ſlighted and contemned the reſt of the Lords of the Council, and regarded not their Advice in any Matters of State; and had totally neglected King *Henry*'s Inſtructions concerning the Government of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*: And that it had been his only Study and Care to make himſelf Great, and increaſe his own Wealth: That he endeavoured to ſet the Peers of the Realm at Variance amongſt themſelves; and that he had taken to be Attendants about his Perſon, a ſort of Factious Companions, who might be at his Beck upon all Occaſions: That he was employed about building for himſelf ſtately Palaces, far exceeding the Proportion of a Subject, how great ſoever he were; and that even in the very Inſtant that the State did Shrink under the Burthen both of Inteſtine and Foreign Wars.

The Protector had notice of all theſe Paſſages, and perceiving himſelf to be forſaken of all ſides, (for the *Londoners* being prepoſſeſſed by *Warwick* and his Party, were ſo far from ſupplying him, that they had ſent his Adverſary 500 Men; and the greateſt part of the Nobility had, by joyning with the Earl, made their Cauſe one) he forſook himſelf alſo, for want of that Reſolution which he ought to have had, and deſiring of his Enemies that they would abſtain from all Violence and illegal Courſes, and proceed againſt him only according to Law; he delivered up the King to their Tuition, and committed himſelf to their Diſpoſal; by whom he was ſoon after committed to the Tower, and the King brought to *Hampton-Court*, where ſeven of the Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by Turns to attend upon the Kings Perſon.

Perſon: The Lords were the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords *Ruſſel*, *St. John*, *Wentworth*; the Knights were Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Thomas Worth*. And as for the Affairs of State, they were to be governed by the whole Body of the Council.

The Duke of *Somerſet* (now no more Protector) having been kept a Priſoner in the Tower for three Months, and all the Scrutiny that *Warwick* and the reſt of his Enemies could make, not being ſufficient to Convict him of any Crime worthy of Death; and it not being thought fit, that ſo great a Perſon as the Duke, who was ſo lately Protector of the King and Realm, ſhould for a ſmall Offence be condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, he was under-hand dealt with to ſubmit himſelf, and acknowledge that he had deſerved this, or whatſoever greater Puniſhment the King ſhould be-pleaſed to inflict upon him, and withal, to implore his Majeſties Royal Clemency. To this the Duke eaſily condeſcended, and was, on the ſixth of *February*, ſet at Liberty, but not reſtored to the Dignity of Protector, only contenting himſelf with the place of a Privy Counſellor.

But it being conceived that Revenge might draw the Duke to new Practiſes, he is, by the Mediation of Friends, reconciled to the Earl of *Warwick*; and that his Attonement might be the more firm and ſincere, the Dukes Daughter is Married to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, the King gracing the Nuptials with his Preſence. *Thuanus* tells us, That the Earl, by ſeeming deſirous of the Reſtitution of the Romiſh Religion, had gained the good Opinion of all that were againſt the Reformation; and that his Diſſimulation herein being diſcovered, and fearing leſt he ſhould be forſaken of them whom he had deluded with falſe hopes; the Conſideration thereof, and of the Dukes mild and free Diſpoſition, would indear him to them: To prevent which danger, he contrived this Alliance with the Duke, and procured his Liberty.

But whatever ſeeming Agreement there was between them, it is certain that *Warwick* (who upon this pretended Reconciliation was created Duke of *Northumberland*) ſtill retained his former Malice againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, whom he well knew to be a Man of much Integrity, and truly Faithful and Loyal to the King, and for that very reaſon hated him; for he had formed ſuch high Deſigns, that no honeſt Subject would ever give way to; and tho' the Duke was now no longer Protector, yet he had that Favour of the King, and was generally ſo well beloved of the People, that *Northumberland* (for ſo we muſt henceforth call him) knew he both would and was capable of obſtructing his Deſigns, and therefore found it was neceſſary, in order to bring about what he ſecretly deſigned, to have *Somerſet* removed. So that by many Injuries daily offered by *Northumberland* to him, their ill-cemented Friendſhip

ſhip broke out into open Enmity, and inſtead of healing, the Sore grew worſe and worſe: Inſomuch that *Somerſet*, a Man of an extraordinary mild and good Nature, provoked with the continual Injuries of *Dudley*, (for Patience too much wronged, turns at laſt to Fury) began to conſider by what means he might make away his Enemy. And after ſome thoughts about it, reſolved, under pretence of viſiting the Duke of *Northumberland* in friendly manner, to execute his intended purpoſe; having therefore put on a privy Coat of Mail, and brought along with him other Armed Men, whom he left in an outer Chamber, he went in to ſee his Enemy, purpoſing to kill him: But being admitted to him, and finding him naked and unarmed, lying upon his Couch, and being received by him with all Humanity and friendly Reſpect, his Heart preſently failed him, ſo that he would not execute what he purpoſely came for, leaving the Duke of *Northumberland* as he found him. At his Departure, one of thoſe that he brought along with him, asked him *if he had done the Feat?* And the Duke anſwered, *No.* He replied, *Then you are Undone.* And ſo it proved, for this very thing was his Ruin, they that were privy to it betraying him. So that now again he is publickly accuſed: And the matter being revealed to the Lords of the Council, they ſend him preſently to the Tower, where he is committed, with the Dutcheſs his Wife, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and ſeveral other of his Friends.

And being afterwards brought to his Tryal in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he is arraigned for a double Crime, for Treaſon againſt the State, which he is charged to have not only ill, but treacherouſly managed, and for a Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. Of the Treaſon he cleared himſelf, and his Peers acquitted him: But for the Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*, he could not deny it; and ſo was condemned by Vertue of a Law made in the third Year of *Hen.* 7. which made the very Intent and Imagination of Killing a Privy Counſellor puniſhable by Death. But this Law was too much ſtrained to bring the Duke within it, for tho' it is Felony for inferior Perſons to contrive the Death of a Lord of the Council, yet Lords are therein expreſly excepted. But there is one thing wherein I cannot but think the Duke very much wanting to himſelf, and that is, that he did not Exempt himſelf from a Felonious Death, by Craving the Benefit of his Clergy; Or if he thought not of it himſelf, yet it is ſtrange that ſo great a Man, whoſe Nephew was then Reigning, ſhould be ſo deſtitute of Learned Advice. But ſuch were the Times, and ſuch his Misfortunes in the Minority of his Prince.

I cannot here but remark the Great Affections of the People to this Unfortunate Nobleman, ſhewn by this one inſtance:

Upon

Upon the Dukes being cleared of the Guilt of Treaſon, the Fatal Ax, uſually carried before Traytors to the Bar, was laid aſide; which the People ſeeing, and thinking he had been wholly cleared, gave ſuch an exceeding Shout for Joy, as not only made the Hall to ring, but was heard beyond *Charing-Croſs* almoſt half a Mile from the Hall. At which the Nobles were not a little terrified, at ſo great a Teſtimony of the Peoples Affection towards the Duke. Which perhaps might be one cauſe that his Execution was ſo long deferred.

The Duke being condemned, the People ſpake very diverſly of the Proceedings of the Lords, generally murmuring againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*. And even the King himſelf was very uneaſie, tho' *Northumberland*, and his Accomplices, took all the Care they could to divert him from thoſe Melancholly Reflexions which they were conſcious to themſelves they had given him cauſe to make. Notwithſtanding which, after the Duke had been condemned about two Months, he was brought to his Execution, tho' the King had earneſtly laboured to divert the Stroke.

Whether it were that the Lords were afraid the Duke ſhould be Reſcued, or for what other Reaſons I know not, but ſo it was, that the Conſtables of every Ward (according to a Precept directed from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor) ſtrictly charged every Citizen in the City, not to let any depart out of their Houſes before Ten a Clock that day; tho' for all thoſe Orders, *Tower-Hill* was filled with People by Seven. Before it was Eight, the Duke was brought thither, incloſed with the Kings Guards, the Sheriffs Officers, the Warders of the Tower, and others with Halberds; and very Undauntedly, and with a chearful Countenance, aſcended the Scaffold: Where falling upon his Knees, and ſpending a little time in his private Devotion, he roſe up, and thus beſpake the People:

*Being by the Law Condemned, I here willingly ſubmit my ſelf by Exemplary Puniſhment, to ſatiſfie its Rigor. That GOD hath been pleaſed to grant me ſo long a Preparative to my End, I humbly thank his Eternal Goodneſs: But in that he hath been farther pleaſed to inſpire me with the Knowledge of his Truth, and to make me an Inſtrument for the Propagation of the ſame, I can never ſufficiently magnifie his Mercies. In this I do rejoyce, in this only do I triumph; Beſeeching him, that his Church in this Realm, being now Reformed according to the Inſtitution of the Ancient Primitive, the Members thereof may Conform their Lives according to the Purity of its received Doctrine.*

The Duke would have ſaid more, but a ſtrange and ſudden Conſternation and Cry of the People interrupted him, who being poſſeſſed with Pannick Terror, as it were with an unanimous Conſent cried out, *Fly quickly, fly.* So that of that infinite Multitude which the Expectation of the Dukes Death had drawn together, there was ſcarce any kept their place;

and

and ſo whilſt each one ſought to ſhift for themſelves, many were extreamly preſt, many trodden to death, and thoſe that eſcaped beſt, were almoſt dead with fear of they knew not what, for indeed there was no other danger but what their own Fears created: But from whence their Fears proceeded, there was none could tell. One ſaid he heard a terrible Crack of Thunder; another, the noiſe of a Troop of Horſe; and ſome, over Credulous, were willing to believe what they deſired, and affirmed, that Meſſengers were come with a Pardon for the Duke. But they were all Miſtaken, for the truth of the Matter was, That ſome of the Tower-Hamlets that had been warned to come and guard the Duke to the Scaffold, finding they were with the lateſt, haſtened each other with ſaying, *Away, Away.* And theſe being armed, and coming together in a full Body, were miſtaken by thoſe that were outermoſt, who ſeeing them running, and hearing them Cry, *Away, Away,* ſtraight apprehended ſome Danger, and cryed in like manner to them that were before them, till at laſt they were all alarmed, tho' none knew why. The People being at length quieted, and the Duke beginning to finiſh his Speech, he was a ſecond time interrupted by the Noiſe of the People, who ſeeing Sir *Anthony Brown* come Riding a Gallop, gave a great Shout, and cried out, *A Pardon, a Pardon; GOD Save the King.* But theſe were alſo miſtaken, for it was no ſuch matter. The Duke expreſſed great Conſtancy at both theſe times, intreating them to be quiet, that he might with a more compoſed Spirit depart out of the World. *For,* ſaid he, *I have often looked Death in the Face in the Field, in the midſt of the greateſt Dangers, ſo that now he is no Stranger to me. And among the Vain Deluſions of this World, I repent of nothing, more than eſteeming my Life more dear than I ſhould. I have undergone the Hatred of great Perſons, which has been ſo much the more Dangerous, becauſe Unjuſt. I have alſo incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of Inferiours, tho' not for any great Faults of my own, (tho' I never pretended to be free from Faults) but my Fault was moſt in giving way to the Faults of others; and now being conſtantly reſolved, I neither fear to die, nor deſire to live; and having overcome all Grief in my ſelf, I deſire no Man to grieve for me.* And ſo having declared his Faith in GOD, and his Faithfulneſs to the King, he recommended his Soul to God by Prayer, and then yielded his Body into the hands of the Executioner, ſuffering with admirable Conſtancy, neither by Voice, Geſture, or Countenance, ſhewing himſelf any way dejected or moved at the approach of Death; the Executioner at one Blow putting an End to that Life, which was indeed the Preſervation of the Kings. For he was a Pious Juſt Man, very Zealous in point of Reformation, very Solicitous for the Kings Safety, and every way good and careful of the Publick Weal. The only Fault imputed to him was, that he was a little tainted with the Epidemick Diſtemper of thoſe Times, who thought it

Religion to Reform the Church as well in its Exuberancy of Means, as of Superſtitious Ceremonies. But this was a Fault complained of chiefly by Church-men, and we know Intereſt will not lie. That his Death was generally lamented, is certain; inſomuch that many dipped Handkerchiefs in his Blood, and kept them as Sacred Relicks. Which was eſpecially remarkable in one good Woman, who two Years after, when the Duke of *Northumberland* was led Priſoner through the City, for his Oppoſition againſt Queen *Mary*, ran to him in the Streets, and ſhaking out her Bloody Handkerchief before him, *Behold* (ſaid ſhe) *the Blood of that Worthy Man, the good Unkle of that Excellent King, which being ſhed by thy Treacherous Machination, now at this inſtant begins to revenge it ſelf upon thee.* And indeed, almoſt as many as lamented the Death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, rejoyced at the Fall of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of which I ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak in the next Reign.

The good Duke of *Somerſet* being thus taken out of the way, there was now none left to oppoſe *Northumberland*, nor hinder him from Proſecuting his Ambitious Deſigns. For the Nobility obſerving on one hand, that he was able to endanger the State of the greateſt; and on the other, that the more reſpect they ſhewed to him, the more ſafely they lived, and the more eaſily they were advanced to Honour, they all ſtrove who ſhould humour him moſt; and would obſerve his Words, Geſtures and Looks, to do that as of themſelves, which they thought he had a deſire they ſhould do.

But King *Edward*, tho' he did not publickly diſcover his Grief for the Death of his Unkle, as not thinking it agreeable to Majeſty openly to declare himſelf: And tho' the Lords did what they could to divert him from all Melancholy Thoughts, yet upon the very mention of him afterwards, he would often ſigh, and let fall Tears: Sometimes being of Opinion that he had done nothing that deſerved Death; or if he had, that it was very ſmall, and proceeded rather from his Wife than from himſelf. *And where then*, ſaid he, *was the goood Nature of a Nephew? Where was the Clemency of a Prince? Ah how unfortunate have I been to thoſe of my Blood? My Mother I ſlew at my very Birth, and ſince have made away two of her Brothers, and perhaps to make way for the purpoſes of others againſt my ſelf. Was it ever known before, that a Kings Unkle, a Lord Protector, one whoſe Fortunes had much advanced the Honour of the Realm, did loſe his Head for Felony? For a Felony neither clear in Law, and in Fact weakly proved? Alas, how falſely have I been abuſed? How little was I Maſter over my own Judgment? That both his Death, and the Envy thereof, muſt be charged upon me.* Thus would the Afflicted King ſometimes bemoan himſelf.

Not long after the Death of *Somerſet*, becauſe it was not thought fit ſuch a Perſon ſhould be Executed alone, who could hardly

hardly be thought to offend alone, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hang'd on *Tower-hill*, and Sir *Michael Stanhop* and Sir *Thomas Arundel* were there alſo beheaded. All theſe, at the place of Execution, did take GOD to witneſs, that they never practiſed any thing againſt the King, or any of his Council. Sir *Thomas Arundel* farther ſaying, *That his Blood would make* Northumberland's *Pillow uneaſie to him.* So that in the Opinion of all Men, *Somerſet* was much cleared by the Death of thoſe Men that were Executed to make him appear guilty.

The Lord *Paget* having been ſent to the Tower ſome time before, *Garter* King at Arms is ſent to take from him the *George* and *Garter*, and to diſcharge him of that Order. The Pretence of this Diſhonour, was, becauſe he was no Gentleman of Blood, neither by Father nor Mother. But the Secret yet true Reaſon was, that *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, wanted it, to whom it was ſoon after given. And conſidering to what a height *Northumberland*'s Ambition was grown, that was Reaſon enough.

In the beginning of the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, that Indiſpoſition of Body which the King had before complained of, did apparently increaſe and ſhew it ſelf, eſpecially by the Symptom of a tough, ſtrong, and ſtraining Cough, and all the Medicines and Diet which could be preſcribed, were ſo far from either Curing or Abating his Diſtemper, that it daily increaſed by dangerous Degrees; for he had a Weakneſs and Faintneſs of Spirit, which plainly ſhewed his Vital Parts were ſtrongly Aſſaulted. And the Talk of the People was, that his Sickneſs was the Effect of a ſlow working Poiſon: But whether it was ſo, or that it was only the Defluxion of a ſharp Rheum upon the Lungs, as others affirm, certain it is, That as the King's Sickneſs increaſed, ſo did the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Diligence about him; for he was little abſent from the King, and had always ſome well-aſſured Creatures of his, to give him notice how the ſtate of his Health changed every Hour; and it was obſerved, that the more Joyful the Duke was at the Heart, the more Sorrowful Appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any Tokens of Poiſon did appear, Reports are various, but this is certain, his Phyſicians diſcerned an invincible Malignity in his Diſeaſe, and the Suſpicion did the more increaſe, becauſe the Complaint ariſing chiefly from the Lights, a part, as of no quick Senſe, ſo no Seat for any Sharp Diſeaſe, yet his Sickneſs, towards the end, grew highly Extream. But the Duke was above the regard of the muttering Multitude; well enough knowing that ſuch Rumours ſoon blow over; and yet to divert them for the preſent, he cauſed it to be ſpread abroad, that the King was well recovered, which was as readily believed, as earneſtly deſired. But this did but aggravate their Trouble, when they were again undeceived, and cauſed them to open

their Mouths the wider: Complaining that for this Cauſe his two Unkles had been taken away, and for this Cauſe the moſt faithful of his Nobility and of his Council were diſgrac'd and remov'd from Court. And that this was the reaſon that ſuch were plac'd next his Perſon, who were moſt aſſuredly diſpos'd either to commit, or at leaſt permit, any Miſchief: That then it did appear that it was not vainly conjectur'd ſome years before, by Men of Judgment and Foreſight, that after *Somerſet*'s Death, the King would not long Enjoy his Life.

To abate theſe Clamours, which carried in them too great an Appearance of Truth, it was thought convenient that the King ſometimes ſhould ſhew himſelf abroad, tho' it was but little for his Pleaſure or his Health: Which yet is no more than in long Conſuming Sickneſſes Men are able to do, even to the laſt period of Life.

But whilſt the King remain'd thus grievouſly ſick, divers great Marriages were Solemniz'd at once in *Durham* Place, *viz.* The Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s fourth Son, was Married to the Lady *Jane Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Eldeſt Daughter, by *Frances* Daughter to *Mary*, Second Siſter to King *Henry* the Eighth; and the Duke of *Suffolk*'s ſecond Daughter, *Katharine*, was Married to the Lord *Henry*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Pembrook*; and *Mary*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s youngeſt Daughter, who was ſomewhat crooked, was Married to *Martin Key*, the Groom Porter. And laſtly, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Daughter, *Katharine*, was Married to the Lord *Haſtings*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*. Theſe Marriages open'd many Mouths againſt *Northumberland*, all whoſe Actions were grown diſtaſteful to the Common People. The Truth is, the Nobility underſtanding by the Phyſicians that the Kings Caſe was deſperate, began every one to project his own Ends. The Duke of *Northumberland*, as he was more potent than the reſt, ſo did his Ambition fly higher. It was ſomewhat ſtrange indeed, that being not able to pretend ſo much as a ſhadow of Right to the Crown, he ſhould dream of confirming the Succeſſion of it in his Family. But ſurely he that Soars ſo high, cann't chuſe but ſinge his Wings, like *Phaeton*, who undertook, as Poets feign, to rule the Fiery Courſers of the Sun.

But let us ſee a little how *Northumberland* will clear his way to theſe his great Deſigns, and take away thoſe Obſtacles that ſeem ſo evidently to oppoſe him; the firſt of which are *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; but as to theſe, he doubted not by Reaſons drawn from both their queſtionable Births, to have them both excluded. And as to *Margaret*, the Eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, the next Claimer, he was as little Solicitous; for by reaſon of our continual Hatred to, and Enmity againſt the *Scots*, he thought that any ſhew of

Reaſon

Reaſon would put her by. In the next place, (theſe being already removed) regard is to be had to the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* Dowager of *France*, and Second Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; who, her two Brothers then alive, had been Married to *Henry Gray*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*; but the two Brothers dying of the Sweating-Sickneſs, the Marqueſs, in Right of his Wife, is created Duke of *Suffolk*; and this would have been another ſtop to his Ambition, had he not remov'd it by imparting his Deſigns to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and deſiring a Match might be concluded between his Son *Guilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane Gray*, the Dukes Eldeſt Daughter: Which Match we have heard was lately conſummated. And becauſe if only Right of Inheritance ſhould be pretended, the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* were in reaſon to be preferr'd before her Daughter, he undertakes to perſwade the King not only to Diſ-inherit his Sifters by Will and Teſtament, but alſo by the ſame to declare the Lady *Jane* his next and immediate Succeſſor. And it was *Suffolk*'s biting at this Bait, that brought about the late Marriages; complotting between them by drawing the Chiefeſt of the Nobility to Contract Affinity either with the one, or the other, to procure the General Aſſent of them all. It was not therefore without reaſon that the People murmur'd at theſe Marriages; for they knew that *Northumberland* had ſome Secret Deſign in all that he did.

Having brought matters thus to a deſired Paſs, nothing now remained but to act his Part with the Languiſhing King: To him he inculcates in what danger the State of the Church would be, if before he dyed he did not firſt make Proviſion for a Pious Succeſſor, and ſuch a one as ſhould maintain the Religion now Eſtabliſhed: How the Lady *Mary* ſtood affected, it was well known; and tho' of the Lady *Elizabeth* there might perhaps be better hopes; yet their Caſes were ſo much the ſame, that either both muſt be excluded, or the Lady *Mary* admitted: *That it was the part of a Religious and good Prince to ſet apart all reſpects of Blood, where GOD's Glory, and the Publick Good might be Endangered: That they who ſhould do otherwiſe, were after this Life, which is ſhort, to expect Revenge at GOD's dreadful Tribunal, where they are to undergo the Tryal either of Eternal Life, or Eternal Death. That the Duke of* Suffolk *had three Daughters neareſt to him in degrees of Blood: They were ſuch as their Vertues and Birth did Commend; and from whom the Violation of Religion, or the danger of a Foreign Yoak by any Match, was not to be feared; foraſmuch as their Education had been Religious; they had as it were with their Milk ſuck'd in the Spiritual Food of true Chriſtian Doctrine, and were alſo Matched to Husbands as Zealous of the Truth as themſelves. He could wiſh, and would adviſe, that theſe might be ſucceſſively called to the Crown; but with this Caution, That they ſhould maintain the now Eſtabliſhed Religion. And altho'*

*Lady* Jane, *the Eldeſt of the Three, were Married to his Son, yet he would be content that they ſhould be bound by Oath to perform whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould decree; for he had not ſo much regard to his own, as the General Good.*

Theſe were the Reaſons which he uſed to the King, to bring about his own Deſigns; and indeed he hit the Nail on the Head, for the Pious King had ſo great a Regard to the maintenance of the true Religion, and the Eſtabliſhing of the begun Reformation, that he was willing to do any thing that might contribute towards it; and the declared and well-known Enmity of his Sifter *Mary* againſt it, made him afraid of her Succeeding him. So that the Duke under the Specious Guiſe of Maintaining the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, ſo far prevail'd with the King, that he made his Will, and therein, as much as in him lay, excluded both his Sifters from the Succeſſion to the Crown, and all others whomſoever, beſide the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughters: Nor was the particular Affection and intire Love the King bare to his Couſin the Lady *Jane*, a ſmall Inducement to him herein, for ſhe was indeed a Woman of rare and incomparable Perfections; who beſides her Excellent Beauty, was adorn'd with all Variety of Vertues, like a clear Sky with Stars, or as a Royal Diadem with precious Jewels. She was alſo moſt dear to him, in regard both of her Religion and her Education; for in the Knowledge of the Liberal Sciences, her Skill in Languages, in Theology, in Philoſophy, in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and in the Vulgar Languages of Divers Nations, ſhe far Exceeded all of her Sex, and any of her years, unleſs the King himſelf.

Hereupon the King conſented that Letters Patents ſhould be drawn, importing that in caſe the King ſhould dye without Iſſue of his Body lawfully begotten, then the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, with his Title to the Crown of *France*, and all things to them belonging, ſhould remain and come to the Eldeſt Son of the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Lady *Mary*, youngeſt Sifter to *Henry* the Seventh, in caſe ſuch Iſſue ſhould be born into the World during the Life of King *Edward*; and afterwards to the Heirs Male of the ſaid Iſſue; and in like ſort from Son to Son of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, as they ſhould be in Priority of Birth, and born during the King's Life; and in default of ſuch Son, and of Heirs Male of every ſuch Son, lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Crown, and all the Premiſes, ſhould remain and come to the Lady *Jane*, Eldeſt Daughter to the ſaid Lady *Frances*, and the Heirs Male of her, lawfully begotten; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Lady *Katharine*, Second Daughter to the ſaid Lady *Frances*, with divers other remainders; which, as they were vainly appointed, are needleſs to be repeated. Theſe Letters were dated the 21*th* of *June*, in the Seventh year of King *Edward*'s Reign,

Reign, and by him ſigned when he was under great debility and weakneſs of Body, and afterwards paſſed under the Great-Seal of *England*. And for all the many Proviſo's therein, the Contrivance was viſible enough, and the hand of *Northumberland* found to be in it: Firſt, Becauſe ſuch Proviſion was made for the Iſſue Male of the Lady *Frances*, who neither had any ſuch Iſſue, nor was ever like to have any, being reputed to be paſt Child-bearing. Secondly, Tho' ſhe ſhou'd conceive beyond the Ordinary Courſe of Nature, yet the King's Health was ſo much impaired, that nothing leſs than a Miracle cou'd preſerve his Life to the Birth. And laſtly, It cou'd not but ſeem ſtrange, that the Children of the Lady *Frances*, born and to be born, ſhould be ſo carefully provided for, and ſo orderly remembred, and yet that ſhe her ſelf, from whom their Title muſt be derived, ſhould be forgotten. This could have no other meaning then to make way for the Lady *Jane*, the Wife of *Northumberland*'s Son. And yet theſe Letters were ſubſcribed by all the Privy-Counſellors, the greateſt part of the Nobility of the Realm, the Biſhops, the King's Learned Council, and all the Judges at the Common-Law, except only Sir *James Holles*, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, who had the report of an upright and Religious Man; who worthily refuſed to ſubſcribe, and was unworthily requited by Queen *Mary* afterwards. But tho' all ſubſcrib'd, yet it was out of different ends, ſome becauſe they were poſſeſs'd of Monaſteries, Chanteries, and Religious Houſes, which they were afraid of loſing, if Queen *Mary* came to the Throne; and this I believe had no ſmall Influence upon many. Others were drawn to ſubſcribe partly through fear, and partly by Obligations they had to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was then very potent, and almoſt abſolute in the Government of the State, and ſuppos'd able to make any Title good, either by his Authority, or by his Sword. And ſome few might perhaps ſign it for the ſame reaſon that the King did, *viz.* To ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Reformed Religion.

But whatever Mens Motives were, the Duke having thus obtained his Deſign, and carried on his Point ſo far, nothing now remained, but that the King ſhould not any longer ſurvive; leſt his Sickly Judgment might be over-rul'd by ſounder Advice. His Diſeaſe was Violent, but his Phyſicians conceived ſome hope of Recovery, in caſe he might be removed to change of Healthful Air; which in Infirmities of the Vital Parts, the Seat of his Sickneſs, is of greateſt moment for the Cure. But the Council were unwilling to conſent thereto; and ſo the King continued without any ſenſible mending or impairing for a time. At laſt a Gentlewoman of *Northumberland*'s procuring, who it ſeems was a kind of a School-Miſtreſs, came and offered her Service to Cure him of his Sickneſs, if ſhe might have him committed wholly to

her hands; but the Phyſicians were utterly againſt it, becauſe as ſhe could give no account either of the Nature of the Diſeaſe, or of the Part afflicted; ſo ſhe would not declare by what means ſhe intended to work the Cure.

After ſome ſhew of Deliberation among the Council, it was reſolved that the Phyſicians ſhould be diſcharged, and the Cure committed to her alone. But her want both of Judgment and Experience, made many juſtly admire that the King's Life ſhould be put into her hand: But there was no need of admiring at it, by thoſe that conſider'd who 'twas that preſided at the Council-Table. Indeed moſt ſuſpected ſhe was but an Inſtrument of Miſchief, and the Event ſhew'd they had but too much reaſon for it; for ſoon after this, the King's Diſtemper increaſed upon him to the utmoſt Extremity; his Vital Parts were ſtuffed up, his Legs ſwell'd, his Pulſe fail'd, his Skin changed Colour, and many other horrid Symptoms appeared.

And now the Phyſicians were called again; who ſeeing the King in ſuch a ſad Condition, departed from him with a Mournful Silence, leaving him to the miſerable Mercy of a near-approaching Death: Whiſpering among their private Friends, that they were called only for faſhion ſake; but neither their Advice nor Applications at all regarded. Nay, they affirm'd that the King had been ill dealt with more than once; and that when by the Benefit of his Youth, and the Application of proper means, there was a likelihood of his Recovery, they found him ſtrangely brought back on a ſudden, and all their care render'd frnitleſs by ſome new Meaſures that had been taken.

And now the Duke of *Northumberland* has but one thing more to do, to render his Deſigns ſecure; and that now ſeems of greateſt Importance: And that is, to draw the Lady *Mary* (from whom only he expected Oppoſition) into his Power. To which purpoſe Letters were directed to her in the King's Name from the Council, willing her forthwith to reſort to the King, as well to be a Comfort to him in his Sickneſs, as to ſee all matters well order'd about him. The Lady *Mary* not ſuſpecting the Trap the Duke was laying for her, addreſs'd her ſelf with all ſpeed for her Journey; expreſſing great joy, that either her Company or her Service ſhould be eſteem'd needful to the King; but as ſhe was upon the way, and within half a Days Journey of *London*, her Foot juſt ready to ſlip into the Snare, ſhe received Advice both of the King's deſperate Eſtate, and of the Dukes Deſign againſt her. Whereupon ſhe returned in haſte to her Houſe at *Houſden*, where in a ſhort time ſhe heard how unprofitable her Journey would have been to her, had ſhe come to *London*.

And now the good King having long wreſtled with a lingring and tormenting Sickneſs, at laſt his Spirits yielded to the

the Motion of his Diſeaſe; which as he endured with great Patience, ſo he ended his Life with no leſs Piety. And ſince in all our Secret Hiſtory we have not hitherto been able to give the Reader any Account of one King that died well, let me now preſent him with a Novelty, in the Account of the Death of King *Edward* the Sixth.

King *Edward* Died at *Greenwich* on *Thurſday* the Sixth of *July*, in the Seventeenth year of his Age, having Reigned Six Years, Five Months, and Nineteen Days: And in that Tender Age gave great proofs of his Vertue. He was a Prince of great Devotion, Conſtancy of Mind, love of the Truth, and incredibly Studious, Vertues which ſeldom concur with Royal Greatneſs. About three hours before his Death, not thinking any one had been preſent to over-hear him, he thus commended himſelf to God:

## King *Edward's* laſt Prayer.

O *LORD GOD, free me, I beſeech Thee, out of this Miſerable and Calamitous Life, and receive me among the Number of Thine Elect, if ſo it be Thy Pleaſure: Altho' not mine, but Thy Will be done. To Thee, O LORD, do I commend my Spirit. Thou knoweſt, O LORD, how happy I ſhall be, may I live with Thee in Heaven. Yet would I might live, and be well for Thy Elect's ſake, that I might faithfully ſerve Thee. O LORD GOD, bleſs Thy People, and ſave Thine Inheritance. O LORD GOD, ſave Thy People of* England, *defend this Kingdom from Popery, and preſerve Thy True Religion in it, that I and my People may bleſs Thy moſt holy Name, for Thy Son Jeſus Chriſt.*

Then opening his Eyes, which he had hitherto cloſed, and ſeeing Doctor *Owen* the Phyſician (from whoſe Report we have this Prayer) ſitting by: *Are you there?* ſaid the King; *I had not thought you had been ſo near.* The Doctor anſwer'd, *I heard you ſpeak, but could not collect your Words. Indeed* (ſaid the King) I *was making my Prayer to GOD.* A little after, he ſuddenly cried out, I *faint*; *LORD have Mercy upon me, and receive my Soul*: Which words he had no ſooner uttered, but he departed.

Much might be ſaid in the Praiſe of this Prince, who was too good to live long; and would have been the Phœnix of our *Engliſh* Kings, had he had time to proſecute his Intentions, and mature his Genius; but the Sun did in him ſhine too bright in the Morning: GOD gave *England* only the Repreſentation of a good King, but we did not thankfully receive him; and therefore GOD in Judgment would not let us be bleſt with him long. Yet in his ſhort Reign Religion began to Revive, Liberty to bud forth, the People to peep out of their Graves of Slavery and Bondage, and

to

to have their Blood fresh, and Blushing in their Cheeks. And as for those who were the Disturbance and blemish of his Reign, (and to whom, by being in his Minority, he was forc'd to be subject) we shall see the next Reign will bring them to their deserv'd Punishment, and fling down all their Babel-Building in a Moment. To conclude, I need give this Excellent Prince no other Elogy than what was given him by *Cardan*, a famous *Italian* Philosopher, who about a year before his Death travelling through *England* towards *Scotland*, was admitted into his Presence, (the King being a great Lover of all Learned Men.) Let us hear then what *Cardan* says of him, in his Book *de Geniturus*; who thus describeth the Conference between them. "*Aderam illi* "(speaking of the King) *Gratiæ*: *Linguas enim multas*, "*collebat Puer*, &c. He was stored with Graces, for being "yet a Child, he spake many Languages, for besides his "Native *English*, *Latin*, and *French*, he was also skilled in "*Greek*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and perhaps some others. He wanted neither the Rudiments of Logick, the Principles of "Philosophy, nor Musick. He was full of Humanity, and "the relish of Morality; of Gravity befitting Royalty; of "Hopes as great as himself. A Child of such great Wit, "and such Expectation, could not be born without a kind of "Miracle in Nature: I write not this Rhetorically, with "the Excess of an Hyperbole; for to speak all the Truth, "were to speak far more. Being yet but in his Fifteenth "year, he spake *Latin* as Politely as I could. What, said he, "is the Subject of your Books *De Rerum Varietate*? (Which "I had dedicated to his Majesty.)

"*Card.* In the first Chapter, I shew the long hidden, and "vainly sought after Causes of *Comets*.

"*King.* And what is the Cause?

"*Card.* The Concourse and Meeting of the Lights of the "Erratick Stars.

"*King.* But being the Planets are moved with several "Motions, how comes it to pass, that the *Comet* doth not "either presently dissolve and Scatter, or move with their "motion?

"*Card.* It moves indeed, but with a far swifter motion "than the Planets, by reason of the Diversity of the Aspect; "as we see in Chrystal and the Sun, when a Rain-bow rebounds upon a Wall; for a little Change, makes a great "difference of the Place.

"*King.* But how can that be done without a Subject? "For the Wall is the Subject to the Rain-bow.

"*Card.* As in the Galaxy, or Milky-Way, and in the Reflection of Lights; when many Candles lighted are set "near one another, they do produce a certain lucid or bright "mean. —— You may know the Lion by his Paw. For his "Ingenuous Nature and Sweet Conditions, he was great in

"the

" the Expectation of all either Good or Learned Men. He " began to favour Learning before he could know it; and " knew it before he knew what uſe to make of it. O how " true is that ſaying,

*Immodicis brevis eſt ætas, et rara Senectus:*

*Immoderate Growths are ſeldom Aged found.*

" He could give you only a Taſte of his Vertue, not an " Example. When occaſion requir'd a Majeſtick Gravity, " you ſhould ſee him act an Old Man. In his Affability and " Mildneſs, he ſhew'd his Age. He played on the Lute, ac- " cuſtomed himſelf to Publick Affairs, was Liberally Diſ- " poſed, *&c.* So far *Cardan.* As to his being *Liberally Diſpos'd*, which is the laſt thing *Cardan* mentions, I need ſay no more than referr the Reader to *Chriſt-Church Hoſpital*, *Bride-Well*, and St. *Thomas his Hoſpital* in *Southwark*; which will ſufficiently ſpeak his Praiſe; being Three ſtanding Teſtimonies both of his Magnificence and Charity. All his Acquirements by Induſtry, were exceedingly both enriched and inlarged by many Excellent Endowments of Nature. For in Diſpoſition he was Mild, Gracious, and Pleaſant, of an admirable Underſtanding, and Beautiful in Body, but eſpecially in his Eyes, which ſeemed to have a Starry Livelineſs and Luſtre in them. In a word he really was, what *Cardan* reported of him, A Miracle in Nature.—— His Corps was interred at *Weſtminſter*, near to his Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh: And his Name will Survive, as a moſt Redolent Perfume to all Succeeding Ages.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF Queen *MARY* the First.

MARY, *the Eldeſt Daughter of King* Henry *the Eighth, by his firſt Wife* Katharine *of* Spain, *ſucceeded to her Brother* Edward. *'Tis true, the Lady* Jane Gray, *mentioned in the former Reign, was Proclaimed Queen before her, by Virtue of the late King's Will, but as it proved, ſhe had but the Shadow of a Crown, and* Mary *had the Subſtance, who came to the Throne by the Right of Succeſſion.* Norfolk *and* Suffolk *were the firſt that embraced her Intereſt, and the firſt that ſmarted for it. Being a Bigotted Princeſs, her main Application, after ſhe got the Crown, was to reſtore Popery with a Vengeance, and Explode the Reformation, which ſhe brought to paſs in the ſpace of eighteen Months. Inſomuch that for ſome Years the Kingdom blazed every Year with Burnt Sacrifices: Amongſt which four Biſhops, and at laſt Archbiſhop* Cranmer, *ended their Lives in thoſe Popiſh Flames, their Zeal out-ſhining thoſe Flames in which they expired. This Fiery Perſecution was carried on principally by* Stephen Gardiner *Biſhop of* Winchester, *now made Lord Chancellor, and the Queens great Favourite, and Bloody* Bonner *(for ſo he was called) Biſhop of* London, *both of a revengeful Spirit, and cruelly imbittered againſt Proteſtantiſm. Upon a Civil Account alſo many great Perſons ſuffered Death, as the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Lady* Jane Gray, *the Duke of* Suffolk *her Father, the Lord* Guilford *her Husband, and his Brother, the Lord* Thomas Gray. *The Lady* Elizabeth, *whom the Popiſh Party called,* The Hope of Hereticks, *was alſo taken into Cuſtody, and made a Priſoner for above a Twelve-month, before her Innocence could procure her Liberty. To get an Heir for the Crown fit for their Turn, a Marriage was concluded between the Queen, and* Philip *of* Spain; *Which occaſioned an Inſurrection, headed by Sir* Thomas Wiat, *the Miſcarriage whereof was imputed to his loſs of time. King* Philip *having War with* France, *the* French *loſt St.* Quintin, *and the* Engliſh *the Key of* France, Calais, *which had been in the Hands of the* Engliſh *above* 200 *Years. Which Loſs Queen* Mary *took ſo much to Heart, that ſhe died upon it,* November 17. 1558. *having lived*

*Forty*

*Forty three Years, and reigned Five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.* Thus far her General Hiſtory.

Her Secret Hiſtory began with her Reign, for from the firſt hour that ſhe heard of King *Edward*'s Death, ſhe carried on a Secret Deſign againſt both the then Eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws of the Kingdom. She was the moſt Bigotted Papiſt upon Earth, and really believed, that in Burning the Proteſtants ſhe did GOD good Service, and was rather a Fury than a Woman. But *England*'s Unthankfulneſs for the Mercy of the laſt Reign, had provoked the Almighty to ſend this Woman as a Scourge amongſt them; and that thoſe whoſe Ambition then no Limits could contain, might now reap the juſt Reward of their own Doings. And that this may be the more Perſpicuous, it will be neceſſary to take a brief Survey of the Actions of this Reign, from the Death of King *Edward*, to the Death of Queen *Mary*.

We have ſhewed in the latter end of King *Edward*'s Reign, the Secret Practices of the Duke of *Northumberland* againſt the Lady *Mary*, and of her having ſome Intelligence thereof, when ſhe was very near being taken in the Snare, ſhe therefore ſuddenly returned back again, not thinking it ſafe to abide in *London*, where her Enemies were in their full Strength. And therefore pretended a fear of the Plague, by reaſon of the Suſpicious Death of one of her Houſehold, ſhe ſuddenly departed from *St. Edmund's-Bury*, and came in one day to *Fromingham-Caſtle* in *Suffolk*, being diſtant from *London* Fourſcore Miles, and ſeated near the Sea, from whence, if things anſwered not her Expectation, ſhe might make an eaſie Eſcape into *France*. Here (having notice of her Brother's Death) ſhe took upon her the Title of Queen, and ſent Letters to her Friends, and the Nobility, wiſhing them ſpeedily to repair to her.

In the mean time, *Northumberland* having for two days together conſulted with his Friends how he might beſt manage the great Buſineſs that now lay upon his hand, the King's Death being not yet published, ſent an Order to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to repair forthwith to *Greenwich*, with ſix Aldermen, and twelve Citizens of chiefeſt Account. To them he declares the Kings Death, and the Acceſſion of the Lady *Jane* to the Crown, ſhewing at the ſame time the Kings Teſtament, under the Great Seal, importing the Settling of the Crown on her and that Family. And cauſing them, partly by Threatnings, and partly by Promiſes, to Swear Allegiance to the Lady *Jane*, with a ſtrict Command, that they ſhould not yet divulge theſe Secret Paſſages. How much it would tend to the facilitating his Affairs, to aſſure himſelf of the City, he very well underſtood. And as for Suppreſſing the Report of the Kings Death, he thought he might thereby the more eaſily ſurprize the Lady *Mary*, who might yet be ſecure,

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as not having any notice of her Brother's Death. But understanding that she had made an Escape into *Suffolk*, the Lady *Jane* was almost by all the Peers of the Realm conducted to the Tower, and with great Solemnity publickly Proclaimed Queen. She was of Age about Sixteen, in the Bloom of her Youth, incredibly Learned, of a quick Apprehension, and Wise both above her Sex and Age: Very much devoted to Religion, especially the Doctrine of the Reformed Church, in the Purity of it; and so far from desiring this Advancement, that she began her short Reign with Tears: Manifesting to the World, that she was forced, by the Ambition of her Parents and Friends, to this high but dangerous Ascent.

At her going through the City toward the Tower, the Concourse of People was great, but their Acclamations but few, as if they were more surprized than affected therewith; which the Friends of Queen *Mary* looked on as a happy Omen, and were thereby incouraged to assist her, as opportunity should offer. But the Presence of *Northumberland*, a Man quick, watchful, and very Politick, was yet a Remora to their Proceedings: And therefore till they can send him farther off, they must be content to sit still.

The same day the Lady *Jane* entred the Tower, Letters sent from Queen *Mary* were openly read at the Council-Table, wherein she commands the Lords to repair to her, as being next in Succession to the Crown; advising them at last, to take Example from the general Votes of the Kingdom, she being now every where acknowledged the lawful Sovereign. And indeed the *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* Men appearing for her, gave her the first hopes of succeeding in her laying Claim to the Crown. For these Men being Protestants, told her, That in case she would make no Alteration in the Religion established by her Brother King *Edward*, they would stand by her, and assert her Right; which she there solemnly promised she would not. But when by their means, she had defeated the Designs of her Enemies, and acted contrary to what she had promised them, some of them came to her, and had the Courage to put her in Mind of her Promise; but all they got by it, was to be rewarded with the Pillory for their Pains; and told them, *They should know what it was for Subjects to go about to Teach their Prince.* But to proceed.

Upon the News of the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* having declared for the Lady *Mary*, it was thought fit to levy an Army, and forthwith to bring the Lady *Mary* to *London* by Force, there to answer for her assuming the Title of Queen. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lady *Jane*'s Father, is appointed General of these Forces; the Duke of *Northumberland* thinking his Presence at *London* most necessary, but those that favoured *Mary*, wished him farther off, and therefore advised the Lady *Jane* to keep her Father by her at home, and to send the Duke of *Northumberland* upon this Service; urging, as a farther

ther Reaſon, That the Terror of his Name would do more good againſt her Enemies, than the Duke of *Suffolk* could do either by Strength or Counſel; an inſtance whereof, was ſufficiently ſeen in his ſubduing the *Norfolk* Rebels in the late Kings time. And who could ſhe think would be a more Faithful Protector of her Royal Perſon, and in the ſettling of her preſent Affairs, than her own Father? And that therefore it was not convenient that he ſhould be ſent away. And for any thing elſe that might happen near home, all the Council were ready to order it, according to their wonted Care and Faithfulneſs. Theſe Arguments were plauſible enough, and cunningly concealed their Secret Deſign, which was to get rid of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of whom they all ſtood in ſo much Awe, that they knew not how to act any thing while he was there.

However, Lady *Jane* being won by theſe Arguments, perſwaded the Duke of *Northumberland* to take the Command of the Army upon him: To which, tho' very unwillingly, he at laſt condeſcended; for having a long Head, he was fearful of what afterwards fell out in his abſence.

The Forces being levied, which conſiſted of about 6000 Men, on the 13th of *July*, the Duke ſet out from *London*. And to ſhew, as an Omen of his future Succeſs, how little he was beloved, as he was going along, he turned to the Lord *Gray*, who was preſent with him, and ſaid, *Do you ſee what a Multitude are flock'd together to this ſight? And yet amongſt ſo great a Multitude, you cannot hear one pray for our good Succeſs in the Buſineſs we are going about.* And the truth is, as no body pray'd for his good Succeſs, ſo neither had he any: For he being gone, the Lords he left behind, that waited only for ſuch an Opportunity, declared themſelves ſoon after for the Lady *Mary*, and proclaimed her Queen, taking Poſſeſſion of the Tower, and ordering the Duke of *Suffolk*, laying aſide all Excuſes, to appear inſtantly before the Council. The Duke perceiving how things were carried, went into his Daughter *Jane*'s Chamber, and removing the Robes and Princely Ornaments, told her, She muſt now lay aſide all Royalty; and adviſed her not to take it grievouſly, that ſhe muſt now return home, and live a Private Life. To which, the incomparable Lady made this Reply: *Sir, The Meſſage which you now bring me, is much more agreeable to me, than my forced Advancement to Royalty, which I only accepted out of Obedience to You and my Mother, diſpleaſing my ſelf, that I might pleaſe you. But in this I willingly obey you, and relinquiſh the Crown, not only with reſpect to your Command, but as it is that which ſuits with my own Inclination. I will therefore endeavour to ſalve thoſe Faults I have been made to commit, if at leaſt ſo great an Error may be ſalved by a willing Reſignation, and ingenuous Acknowledgment.* Having ſaid theſe words to her Father, ſhe retired into her Cloſet, being more ſolicitous how ſhe might ſave her Life,

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than troubled for leaving of the Crown. After this the Duke of *Suffolk* went to the Council, and there Subscribed to the Decree.

We have heard how all the Duke of *Northumberland*'s deep-laid Designs were unravelled at *London*: Let us see what Success he had in the Country, and we shall find that but little better: For Sir *Edward Hastings*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, having a Commission from the Duke for the raising of 4000 Men, he levied the Men, and straightway employed them for the Assistance of Queen *Mary*. And the Duke having made ready Six great Ships, to intercept *Mary*'s Passage, in case she should fly to the *Low-Countries*; the Sailors and Souldiers on board, came ashore at *Yarmouth*, and yielded up themselves to serve Queen *Mary*, with all their Ordnance and War-like Provisions.

*Northumberland* finding by this, how things were like to go, hoping to save his own Stake, turned about himself, and was so forward in his Apostacy, that he basely quits his being General for Queen *Jane*, to make himself a Herald to Queen *Mary*, Proclaiming her Title at *Cambridge*, as soon almost as the other Lords had done it at *London*. So apprehensive are those who have such an Enemy as Guilt within them, of the Terror of their Enemies without them. And now it appeared how Ominous it was for the Innocent Lady *Jane* to have been brought, as she was, in State to the Tower. But as she offered Violence to her own Inclinations, out of Obedience to those of her Father and Mother, so the Assumption of that Temporary, was in order to the Entitling her to a more lasting Glory, Heaven having fitted her to be a Saint, rather than a Queen, making use of her Exaltation to hasten the Fall of her Ambitious Father-in-Law: Shewing her the Vanity of all Worldly Greatness, by the Brevity of that of her own, which lasted not so long, as 'tis reported a Dream of one did but a little before. (For there is a Story of one *Foxley*, a Pot-maker to the Mint in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, that slept 14 days together, and no body could wake him, no not with Pinching or Burning.) Whereas she came to her self in less than ten days, and then, poor Lady, found her self (where he was too) in the Tower, ready to be translated (as afterwards she was) from a Kingdom to a Scaffold, and from a Scaffold to a Kingdom again. For she suffered not so much for any Crime of her own Ambition, as for not resisting that of others; having this Aggravation of her Affliction, to see her Husband, and the Duke his Father, Executed before her, who both died for the same Fault, but not with the same Faith as she did. For the Duke that had therefore importuned King *Edward* to give her this Fatal Honour, to the intent that Popery might be utterly abolished, declared when he came to die, that he himself was a Roman Catholick; which the most Judicious think he had not done, had not some Promise of Life

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upon condition of Turning, deceived him at the very inſtant of his Death; whereby Queen *Mary* was quit with him at the laſt, tho' ſhe could not deal with him in the firſt place. For as he was reputed to have had no Faith whilſt he lived, ſo by his abrupt Apoſtacy, he was judged to have no Religion when he died. There is this farther Remark may be made upon him, That as he ſuffered under the very ſame Fate, and upon the very ſame Block, that the Duke of *Somerſet* did, ſo 'twas his hap to be laid under the very ſame Stone, in the ſame Grave, where they now lie ſide by ſide, as good Friends that living were irreconcilable Enemies. Two Headleſs Dukes lying between two Headleſs Queens, each as far divided in Religion, as they were in their Affections. But thus much for the fatal Cataſtrophe of *Northumberland*'s boundleſs Ambition; How much Blood did he ſpill, to bring about his Wicked Purpoſes? And having deſigned to Entail the Crown in his Family, he only Entailed upon his Family the ſame Deſtruction which he juſtly brought upon himſelf.

Eight Weeks and upwards paſt between the Proclaiming of Queen *Mary*, and the Calling of her firſt Parliament; during which time the two Religions were publickly Permitted with equal Indulgence: For tho' the Popiſh Religion was aboliſhed by Law, yet it ſeems ſhe claimed a Diſpenſing Power, (as a late Succeſſor of hers alſo did) and the Papiſts to be ſure were forward enough of themſelves, to ſet up their own Idolatrous Worſhip, without asking leave, as long as they knew the Queens Mind. So that now the Divine Service being ſo blended with Superſtition, that, as one obſerves, the State of *England* before her Perſecution, was not much unlike that of the *Jews* after theirs, who preſently upon the Captivity took a Mid-way between *Hebrew* and *Aſhdod*; for on the ſame day that Maſs was ſung in the Quire at *Weſtminſter*, the Engliſh Service was ſung in the body of the Church. And the two Religions being thus brought to confront each other, no wonder if the Prieſts of each Perſwaſion juſtled for Precedence; the Proteſtants being back'd by the preſent Laws, the Papiſts by the Prerogative; Theſe encouraged by the Queens Opinions, the other by her Promiſes. But as in the cloſe of Day, Light and Darkneſs contending for Superiority, ſeem equally match'd, till in the end the latter prevails; ſo happened it now upon the Death of King *Edward*: For the Religion he eſtabliſhed being different from that of Queen *Mary*, the Queſtion was, Which muſt take place, and become the Religion of the State? For Queen *Mary* knowing her Obligations to the Loyal Proteſtant Gentry of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, who were the firſt that ſet her up, ſhe was not ſo forward to declare her ſelf after ſhe came to the Crown, as ſhe was before; for tho' ſhe was determined in her ſelf what to do, yet ſhe was willing to palliate the matter, ſecretly deſigning to acquit her ſelf of her Promiſes by calling a Parliament, who ſhould take the

Odium of the Change she intended to make, upon themſelves. Making way to the Introducing of Popery by a General Pardon, which had ſo many Exceptions in it, that thoſe who moſt wanted it, could receive no Benefit thereby.

The Queen being now ſeated on her Throne, and in no more danger of Rivals, there wanted nothing to compleat her Felicity, but that she knew not her own Happineſs. The Proteſtants had shewed their Loyalty in aſſiſting and helping her into the Throne, and there being no fear but that the Papiſts were for her, What should hinder from being happy and beloved of Both? But she choſe a Popish Council, who more regarded the gratifying of their own Paſſion, than they did the Good of the Kingdom, or the Quiet of the Queen. And thereby, under a Pretence of Religion, engaged her in the greateſt Perſecution that ever was known under any Chriſtian Government, cauſing her to shed more Blood, altho' she reigned only five Years, four Months, and ſome odd days, than was ſpilt by thoſe two great Tyrants, *Richard* the Third, and her own Father, putting both together, there dying in this Queens Reign, for Religion only (beſides thoſe that ſuffered on Civil Accounts, no leſs than three hundred, whereof one was an Archbiſhop, four Biſhops, and twenty one Divines of Note. The Iſſue of which vaſt Effuſion of Blood, was only this, That she lived in perpetual Inquietude all her days: For as she was obſtinate to reſtore the Pope's Authority, contrary to the Promiſe she had made to thoſe who firſt ſet her up; being perſwaded both by the Prieſts that ruled her, and the Principles of her Religion, That she had no ſuch way to manifeſt her Faith, as by the Breach of it. So she cut out ſo much matter for Rebellion, by the Violence she offered both to Conſcience and Intereſt, that she had little Reſt, and no Peace, all her days.

However, the Queen being of the Age of Thirty ſeven, now thought it was high time for her to Marry, that by having an Heir, she might perpetuate the Secret Deſign she had of Intailing Popery and Slavery upon us, and thereby deſtroying both our Souls and Bodies, and leaving us without a Remedy. Having therefore reſolved to Marry, the great Queſtion was, Who should be her Husband? There were three Matches propoſed for her. The firſt was *Philip* of *Spain*, Son to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; The ſecond, Cardinal *Pool*, and the third, the young Marqueſs of *Exeter*. To each of which, as there were ſome Motives to draw her Affections, ſo there were many Arguments to diſſwade her from them. Thoſe that had reſpect to the Settlement of the Kingdom, thought *Philip* the fitteſt Match, as being a Puiſſant King, ſtrengthened with many great Allies, and who had as great an Enmity to the *French* (the only Enemy *England* ought to fear) as they themſelves; but againſt him, the firſt Objection was, That he was a Stranger. The Second, That being Native of *Spain*, he probably

probably might by this Match, bring *England* into ſome danger of Subjection to that Kingdom. And laſtly, That there was ſomewhat of Indecency, not to ſay Inequality, in reſpect of his Perſon, for indeed, it ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſhe ſhould be the Wife of the Son now, who thirty Years before ſhould have been Wife to the Father. Thoſe that ſtood for the Cardinal, urged his Love to his Country, and the Love the Country had for him, in reſpect of his great Sanctimony and Wiſdom, which rendered him particularly acceptable to the Queen; then for his Dignity, he was not much inferior to Kings, and by his Mother deſcended from Kings; and for his Age, it was more agreeable to that of the Queens, than that of either of the other two. But there was one thing ſpoil'd all, for the principal End of Marriage being Procreation, he fell under an Exception not to be anſwered, as being a Batchellor of near Sixty four Years old, and ſo needed a Nurſe rather than a Wife. The Youth of the Lord *Courtney*, being a brisk Cavalier, and by Birth as well as the beſt Blood of *England* and *France* could make him, gave him the Preference above the Cardinal: But there was alſo an ugly Objection againſt him, for ſome of the Queens *Functo* objected, Not only that he loved Popularity more than ever he could be brought to love the Queen, but that he was alſo too much tinctured with *Lutheraniſm*, to be her Bedfellow. And after they had ſaid that, there needed no more to be ſaid againſt him, for had he been as Charming as an Angel, yet if he had ſmelt of the Proteſtant Hereſie, ſhe would have rejected him. So that by a general Vote, they carried it for King *Philip*, as well to take off all Exceptions by the Diſparagement of Marrying a Subject, as thoſe incredible Advantages it brought along with it to *England*, in fully reſtoring and ſupporting the Power of the Pope, and Entailing Slavery upon us for ever. Beſides which Topping Advantages, there was alſo the Addition of the *Netherlands* and *Burgundy* to be for ever a Member of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, in caſe of Iſſue betwixt them.

But how much ſoever the Queen was taken with the imagined Advantages of her Match with King *Philip*, it appears that many of her Subjects were of another Mind, believing the *Spaniards* would become abſolute Lords of all, and ingroſs into their own hands, the free Managing of all Affairs, and aboliſhing our Ancient Laws and Conſtitutions, would impoſe an intolerable Yoke upon us, as a Conquered Nation; every one complaining either from a Senſe of the Preſent, or a fear of the approaching Evils: Some blaming the Queens Actions, others complaining of the Change of Religion, contrary to her Promiſe made to the *Suffolk* Men: Some lamented the Caſe of the Lady *Jane*, who for an unvoluntary Crime, had been cruelly Condemned to an ill-deſerving Death: Some were ſwayed by Pity, ſome by the Regards of Religion, but

moſt by the fear of a *Spaniſh* Servitude. No wonder then, that in ſuch a general Diſcontent, the glowing Coals ſhould at laſt break out into a Flame, as it did by the Riſing of Sir *Thomas Wyat* a Kentiſh Knight, who had engaged the Duke of *Suffolk* and others to act in conſort with him in *Warwickſhire*, and Sir *Peter Carew* in *Devonſhire*.

Sir *Thomas* having raiſed ſome Forces to oppoſe the Queens Marriage, to put the beſt Gloſs upon his Undertaking, that the Matter would bear, ſpreads abroad this Declaration,

*That becauſe the Queen, relying too much upon the Advice of bad Counſellors, had lately done, and did daily endeavour many things prejudicial to the Eſtate of the Realm; That therefore, to prevent farther Inconveniencies, thoſe Counſellors muſt be removed, and others ſubſtituted, who ſhould ſo manage the Eſtate, as ſhould anſwer the Truſt repoſed in ſuch Men, whoſe Loyalty ſhould render them more careful of the Publick, than their own Private Profit. But above all, they muſt endeavour that ſome Means muſt be uſed, to impeach this determined Match, by which he plainly foreſaw this Free Realm would be oppreſſed with the Miſeries of a moſt lamentable Servitude; And a Flood-gate would be opened to let in a perpetual Current of Superſtition: That the Effects of their Arms would prove very profitable to the Queen (for whoſe Happineſs he ſhould ever Pray) and to the general Good of the Kingdom.*

For the Suppreſſing of *Wyat*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was diſpatched with ſome ſmall Force, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of the Queens Guards; to reinforce whom, 500 *Londoners* were the next day ſent down by Water to *Graves-End*, where the Duke expected them; with theſe he reſolves to Encounter *Wyat*, who had not yet advanced beyond *Rocheſter*; which, tho' no way fortified, he intended to make good againſt the Duke, and had incamped within the Ruins of the Caſtle. *Roch-ſter* being ſeated upon the Meadway where it falls into the *Thames*, is moſt violent, Ebbing and Flowing like a Streight, and is made paſſable by an Arched ſtone Bridge of excellent Architecture. This Bridge was ſeized by *Wyat*'s Party, who had planted on it ſome Braſs double Cannons, that they might impede the Dukes Paſſage. But he, nothing daunted with their Proceedings, ſent a Herald to proclaim Pardon to ſuch as forſaking *Wyat*, ſhould return to the Queens Obedience; reſolving withal, to force the Bridge, and obtain Entrance into the City. But he was returned with this Anſwer, That they knew not themſelves to be ſo far Delinquents, as that they ſhould need any ſuch Pardon. Only Sir *George Harper* feigned a Revolt, and made over to the Duke of *Norfolk*, but with a Secret Deſign to perſwade *Alexander Bret* Captain of thoſe 500 *Londoners* to joyn themſelves with *Wyat*. Which he performed ſo effectually, that *Bret*, whoſe Company made the Vantguard, before he came ſo near the Bridge as to give an Aſſault, ſuddenly drawing his Sword, turned about to his Soldiers, and beſpake them thus:

*Valiant*

*Valiant Country-Men, We now Engage our ſelves in a Cauſe, which before we proceed further, would require mature Deliberation: We March, but againſt whom? Are they not our Friends, our Fellow-Natives, with whom we ſeek to make a deeper mixture of our Bloods? Have they not taken Arms for the Preſervation of the Ancient Glory of the Engliſh Name, and to vindicate our Common Liberties againſt the Inſolencies of the Cruel* Spaniards? *You whoſe degenerous Spirits can brook the Indignities of Servitude, continue in GOD's Name with your brave Generals who without doubt well deſerve the Service of ſuch Worthies: As for me, (who had rather undergo many of the moſt torturing Deaths, then betray my Liberty to the* Spaniard) *I here (happy and proſperous may it prove) inroll my ſelf under* Wyat's *Colours, and am confident that ſome of you, out of Affection to your Country, will follow my Example.*

He had ſcarce made an End of ſpeaking, when they all, crying out, *A* Wyat, *a* Wyat, turned their Cannon againſt their Fellows, who followed in the Rear; which unexpected Revolt, ſo terrified the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Sir *Henry Fernegam* Captain of the Guard, who followed the Duke in this Expedition, that they inſtantly betook themſelves to flight; the remainder of that ſmall Army, prepared themſelves according to the Example of their Commanders, when *Wyat* with ſome Horſe intercepted their flight, and ſeized on Eight Braſs Pieces, with all the Dukes Ammunition. Then uſed he ſome Perſwaſions to prevert their Loyalty: Profeſſing withal, that if any one would be an Inſtrument of his own Miſery by aſſiſting the Queen, he ſhould have free Licenſe to depart; deſiring all ſuch, that they would certify all Men, but eſpecially her Majeſty, That *Wyat*, calling GOD and Man to Witneſs, did proteſt, That he took not Arms any way to prejudice her, but to maintain the Liberties of his Country inviolate againſt Foreign Machinations. Whereupon the Five Hundred Londoners, many of the Guard, and the greateſt part of the headleſs Army forthwith joyned with *Wyat*; who now upon confidence of his Forces, reſolved to make ſpeedily for *London*.

Whilſt *Wyat* thus Acts his part in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who with his Brothers, the Lord *John* and Lord *Leonard Gray*, leaving *London*, did every where incite the People to take Arms againſt the *Spaniard*; but having no Succeſs therein, and the Duke knowing he had waded too far to hope for a Second Pardon, he endeavour'd to Eſcape by Flight: But the Earl of *Huntington* ſent by the Queen with 300 Horſe to take him, made him alter his Reſolution. The Dukes Company conſiſted not of above 50, with which ſmall Number, in a County that no way favoured his Proceedings, to oppoſe the Earl, was deſperate Madneſs. Therefore diſtributing his Money amongſt them, he feigns a flight, and adviſeth his Brothers and the reſt to diſperſe themſelves. Having

ving thus freed himself from the Eyes of all Observers, he secretly committed himself to the Trust of one *Underwood*, whom he had formerly made his Ranger at *Ashly*. But Benefits oblige not sordid and ignoble Minds, which either through Mercinarineſs or Timidity, treacherously fail in their reposed Trust. Such did this *Underwood* prove; who having promised for a while to shelter his Lord, until he should meet with some more favourable opportunity, otherwise to dispose of himself; he either out of fear, or hope of Reward, betrayed him to the Earl of *Huntington*; by whom, with a Guard of 300 Horse, he was brought to *London*, and committed to the Tower.

In the mean time the Queen, being jealous of the Londoners, especially since *Bret*'s Revolt; went into the City, attended by most of the Nobility, and came to *Guild-Hall*, where the Commons of the City were Assembled in their Liveries; to whom she declared her Mind in the manner following:

*Altho' we doubt not of your Loyalty, and so need not give an Account of our Actions; yet having Intelligence that many seduced by this Arch-Traytor's gay Pretexts, do secretly favour his designs: We have therefore Condescended, that We might give Satisfaction to all, to this Days Meeting. As for* Wyat, *Our Marriage with the Infant of* Spain, *is that forsooth, that must cover all his Villanies. But his Actions discover his deeper Practices: For having now somewhat increased his Numbers, his Madness hath so transported him beyond the dislike of Our Match, that he now resolves on the Custody of Our Person, and absolute Power of Removing, Retaining and Punishing such of Our Council as he shall think fit. In this great Assair of Our Marriage, We have done nothing but by the Advice of Our Peers: We have lived the greatest part of Our Age single; neither do We now so long for a Husband, but that, if the Estate of Our Realm think it convenient, We will still continue Our Virgin Estate. For that I should seek to indanger* England, *and to confound all things by an Unfortunate Match, the love of Our Native Soil, the long knowledge of our Peaceable Disposition, and our Endeavours for your good, will perswade you to the contrary. Persist therefore in your Loyal Resolutions, and Assist us in Executing Our due Revenge on these Monsters of Men, who Conspire to take away the Head which was ordained to guide them, and to suffer with them. Neither are Our demands other than We may reasonably expect from you, who so Maturely, so Unanimously admitted of Our Government; as deeming us the undoubted Successor to Our Royal Father and Brother.*

The Queen in this Speech, by exciting the Citizens to assist her in Executing her Due Revenge on those Monsters of Men, as she was pleas'd to stile them, shews her self not a little of

a

a Vindictive Temper; neither does ſhe at all promiſe to govern them according to Law, or to allow them any Liberty for their Conſciences. For even then ſhe was reſolved to carry on her Perſecuting Humour. But it ſeems her ſpeech, ſuch as it was, was enough to confirm the Citizens in their Obedience; and therefore *Wyat* miſcarried: For the Queen having Armed 500 Men, commits to the Choiceſt of them the keeping and defence of *London-Bridge*; diſpoſing of the reſt throughout the City. Two Days after which, *Wyat* came to *London* with an Army of three or four Thouſand Men; full of hope that having preſent Admittance into the City, he ſhould crown his Action with the deſired Succeſs: But things anſwered not his Expectation; for coming to the Bridge he found it cut down, and the Gates ſhut, and made good againſt him by Armed Troops; who called out to him as a Rebel and a Traytor, and bid him be gone. But for all that, he ſtaid two whole Days after in *Southwark*, hoping that time, and the Induſtry of his Secret Friends in the City, might work ſome alteration; by which Delay he ruined his whole Deſign. But then perceiving he ſpent his time in vain there, he Marched for *Kingſton*, there to gain a Paſſage over the *Thames*. But the Wooden Bridge there was alſo broken, and the oppoſite Bank defended by two hundred Men, who were quickly ſent away by the very ſight of two Pieces of Cannon ready to be planted againſt them. So that *Wyat* wafts over his Army on the other ſide, and once more reſolves for *London*, putting all the hopes of his Succeſs in the Celerity of his March; ſo that without ſuffering his Souldiers to repoſe themſelves he makes a round March for *London*, where he hoped to arrive before Day, and to ſurprize the ſecure Queen, by his unexpected coming. And it is more than probable that his Deſign even yet had taken Effect, had not Heaven decreed otherwiſe: The Proteſtant Religion was to be further Sealed by the Blood of the Martyrs; and the Queen to be removed by no other hand but that of Heaven; and therefore an unforeſeen Accident, (no more then the breaking of the Axletree of the Carriage of one of his Pieces of Ordinance, which no Perſwaſions could move *Wyat* to leave behind him and March on, by which he was kept back from coming to *London*, and tarried Six Hours longer then the time he had prefixed, and his Friends expected him) breaks all his Meaſures, and blaſts his whole Deſign. His long delay about the mending of the Carriage, made many of his Followers, (ſeeing things no better managed, and deſpairing of all good Fortune) to withdraw themſelves, from their Colours, and went away, ſo that *Wyat* had not above one half of his Forces, left with him. And amongſt the reſt Sir *George Harper*, the Partner of all *Wyat*'s Stratagems, finding he had an Opportunity ſtill left to ſave his own ſtake, and wipe away the ſtains of Rebellion, and his former diſſembled Revolt, by

a Loyal Treachery, posted away to the Queen, and revealed the whole Series of *Wyat*'s Projects. The Queen amazed at the Apprehension of this imminent Danger, gives Commission to the Earl of *Pembrook* for the speedy raising of some Forces; and makes him General of the Field. *Wyat* hearing the Earl of *Pembrook* was in Arms, betook himself to a slower March, left he should be forced to oppose his own Soldiers fatigu'd with a long and tiresome March, against the Earls fresh Forces: So that it was near Noon before he approach'd the Suburbs, and planting his Ordinances upon a Hill beyond St. *James*'s, left there the greatest part of his small Army to guard them. He himself with five Ensigns marching towards *Ludgate*, and sending *Cutbert Vaughan* with two other Ensigns towards *Westminster*, leaving St. *James*'s on the left hand; by which without doubt he designed that by distracting the Queen's Forces, and terrifying that part of the City, he might gain his designed Passage with the less Difficulty. At *Charing Cross*, Sir *John Gage* Lord Chamberlain, with part of the Guard, and some other Soldiers, made head against *Wyat*. But at length, whether called back by the Queen for the Defence of her Person, (for by reason of *Vaughan*'s going towards *Westminster* she began to be somewhat afraid) or whether they were not able to endure the Violence of *Wyat*'s Followers; so it was, that they presently fled away, and with all the speed they could got into the Queen's Palace, filling it with Noise and Tumult.

The Earl of *Pembrook* now setting upon the hindmost of *Wyat*'s Forces, (their Captain, who still hasted to get into the City, not turning back to rescue them, a great Number of them were slain there. The rest Marched on Couragiously up Fleetstreet, crying out with joyful Acclamations, *Queen* Mary, *Queen* Mary, *GOD save Queen* Mary, *who hath granted us our Petitions and Pardons.* At length they came to *Ludgate*, which (contrary to their Expectations) they find shut against them, desiring Entrance in vain, and finding nothing but reproachful Imputations and Execrations. So that seeing there was no Remedy, back they turn the same way they came, to go to their Fellows whom they had left with their Ordinance beyond the Town; till on a sudden they find themselves every where enclosed by the Earl of *Pembrook*'s Forces. Then *Clarencieux* King at Arms, coming to *Wyat* advis'd him to yield himself, seeing there was no way now to Escape; and not go about to redeem himself by the Bood of so many Valiant Men, or by putting all to the utmost hazard, and thereby cut off all hope of finding Mercy with the Queen. His Souldiers seemed desperate, and were willing to try it out to the last Man; but *Wyat*'s Courage now began to fail him, so that he yielded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkly*, Knight; and getting up on the same Horse behind him, was so carried by him presently to the Court. Their Captain being thus

taken,

taken, the reſt of them had now no further mind to reſiſt; ſome few of them eſcaping by flight, but the reſt being taken, were diſpers'd into ſeveral Priſons. And this was the end of *Wyat*'s Rebellion, which was an ill-timed Attempt, begun too early (as that was in the laſt Popiſh Reign.) But had he let it alone a little longer, till Queen *Mary* ſhewed her ſelf more fully in her proper Colours; when the Pope's Primacy came to be propoſed, and laboured to be reſtored; and Cardinal *Pool* came over, it might have had another Effect, and proved a generous Effort for the reſcuing the Infant Reformation, from the Jaws of Popiſh Tyranny. For the Pope had juſt taught the People the way of being Abſolved from their Allegiance; and they might inferr if he could do it, or it were to be done for the ſake of Religion, That they might Abſolve themſelves from their Allegiance for the good of Religion alſo.

*Wyat*'s Inſurrection being thus ſuppreſs'd, the Council began to conſult next about the Puniſhment of the Criminals: And the firſt that was reflected on, (as being the Original of all this, and for whoſe ſake this Rebellion had been ſet on foot) was the Lady *Jane Gray*; who having been condemned on the 13*th* of *November*, had her Execution hitherto deferr'd, not without hope of Pardon. But now her Death is judged neceſſary to ſecure the Quiet of the Kingdom, and ſhe muſt be offer'd up as a Victim to the Publick Peace. Whereupon Dr. *Fecknam* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her, to admoniſh her to prepare for Death; and withal, to perſwade her to embrace the Romiſh Religion. This ſad Meſſage ſo little moved this Vertuous Lady, that *ſhe profeſſed herſelf bound in this to acknowledge GOD's infinite Goodneſs: But as for diſcuſſing matters of Controverſy in Religion, her time was ſo ſhort, that ſhe could not diſpence with the leaſt loſs of it: That little that was allotted her, ſhe knew ſhe might better ſpend in her Devotions to Heaven.* *Fecknam* miſunderſtanding her, and thinking this Anſwer proceeded from a Deſire of a longer date of Life, prevails with the Queen for three Days more. And returning to Lady *Jane*, certifies her what he had done; beſeeching her to hearken unto him, and to reform her Opinion in point of Religion. To whom ſhe anſwered with a ſmiling Countenance, *Alas Sir, It was not my deſire that her Majeſty ſhould be troubled with the Report of my Words: For think not that I am touched with any deſire of prolonging my days: No, I am ſo far from it, that ever ſince your departure, Life hath afflicted me with its tediouſneſs; and as for Death, being wholly intent to the attaining of Life Eternal, I utterly deſpiſe it; and her Majeſties Pleaſure being ſuch, I willingly undergo it.* *Fecknam* again reiterated his Perſwaſions, that ſhe would Embrace the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. To whom her Replies were ſuch, that whoſoever ſhall Read the Conference between them, cannot

cannot without amazment wonder how ſo tender an Age, eſpecially the Sex conſidered, ſhould be capable of ſuch Conſtancy, Learning, and Divine Wiſdom. Her Husband the Lord *Guilford* being firſt to ſuffer, deſired leave to ſee her, converſe with her, and take his laſt farewel; which ſhe would by no means conſent to, deſiring him to omit this occaſion of Grief, rather than Comfort in Death: For they ſhould ſhortly behold each other more really united, in a better Place, and a more happy State. Yet ſhe ſaw him, without being daunted, conducted to *Tower-Hill*, and with the ſame Heroick Fixedneſs of Spirit, beheld his Headleſs Trunk, when it was brought back to be interred in the Chappel in the Tower.

It being believed that the Death of this Innocent Lady would cauſe a general Diſtaſte and Diſſatisfaction, it was therefore thought good, to decline it as much as might be, that ſhe ſhould not be publickly Beheaded. And to that End, there was a Scaffold erected within the Tower, on which ſhe was to be beheaded: And thither ſhe was brought ſome few hours after her Husband's Execution: Being led by the Lieutenant of the Tower. As ſhe came forth out of her Chamber wherein ſhe was Impriſoned, the Lieutenant intreated her to leave him ſome Memorial or other whereby he might remember her. Upon which ſhe call'd for a Table-book, and wrote therein three ſhort Sentences, in *Greek*, *Latin* and *Engliſh*, wherein ſhe ſignified her Innocence. And altho' ſhe confeſſed ſhe had committed an Error which deſerved Death, yet Ignorance might, among Men, without Prejudice to the Laws, ſufficiently Excuſe it. At laſt, Saluting the People as ſhe went, with a chearful and ſettled Countenance, altogether void of Fear, and commending her ſelf to their Prayers, ſhe came to the place of Execution, leading *Feckham* by the hand, whom ſhe kindly imbraced, ſaying, *I beſeech GOD abundantly to reward you for your Kindneſs to me; altho' I muſt needs ſay, it was more unwelcome to me, than my inſtant Death is terrible.* Then turning her ſelf to the Standers-by, ſhe ſaid, *I am guilty, not becauſe I aſpir'd to the Crown, but becauſe I refuſed it not, being offered me; and muſt leave a Memorable Example and Inſtruction to all Poſterity, That Innocency excuſeth not thoſe Actions that tend to the Damage of the Common Weal: For it ſhould ſeem, that they commit Wickedneſs enough, that ſerve the Ambition of others, tho' it be ſore againſt their own Wills.* Having ſaid this, and implored GOD's Mercy, ſhe, with the help of her Waiting-Gentlewoman, diſrobed her ſelf of her Gown and Neckcloths, and then vailing her Eyes with a Handkerchief, laid down her Neck upon the Block: and the Executioner delaying to ſtrike, ſhe intreated him to make haſte, and perform his Office, which at length he did; the Tears falling from many of the Standers-by, and even from thoſe who had always favoured the Cauſe of Queen *Mary*.

Thus

Thus died the Lady *Jane*, renowned for the Greatneſs of her Birth, but much more for her Vertue and Interior Excellencies; who, by her Obedience to an Ambitious Father-in-Law, and an Imperious Mother, took upon her the Fatal Title of a Queen, and was preſently ſnatch'd from the Throne to a Priſon, and hurried from a Kingdom to a Scaffold, where she ſuffered for the Offences of others, and yet overcame all the Frowns of Adverſe Fortune, with an unparallell'd Conſtancy and Innocence.

The Death of this Excellent Lady was followed with the Execution of *Wyat* and his Adherents, for which end twenty pair of Gallows were ſet up in ſeveral parts of the City of *London* for the Terror of others; and upon them Fifty of the Rebels were hang'd in two days time, beſides divers others who were Executed in the Country; among whom *Alexander Bret*, who cauſed the *Londoners* to revolt to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, was hang'd in Chains at *Rocheſter*. But that the Queen might make a ſhew of Mercy alſo, as well as Juſtice, Four hundred of *Wyat*'s Followers with Halters about their Necks, proſtrating themſelves before her Majeſty, and crying for Mercy, were Pardoned, and ordered to be ſet at Liberty.

And now *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Father to the Lady *Jane*, was publickly Beheaded, a Man who had ſeveral good Qualities, but his Facility to By-practices had occaſioned all the Troubles wherewith this Reign had been diſtracted: Whoſe raſh Ingratitude, the Queen having pardoned him beyond Expectation, diverted the Current of her Clemency to his Daughter, and brought himſelf to a Deſerved End. In this Man's Death, the Juſtice of the Divine Retribution was alſo manifeſted, he having been an Irreconcilable Enemy to King *Edward*'s Uncle, the good Duke of *Somerſet*, and one who was led by the Noſe to Countenance the Duke of *Northumberland* in all his Ambitious Projects. Yet was this Duke much favoured by the People at the time of his Death, as appears by this, That when he deſired the Queen would forgive him the Injury offered her Grace, one Dr. *Weſton*, who ſtood by on the Scaffold, ſaid, The Queen had forgiven him. Upon which thoſe that ſtood by, ſaid to the Doctor, *Such Forgiveneſs GOD ſend thee.*

The next Turn was *Wyat*'s, who was not Executed till the Eleventh of *April*, whereas the others ſuffered in *February*. The reaſon why his Execution was deferred ſo long, was becauſe the Queen would have perſwaded him to detect ſome others of the Conſpirators. And *Wyat* having a kind of Promiſe of Pardon, if he would ſo do; and being ſuborned by *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to that end, he accuſed the Lady *Elizabeth*, and young *Courtney* the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, as if the ſaid *Courtney*, having been refuſed by Queen *Mary*, aſpired to Marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, and then to depoſe the Queen, and ſo to reign in the Right of his Wife. Which Accuſation

cauſed

cauſed the Lady *Elizabeth* and *Courtney*, to be both committed to Priſon; *Courtney*, on the 12th of *February*, and *Elizabeth* on the 18th of *March*. But *Wyat* finding himſelf deluded, and being touch'd with the Horridneſs of ſo falſe and treacherous an Accuſation, going to the place of his Execution, deſired the Favour of a few words with the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, which being granted him, he fell on his Knees to the Marqueſs, and begged his Pardon for that irrepairable Injury he had done him; not out of Malice, but deſire of Life. The Sheriffs of *London*, and many others then preſent, teſtified the certainty of this Acknowledgment.

But notwithſtanding this Acknowledgment of *Wyat*'s at the time of his going to Execution, yet *Stephen Gardiner*, Lord Chancellor, (having an implacable Enmity to the Proteſtant Religion, and fearing, that if Queen *Mary* ſhould happen to dye, that *Elizabeth* might ſucceed to the Crown) was very willing to lay hold of this occaſion to cut her off. And therefore affirmed in the Star-Chamber, and cited the Teſtimony of the Lord *Chandois*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, That *Wyat*, a little before his Death, exhorted the Marqueſs to acknowledge his Crime, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Queens Mercy. Than which nothing could be more Falſe; for it was apparent to all that were at *Wyat*'s Execution, that beſides what he had ſaid to the Marqueſs above-mentioned, after he was upon the Scaffold, and had no hopes of longer Life, preparing himſelf to his Death, he proteſted with a loud and audible Voice, That neither the Lady *Elizabeth*, nor the Lord *Courtney*, were any ways Acceſſary to his Rebellion. And when the fore named Dr. *Weſton*, who ſtood by as his Confeſſor, urged to him, that he had confeſſed other ways to the Lords of the Council, he made anſwer, That what he ſaid then, he ſaid; but what he ſaid now, was true: And having compoſed himſelf for another World, he did again with ſincere Proteſtations and religious Aſſeverations, acquit the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lord *Courtney*, from being any the leaſt way conſcious to his Practices. However, they were both kept in Priſon, only the Lady *Elizabeth* was removed from the Tower to *Woodſtock*, and the Marqueſs of *Exeter* to *Fodringhay*.

The Queen and her Council having cleared their way by theſe Executions, began now to think of Rooting out Hereſie, by Burning the falſly-named Hereticks; and to ſhew the Merciful Temper of the Romiſh Prieſts, and how willing they were to Convince the Hereticks before they burn'd them, a Mock-Diſputation was appointed at *Oxford*, where *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* were removed, there to diſpute with the Divines of both the Univerſities concerning the Eucharift. Their Uſage was Barbarous, almoſt beyond belief, were it not that Popery has ſufficiently taught us, that its tender Mercies are Cruelty. Two days only were allotted them for their Preparation, and

those two days they were in strait Custody, in several either Dungeons, or places little differing, kept from conversing with any but their Gaolers; and which is more, from the use of their own Papers and Books. And in the Schools, their Behaviour towards them was as Barbarous, as their Usage in Prison had been Tyrannical. And yet such was the mighty Power of Truth, that all their Adversaries were not able to resist it. The Papists best Arguments against it, being loud Shouts and Outcries, making up in Noise, what they wanted in Weight and Solidity of Argument; many opposing one, without Order, without Manners, and without Modesty. On the 24th of *April*, they were brought from the Prison to St. *Maries*, and commanded to abjure those Truths, which in the Schools they had so Learnedly defended; which they refusing, were declared Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire, which was what they designed from the first; the strongest Arguments for Popery being Fire and Faggot. But the Flames that they kindled, made the Truth shine so much the brighter; and the Contempt of Death these Holy Martyrs shewed, rendered their Constancy the more Illustrious. For good old *Latimer* could hardly bear the Joy he conceived, that the Divine Goodness had so far honoured him, that he should end his long Life (to which Nature must soon put a Period) with so happy a Close.

And now Queen *Mary* begins again to hanker after a Husband, for all the Blood that she had shed, had not yet quench'd the Flames of her Love to King *Philip*; besides, if an Heir was wanting, she feared Popery would in a short time be at a Loss; and if she delayed her Marriage any longer, she was afraid she should be at a loss for an Heir. A Parliament was therefore Summoned, in which two things were proposed, her Marriage, and Subjection to *Rome* in Ecclesiastical Affairs: For the Queen could not be satisfied, till she had totally inslaved the Nation, and brought again that Yoke upon them, which had so gall'd the Necks of our Fore-fathers. And of this the Parliament (tho' a Popish one) were so sensible, that it would not go down so glibly as the other of her Marriage; which was agreed to upon these Conditions:

*That* Philip *should not advance any into any Publick Office or Dignity, but such as were Natives of* England, *and the Queens Subjects: That he should admit of a set Number of English into his Houshold, whom he should use respectively, and not suffer them to be injured by Foreigners: He should not transport the Queen out of* England, *but at her Intreaty, nor any of the Issue begotten by her, who should have their Education in the Realm; and should not be suffered, but upon Necessity, or some good Reason, to go out of the Realm; nor then neither, but with the Consent of the English: The Queen deceasing without Children,* Philip *should not make any Claim to the Kingdom, but should leave it freely to him*

*to whom of Right it ſhould belong: That he ſhould not Change any thing in the Laws, either Publick or Private, the Immunities, and Cuſtoms of the Realm; but ſhould be Bound to Confirm and keep them: That he ſhould not Tranſport any Jewels, or any part of the Wardrobe; nor alienate any of the Revenues of the Crown: That he ſhould preſerve our Shipping, Ordnance, and Munition, and keep the Caſtles, Forts and Block-Houſes in good Repair, and well Mann'd: Laſtly, That this Match ſhou'd not any ways derogate from the League lately concluded between the Queen and the King of* France; *but that the Peace between the* Engliſh *and the* French, *ſhould remain firm and inviolate: Only it ſhou'd be lawful for* Philip *out of other Kingdoms and Dominions belonging to his Father the Emperour, to ſend Aids unto him, either for propelling Injuries, or taking Revenge for any already received.*

All things being thus agreed on, the *Spaniſh* King with a Fleet of 160 Sail, arrived in *England*, at *South-hampton*; where having reſted three days, attended by a great Company of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Nobility, came on the 24*th* of *July* to the Queen at *Wincheſter*, it being a very wet day, the Heavens themſelves weeping at this Wedding: The deſign of it being the utter inſlaving of *England*, tho' the Divine Providence averted the Stroke. The Feaſt of S. *James* (the Tutelary Saint of *Spain*) was deſtin'd for the Nuptials, which were Celebrated at *Wincheſter* with great Pomp: And there *Don Juan Figueroa* did on the behalf of the Emperour reſign the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and conferr'd all his Right thereto on *Philip*: And the Heralds Proclaimed their Titles in *Latin*, *French*, and *Engliſh*. The Wedding being over, at the beginning of *Auguſt* the King and Queen came to *Windſor*, where the King was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter: On the Eleventh of *Auguſt* they came to *London*, where the Citizens received them with moſt Magnificent Solemnity.

The Affair of the Marriage being thus conſummated, and the Queen having got a Husband, the next thing is to have the Nation Re-Married to the Pope; for which End another Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, and ſoon after Cardinal *Pool*, who had by King *Henry* been proclaimed an Enemy to the State, arrived in *England*, with the Title and Authority of a Legate; fancying to himſelf the double hope of a Kingdom, if not Secular, at leaſt Eccleſiaſtical, by Vertue of his Authority Legatine, and the Dignity of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Queen *Mary* had her Education for ſome years under *Margaret* Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, the Mother of *Pool*, who was then a Child; and that by Queen *Catharines* Means, who intended, as it was thought to Marry her Daughter the Lady *Mary* to one of the Counteſſes Sons, thereby to ſtrengthen her Daughters Claim to the Crown, if *Henry* ſhould deceaſe without other Lawful Iſſue: The Counteſs being Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth:

Fourth. The Cardinal therefore knowing himſelf to be in great Eſteem with the Queen, was confident, if not of the Queen by Marriage (for the Queen was then unmarried) yet at leaſt of all Advantages of her Favour. Nor was the Cardinal at all deceived; for *Mary* having obtained the Crown, earneſtly ſued to the Cardinal to reſtore himſelf to his Country: And the Pope not Ignorant how much the Cardinal would advantage the Apoſtolick See, at the Queens Requeſt diſpatched him with moſt ample Authority. But the Emperour having a Project on foot for his Son, was ſomewhat jealous of the Cardinal; and therefore began ſeriouſly to treat with Cardinal *Dandino*, the Pope's Legat with him, for the Concluſion of a Peace between him and the *French*, that he might thereby give a ſtop to *Pool*, whoſe coming into *England*, the Emperour's Affairs being not yet ſettled, might Peradventure make all fly aſunder. *Dandino*, to gratify *Charles*, by *Franciſco Commendono*, ſends Letters to *Pool*, adviſing him not to ſet forth as yet; foraſmuch as this Legacy undertaken without the Emperour's Conſent, was diſpleaſing; and the *Engliſh* Nation for the moſt part, eſpecially the *Londoners*, did ſo hate the Name of the Pope of *Rome*, that his Legacy would be held in Contempt amongſt them: A Legate therefore was not to be Employed unto them, until Perſwaſions had brought them to a better Temper. *Pool* having received theſe Letters in his Cloiſter, thought it fitting to expect his Holineſs's Pleaſure. But the Pope not liking the increaſe of the Emperour's Greatneſs, by the Addition of ſuch Eſtates, and fretting that *Dandino* had preſumed to ſtay the Cardinal, he recalled *Dandino*, and conferred on *Pool* alone the Legacy both into *England* for the one Affair, and to the Emperour and the *French* for the Treaty of Peace. He willingly undertaking it, preſently ſet forward from *Trent*, certifying the Emperour and the *French*, of his large Commiſſion. The Emperour perceiving that theſe Devices wou'd be no longer available, ſent *Don Juan de Mendoza* unto him with Letters, wherein he plainly diſcovered his Fear, that the Cardinal's Primature Arrival in *England*, might prove an Obſtacle to his Proceedings there, which were great and hopeful: Wherefore it was his deſire, That he ſhould either there attend his Pleaſure; or if he would needs go further, he might come to *Leige*, and there expect the Event of his Deſigns; the Cardinal, upon receipt theſe Letters, returns to *Dilling* (not far from *Trent*) c tifies the Pope of the whole Carriage of the Buſineſs, ſends Expoſtulatory Letters to the Emperour, ſhewing t in what an Indignity it was to the Apoſtolick See, th Holineſs's Legate, ſent upon a Treaty of Peace, and duce a Kingdom to the Obedience of the Church, ſ diſgracefully, with contempt to his Holineſs, and th Emperour's Command, be detain'd in the midſt of

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in the ſight of the Enemies of the Church. That great Divine *Domingo Soto*, ordinary Preacher to the Emperour, was then at *Dilling*. By him he perſwades the Emperour not to hinder this Legation, being it would ſo much hazard the Eſtate of the Church, but eſpecially of the Kingdom of *England*. At lengeth with much ado, but not until the Emperour had Intelligence that the Articles concerning his Sons Marriage was agreed on, he obtained leave to come to *Bruſſels*, but upon condition that he ſhould reſide there, until the Emperour were aſſured that the Marriage between *Philip* and *Mary* were Solemniz'd. So to *Bruſſel*'s he came, where he ſaluted the Emperour, who received him very Courteouſly. And that time might not paſs unprofitably with him, he begins to put in Execution one part of his Legation; which was, to draw the Emperour and the King of *France* to ſome indifferent Terms of Peace: The Emperour Profeſſing that he would not reject Peace upon any reaſonable Conditions; the Cardinal goes into *France* to treat with *Henry* concerning the ſame thing; who made as fair ſhews as did the Emperour; but the words of both were but the fair Covers of Foul Intentions; for their Hearts were Exulcerated with that inveterate Hatred, which made all his Pains Fruitleſs. *Henry* at his departure, embracing him, ſignified the Sorrow he had conceived that he had not been ſooner acquainted with his Worth, for had he truly known him, his Endeavours ſhould have been totally for his Advancement to the Papacy.

A little after the Cardinals return to *Bruſſels*, came the Lords *Paget* and *Haſtings*, Ambaſſadors to the Emperour, from their Majeſties of *England*, who ſignified their joynt longing to ſee the Cardinal, and therefore deſired he might be forthwith diſmiſſed; that by Vertue of his Authority he might rectify the Church of *England*, wonderfully out of Tune, by Reaſon of the Schiſm wherewith it had been afflicted. And upon this News the Emperour's Fears being now over, he was permitted to go for *England*, but was by contrary Winds detained at *Calais* until *November*, in which Month he arrived at *Dover*. Being very favourably entertain'd, their Majeſties and the Nobles alike ſtriving to manifeſt their Joy. And becauſe he had in the year 1539, been by Parliament declared an Enemy to the State, and by the ſame Law condemned to dye, the Eſtates then Aſſembled in Parliament Repealed that Act, and reſtored him to his Blood; their Majeſties themſelves coming to the Houſe Extraordinarily for the Confirmation of the Act, before his Arrival at *London*.

And now the Queen's Project for the Reconciling of the Nation to the Church of *Rome*, came on; for a little after his coming, both Houſes of Parliament were ſent for to the Court; where the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor, having in the Preſence of their Majeſties and the Aſſembly

ſpoken

ſpoken ſomething concerning the Cardinal's grateful Arrival, the Cardinal himſelf began a long Oration in *Engliſh*, wherein *He acknowledged how much he was bound to their Majeſties, and the Eſtates of the Realm, by whoſe Favour thoſe Laws for his Exile and Proſcription, were repealed, and he once more made a Native of this Land: He was bound by the Laws of Gratitude to Endeavour the Requital of this Benefit; whereto an Occaſion happily offered it ſelf: The late Schiſm had ſeparated them from the Union of the Church, and made them Exiles from Heaven: But now by the Authority conferred on him by the* Pope, *St.* Peter's *Succeſſor, Chriſt's Vicar, he would bring them back into the Fold of the Church, the ſole means of attaining their Cœleſtial Heritage. Wherefore he exhorted them ingenuouſly to acknowledge the Errors of theſe latter years, and to deteſt them; and with ſincere alacrity of Mind to accept of, and retain this Benefit, which GOD by his Vicar's Legate did profer them. For now nothing elſe remained, but that he being preſent with thoſe Keys which ſhould open the Gates of the Church, they ſhould abrogate thoſe Laws, which, lately Enacted to the prejudice of the Church, had rended them from the reſt of its Body.*

Having ſpoken a great deal to this purpoſe, and ranſack'd Antiquity for Examples of our Fore-fathers Devotion to the See of *Rome*, his ſpeech wrought ſo effectually on the Minds of thoſe who were addicted to Popery, that they thought not themſelves until this day capable of Salvation. But there were many of the Houſe of Commons, who were much wiſer, and rightly judg'd it a rare Felicity to have ſhaken off the Yoak of *Rome*, and eagerly withſtood the re-admittance of it: But by the prevailing Endeavours of the King and Queen, all things were at laſt compos'd to the Cardinal's liking; and the Authority which the Popes heretofore uſurped in this Realm, is reſtored, the Title of Supream Head of the Church is Abrogated, and a Petition drawn by the whole Court of Parliament, for the Abſolution of the People and Clergy of *England* from Schiſm and Hereſy, is by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preſented to the Legate: Who (they all kneeling) by the Authority Committed unto him, abſolved them. And now having thus acted this Spiritual Interlude, and inſlaved the Nation by Subjecting themſelves once more to that Mother of Harlots; they conclude it with mocking of GOD, by going in Proceſſion to the Chappel, and ſinging *Te Deum Laudamus*, for that which was the greateſt Diſhonour to his Name.

The Kingdom being thus abſolved from Schiſm and Hereſy, and reconciled to Mother Church again, one wou'd have thought the Queen ſhould have now been ſatisfied: but, as ſome Covetous People, the more they have, the more they deſire; ſo it fared with the Queen; ſhe was for puſhing matters further on ſtill, and had her Zeal been right, ſhe had been an Excellent Woman; but being Bigotted to the

Roman Schism, truly so called: The more haste she makes, the further she's out of the way, wandering in the Endless Mazes of Error; and had not the Hand of Heaven taken her off in the midst of her Carreir, she had involv'd the Nation in irrepairable Ruine and Destruction.

The Pope had already sent hither Cardinal *Pool*, with a Legantine Power to Absolve the Nation, and Reconcile it to the Church of *Rome*, and now the Queen sends over a Solemn Embassy to the Roman Pontiff, to pray him to be reconcil'd to us: Tho' they might as well have staid at home, for before they came thither, the Pope was dead. In the mean time, the Queen had another Business to do here, which was of a more Temporal Concern; for, considering that all her Actions had hitherto past with applause, she began to treat with the Nobility, that if not the Royal, at least the Matrimonial Crown of our Queens might be imposed upon *Philip*. But it being a matter without President, and that it might perhaps, to an Ambitious Prince, give some Colour for Claim to the Kingdom, they proved averse thereunto, and she was forced to be content to let it alone, and proceed no farther in it.

But the Queen had yet another care upon her, and that was the Restitution of Church-Lands: And this met with no better success then the other; for her Father *Henry* had so divided them, and that both among the Nobility and Commons, that nothing could be done therein. They had found the sweetness of them, and were loth to let them go: Nor did they believe it any Sacriledge to keep what they had bought or Exchanged, (which was the case of many) and which before were only apply'd to Idolatrous and Superstitious Uses: Cardinal *Pool* had indeed reconcil'd them to the *Pope*, but it was only from the Teeth outwards. For tho' the *Pope* was ready to give them his Blessing, yet most of them were of Opinion the parting with their Abby-Lands would be a greater Curse than the *Pope*'s Blessing could Compensate. However, to make some shew of their Readiness to gratify the Queen, it was decreed that the First-Fruits and Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy, *Anno* 1534, should be remitted: Which yet put but little into the *Pope*'s Pocket, because upon consideration of the Treasuries Poverty, and of the many Pensions granted by *Henry* to the Ejected Religious Persons, the Decree was quickly revoked.

The Design of the Queen's Marriage was to inslave the Nation, and intail Popery and Arbitrary Power upon us, by getting an Heir to the Crown, that might bring us under the *Spanish* Yoak: And then no doubt the Catholick King would in time make us all good Catholicks. This was the Project of the Queen and other Popish Bigots. And now the Queen began to flatter her self that she was like to Effect it. For certain it is her Belly began to swell, but it was with a Disease, and not with a Child, as her flattering Courtiers were ready

to

to perſwade her. The Truth is, ſhe had that Diſtemper which Phyſicians call a *Mole*: and of that ſhe might have eaſily been informed, and in all likelihood been cured too, had ſhe timely conſulted with the Phyſicians and not only with Midwives and old Women; who from ſome Symptoms that attended the Queen, run away like Hounds with a falſe Cry, and eaſily believed what the Queen had a mind they ſhould believe; and what, becauſe ſhe deſired it, ſhe eaſily believed herſelf; and was ſo confident, that ſhe affirmed ſhe felt the ſtirring of the Embryo in her Womb. And indeed to thoſe that are affected with this Malady, that fleſhy and informed Subſtance which is termed *Mola*, does ſometimes ſeem to move, but that ſlowly, and with the general Motion of the whole Belly, ſwagging, as it were, from one ſide to the other: By which, and other Symptoms, Phyſicians would eaſily have diſcovered her Diſeaſe; which, unleſs with very timely Applications removed and brought away, is commonly incurable: For in proceſs of time the Liver being overcooled, the Perſon affected, falls into a Dropſy, which generally brings them to the Grave, as it alſo did the Queen: Who in the mean time being thus deceived by her own Credulity, and the Ignorance of the Women about her, was betrayed to the Laughter of the whole Nation; nay, of all the European World: For upon the belief of her being with Child, Mandates were ſent from the Lords of the Council to the Biſhop of *London*, to diſperſe certain Forms of Prayer, wherein GOD muſt be mocked, (as well as the Nation abuſed) by returning Thanks for his Mercies to this Kingdom, by giving hopes of an Heir to the Crown, and infuſing Life into the Embryo; with Orders that they ſhould pray for the Preſervation of the Queen and of the Infant, and for her happy Delivery; and to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung every where. And that the Reader may ſee how earneſt they were in their Prayers for the Queen's ſafe Delivery, and how confident they were that this Heir ſhould be a Son, I have tranſcribed part of their Prayers upon that Occaſion. —— "Hear "our Cry, and the Prayers of thy People, and open to them "the Treaſures of thy Mercy, thy gracious Favour, the "Spring of Living Water: Thou that haſt begun, make "in the hand of thy Servant a perfect Work. Suffer not, we "pray thee the faithleſs Rebels, to ſay of thy Servant and "her Counſellors, They have deviſed matters which they "cannot perform: (*It ſhould ſeem by this, that ſome of the Proteſtants ſaw the ſham, and fore-ſaw how they would be baffled*) "And grant unto thy Servant a happy and an eaſy Travel; "for it is not impoſſible to thy Power, nor indecent to thy "Juſtice, nor unwonted to thy Mercy. It is well known unto us how marvellouſly thou didſt work in *Sarah*, of the "Age of Ninety years, and in *Elizabeth* the barren, and alſo "far ſtricken in Age; for thy Counſel is not in the Power of

" Men; Thou Lord, that art the Searcher of hearts and " thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy Servant never luſted after " Man, never gave her ſelf to wanton Company, nor made " her ſelf partaker with them that walk in lightneſs; but she " conſented to take an Husband with thy fear, and not with " her Luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy Servant took an Hus- " band not for Carnal Pleaſure, but for deſire and love of " Poſterity, wherein thy Name might be bleſſed for ever and " ever. Give therefore unto thy Servants *Philip* our King, " and *Mary* our Queen, a Male Iſſue, which may ſit in the " Seat of thy Kingdom. Give unto our Queen thy Servant, " a little Infant in Faſhion and Body comely and beautiful; " in Pregnant Wit, Notable and Excellent. Grant the ſame " to be in Obedience, like *Abraham*; in Hoſpitality, like *Lot*; " in Chaſtity and Brotherly Love, like *Joſeph*; in Meekneſs " and Mildneſs, like *Moſes*; in Strength and Valiantneſs, like " *Sampſon*; let him be like *Job*, a ſimple and an Upright " Man, fearing GOD, and Eſchewing Evil. Let him be " found faithful as *David*, after thy heart, and let him be wiſe " among Kings with the moſt wiſe *Solomon*. Let him finally " be garnished with the Comelineſs of all vertuous Conditi- " ons; and in the ſame let him wax old and live, that he may " ſee his Children's Children, to the Third and Fourth Ge- " neration. And give unto our Soveraign Lord and Lady, " King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, thy Bleſſing and long Life " upon Earth; and grant that of them may come Kings and " Queens which may ſtedfaſtly continue in Faith, Love, and " Holineſs: And bleſſed be their Seed of our GOD; that " all Nations may know that thou art only GOD in all the " Earth; which art bleſſed for evermore. *Amen.*

## *A ſhort Prayer for Queen* Mary, *ſet forth in* Engliſh, *by* Thomas Smith, *Servant to her Majeſty, to be daily and hourly prayed and ſaid of all her Good Subjects.*

O *Almighty Father, which didſt Sanctify the Bleſſed Virgin and Mother,* Mary, *in her Conception, and in the Birth of Chriſt our Saviour, thy only Son; and alſo, by thy Omnipotent Power, didſt ſafely deliver the Prophet* Jonas *out of the* Whales *Belly; defend, O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy Servant* Mary *the Queen, (with Child Conceived) and ſo viſit her in and with thy goodly Gift of Health, that not only the Child, thy Creature, within her Conceived, may joyfully come from her into this World, and receive the Bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſm, and Confirmation, Enjoying therewith the daily increaſe of all Princely and gracious Gifts both of Body and Soul, but that alſo ſhe the Mother, through thy Special Grace and Mercy may in time of her Travel avoid all*

*Exceſſive*

*Exceſſive dolor and pain, and abide perfect and ſure, from all peril and danger of Death, with long and proſperous Life, through Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Nor was it the Prieſts only that made all this clutter, but the Parliament alſo were drawn in, by whom many things were Enacted concerning the Education of the Babe; and in providing Tutors and Governours for it. In the Month of *May* following, her time of Delivery being ſuppoſed to be nigh, there was great Preparation made for it; and Swadling-Clouts, Cradle, Rockers, and other things were provided, and in a readineſs. Nay, the Farce was carried on ſo far, that a Rumour was ſpread abroad that the Queen was delivered of a Child; whereupon the Bells were Rung, and Bonfires and Proceſſions made, not only in the City, but in moſt parts of the Kingdom; it being given out, That there was a Prince born. Nay, ſo confident was the Parſon of St. *Ann*'s by *Alderſgate*, that he went up into the Pulpit, and there took upon him to deſcribe the Proportion of the Child, how Fair, how Beautiful, and great a Prince it was, that the like had not been ſeen. But after all their Expectation, it proved but *Parturiant Montes*. The Mountain brought forth only a *Mouſe*, and all their hopes prov'd Abortive. Tho' the Reports that were ſpread abroad, was with a Deſign by ſome of the Chief Managers of Affairs, to have ſubſtituted ſome other Child inſtead of a true Prince: Which the Queen's Zeal for the Catholick Cauſe would willingly enough have permitted; but King *Philip* had a watchful Eye over them, and would never conſent that an Impoſtor ſhould be admitted an Heir to any of his Dominions, and took care not to be cheated: And it is ſaid he perceived ſo much of a Deſign to do it, that he was the more watchful; and which ſo eſtranged his Love from Queen *Mary*, that he never much cared for her afterwards. It ſeems ſhe had not ſo clever a Contrivance as the late Queen *Mary* of *Modena*; nor did ſhe ſo well underſtand the uſe of a Warming-Pan. The ſame Intereſt, and the ſame Deſign was carrying on in both Reigns; only the laſt manag'd it better, tho' neither of them proſpered in the end, the laſt being diſcovered, as well as the firſt prevented. It was no doubt a great Mortification to Queen *Mary* to be thus diſappointed; and to find all their Prayers as vain as what they prayed for: And that their Preparation ſerved only to render them the Ridicule of all the Nation; the whole being little better than a Dream.

The Queen, being now without hopes of an Heir of her own Body to ſucceed her, reſolved to diſpatch as many Hereticks out of the way as ſhe could, whilſt ſhe lived. The burning Ardour of her Miſtaken Zeal kindling thoſe Flames which conſumed the Martyrs in all the Quarters of the Land, the Number of thoſe that ſuffered being almoſt incredible. I will therefore only particularize in the Death of *Cranmer*.

Who being brought by Order of Cardinal *Pool*, the *Pope*'s Legate, before *James Brook* Biſhop of *Glouceſter* (for they judged it unlawful to puniſh an Archbiſhop but by leave from the *Pope*) *John Story* and *Thomas Martin*, Doctors of Law, Commiſſioners from the Queen, accompanied the Biſhop to *Oxford*, that the Authority Royal might Countenance the Delegates Proceedings. In St. *Mary*'s Church they had high Seats purpoſely Erected for them; *Brook* ſitting under the Place where the Conſecrated Hoſt did uſually Hang in a Pix; beſide him ſat *Martin* and *Story*, but a little lower; and *Cranmer*, habited like a Doctor of Divinity, but not like a Biſhop, was brought before them; being told that there were thoſe that repreſented not only her Majeſties Perſon, but alſo of the moſt holy Father the *Pope*; he with due Reverence ſaluted the Queen's Commiſſioners, but would not ſo much as caſt his Eyes towards the *Pope*'s Repreſentative; which he did not, (as he afterwards confeſſed) out of Contempt to the Man, but becauſe he would not ſeem to acknowledge the *Pope*'s Authority, he having by Oath to King *Henry* obliged himſelf to the contrary; eſpecially in *England*, where he could make no pretence of Right.

Then each of them exhorted him to change his Opinion and return to the Unity of the Church; but he not regarding their Admonition, they cite him to appear within foreſcore days before his Holineſs; which with her Majeſties conſent, he promiſed he would. But the *Pope* not expecting his coming, within twenty days after, by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded him to be condemned, and committed to the Secular Power. And a few Days after, a New Authority is by the *Pope* granted to *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thirlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, for the degrading of *Cranmer* both from Presbyterial and Archiepiſcopal Orders, and he then to be delivered over to the Secular Magiſtrate to ſuffer for Hereſy, which was done accordingly.

*Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*, as long as they lived, did by Letters exhort each other to a generous Conſtancy for the Maintaining of the Truth of the Chriſtian Faith: But the other two Champions having made their way to Heaven, and left him alone; who now not being plied with ſuch firm Exhortations, it ſeems the Fleſh began to prevail over the Spirit; and the deſire of Life prevailing, his Conſtancy began to ſhake, through the daily Importunity of a *Spaniſh Fryar*: So that being ſeduced through hope of Pardon, he retracted whatever he had before written in Defence of his Religion; which Retractation was afterwards Printed and Publiſhed: But the Divine Wiſdom, (who only permitted him to fall, that he might be ſenſible of his own Weakneſs, and lay hold on a Stronger Arm) ſo over-ruled things, that his Death was reſolved on, notwithſtanding his Retractation: For whether it were that *Pool* would be no longer Excluded from

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the Poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick, or (which ſeems more probable) that the Queen's inveterate hate, and deſire of Revenge for her Mother's Divorce, which could not be otherwiſe ſatiated than with the Blood of this grave Prelate; or whatever elſe was the Cauſe, ſo it was, That when he thought himſelf aſſured of Life, he was preſently hurried to the Place of Execution: But was firſt led to St. *Mary*'s Church, where *Cole* was to preach his Funeral Sermon, and *Cranmer* afterward to confirm his Apoſtacy to the Popiſh Religion. And that it might not ſeem ſtrange to *Cranmer* that he muſt die, as an Heretick, tho' he had recanted his Hereſy; *Cole* tells him, *That as when* David *had choſen the three days Peſtilence, the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not releaſe all; the ſame was likewiſe done to him; to whom tho' Pardon and Reconciliation was due, according to the Canons, ſeeing he repented of his Errors; yet there were Cauſes why the Queen and the Council at this time judged him to Death; ſome of which were, becauſe he had diſſolved the lawful Matrimony between the King her Father and her Mother, and that he had driven out the* Pope's *Authority while he was Metropolitan; that he had been the Author and Fountain from whom all Heretical Doctrines and Schiſmatical Opinions did firſt riſe and ſpring; and that it ſeemed meet, according to the Law of Equality, that as the Death of the Duke of* Northumberland *of late, made even with Sir* Thomas Moor *Chancellor, that died for the Church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with* Fiſher *of* Rocheſter; *and becauſe that* Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, *were not able to make even with that Man, it ſeemed meet that* Cranmer *ſhould be joyned with them to fill up this part of Equality: And that beſides theſe, there were other juſt and weighty Cauſes, which ſeemed good to the Queen and the Council, which were not meet at that time to be opened to the Common People.* Theſe were the Reaſons that Dr. *Cole* alledged for *Cranmer*'s Execution, notwithſtanding his Recantation; which plainly Evidences that the Romiſh Church can never heartily forgive a Heretick, (as they are pleaſed to term the Proteſtants) tho' they ſeem never ſo zealouſly to Embrace the Romiſh Faith. For tho' *Cranmer* was thus to be Executed, yet they looked upon him by reaſon of his Recantation to be a Convert to the Popiſh Religion; and therefore that he might be encouraged to dye therein, the aforeſaid Popiſh Dr. *Cole*, looking upon the Archbiſhop as ſuch, bid him not to miſtruſt any thing, but that he ſhould immediately receive the Reward which the good Thief did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *This Day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* And exhorted him to arm himſelf againſt the Terror of the Fire by what St. *Paul* ſaid, *GOD is faithful, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above what you are able to bear*; and by the Example of the three Children, to whom GOD made the Flame ſeem like a Pleaſant Dew; telling him alſo of the rejoycing of St. *Andrew* on his Croſs, and the patience of St.

*Laurence* in the Fire: Aſſuring him, That GOD, to ſuch as dye in his Faith, will either abate the Fury of the Flame, or give him ſtrength to abide it. Then commending *Cranmer*, upon his late Converſion (as he called it) he ſaid that while he flowed in Riches and Honour, he was unworthy of his Life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of Death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no Comfort, he aſſur'd him in the Name of all the Prieſts there preſent, that immediately after his Death, there ſhould be Dirges, Maſſes and Funerals executed for him, in all the Churches of *Oxford*, for the Succour of his Soul.

*Cole* having ended his Sermon or Oration, as the People were ready to depart, called them back, ſaying, *Brethren, leſt any Man ſhould doubt of this Mans ſincere Converſion and Repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you: And therefore I pray you, Mr.* Cranmer, *that you will now perform what you promiſed not long ago, namely, That you would openly expreſs the true and undoubted Profeſſion of your Faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from Men, and that all Men may underſtand that you are a Catholick indeed. I will do it,* ſaid the Archbiſhop, *and with a good Will.* And therefore riſing up, and putting off his Cap, he began to ſpeak thus to the People, *I deſire you, well beloved Brethren in the Lord, That you will pray to GOD for me, to forgive me my Sins, which above all Men, both in Number and Greatneſs I have committed. But above all the reſt, there is one Offence which at this time doth moſt of all trouble me, of which I ſhall give you an Account by and by.* And then he kneeled down and prayed. After which he told the People, That *every Man at the time of their Death deſired to give ſome good Exhortation, that others might remember it, and be bettered thereby: In like manner,* ſaid he, *I beſeech GOD, that I may ſpeak ſomething at this my departing, whereby GOD may be glorified, and you may be edified.* And then having given ſeveral uſeful and profitable Exhortations to the People, he concluded thus: *And now, for as much as I am come to the laſt end of my Life, whereupon hangeth all my Life paſſed, and all my Life to come; either to live with my Maſter Chriſt for ever in Joy, or elſe to be in pain for ever with wicked Devils in Hell; and I ſee before mine Eyes preſently, either Heaven ready to receive me, or elſe Hell ready to ſwallow me up; I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very Faith, how I believe, without any Colour or Diſſimulation; For now is no time to Diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or Written in times paſt. Firſt, I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth,* &c. *And I believe every Article of the Catholick Faith, every Word and Sentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the New and Old Teſtament. And now I come to the great thing that has ſo much troubled my Conſcience, more than any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole Life; and that is, The ſetting abroad of a Writing contrary to the Truth; which now here I re-*

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*nounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the Truth which I thought in my heart; and written for fear of Death, and to save my Life, if it might be; and that is, all such Bills and Papers which I have written or signed with my hand, since my Degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for when I come to the Fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the* Pope, *I refuse him, as Christ's Enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false Doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught, in my Book against the Bishop of* Winchester; *the which my Book teacheth so true a Doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last Day, before the Judgment of GOD, where the Papistical Doctrine contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.*

Certainly never was Popery more baffled, nor did the Papists ever receive a greater foil, than by this Declaration of the holy Martyr, at a time when they thought of nothing more than of Triumphing in his fall. *Cole* told the People they should hear him make a true and undoubted Profession of his Faith; and so they did; but it was such a one as was to their Confusion. And tho' at the hearing of it, they were fill'd with all the utmost Rage imaginable against him, yet they knew not how to help themselves; nor revenge the Affront he had put upon them. His Death was resolved on before, and they could but burn him now. They looked one upon another as Persons amazed, and that doubted whether they might believe their own Ears; so greatly were their Expectations disappointed. Surely their Cruelty was never better met withal, nor their hopes more notably deluded: For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a mighty Victory, and a perpetual Triumph of Glory by his Recantation. Thus can the Divine Wisdom catch the Wise in their own Craftiness; and bring Good out of Evil, making *Cranmers* fall tend to the Rising of the Truth; and causing him to give a greater Blow unto it's Adversaries.

But having heard him speak so far, they could bear no longer; for even *Cole*, that before had bid him speak, now cried out, *Stop the Heretick's Mouth, and take him away*: Upon which, he was immediately pulled down, and led to the Fire, being bitterly taunted at, all the way as he went by the Rabble of *Fryars* that followed him, and whose Rage and Malice he had so notably defeated.

When he was fastned to the stake, as soon as ever the Flame began to ascend, lifting up his left Hand to Heaven, he thrust forth his Right Hand into the Flame; and there, with a most admirable Constancy, continued it, until it was consumed, only once drawing it in, and with it stroking his Beard. At length the raging Flame spreading it self, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, he cried out, *Lord, Receive my Spirit*; and his Body abiding

abiding as immoveable as the Stake to which he was faſtned, he patiently endured the Violence of the Fire, until he at laſt expired: It being peculiarly obſerved of him, that after his Body was conſumed to Aſhes, his Heart was found intire and untouched. Had ſuch a thing been found in any of the Popiſh Party, it would no doubt have been Recorded for a Miracle, and that Miracle would have been ſufficient to have Sainted him.

Thus, through the Divine Aſſiſtance of All-conquering-Grace, did the holy Archbiſhop witneſs a good Confeſſion at his Death, and thereby overcome and defeat the Malice of his Enemies; and the Queen, who would have had him damn'd as well as burn'd, was defeated of her Expectation; not meeting with the ſame Succeſs in *Cranmer*, as ſhe did in the Duke of *Northumberland*, whom, out of a ſecret hope of promiſed Life, ſhe cauſed to dye in his Apoſtacy from the Truth. But tho' ſhe cou'd'nt have her will upon *Cranmer*, ſhe wreaked her Rage on the reſt of the Surviving Martyrs, ſparing neither Age nor Sex; making the Nation blaze in every Quarter, with the Fires that conſumed the Martyrs; burning even Women great with Child, and thereby deſtroying unborn Heretieks; for one *Paratine* the Daughter of *Katharine Couches*, was burned with her Mother and Siſter, in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, all three in one Fire; and *Paratine* being big with Child, the force of the Fire cauſed her Womb to burſt, and out came a living Male Child, which was taken from her by the Officer, and afterwards thrown into the fire again, by the Command of *Jacques Amy*, the Dean of the ſaid Iſle, and cruelly burned with its Grandmother, Mother and Aunt; a Murder ſo barbarous, that no Savage Nation could be guilty of a worſe; nor does any Hiſtory that I know of, afford us a more Execrable Inſtance of Popiſh Rage and Cruelty.

But as Queen *Mary* fought againſt GOD, in deſtroying his People, ſuppreſſing his Truth, and ſetting up abominable Idolatry in the Room thereof; ſo GOD alſo fought againſt her, and blaſted all her hopes, giving her a Barren Womb and dry Breſts; her Husband, though born and bred a Papiſt, yet hating her Bloody and Cruel Diſpoſition, and jealous of the foul play ſhe deſigned to put upon him about an Heir, went away and left her, and never returned again: And by engaging her ſelf in a War with *France*, ſhe loſt *Calais*, which had been in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* above two hundred years, and which was now loſt in Six Days. A loſs that ſo grieved the Queen that ſhe did not long ſurvive it; and being comforted by ſome of her Friends in the time of her ſickneſs, who thought ſhe had grieved for the Abſence of her Husband, ſhe refuſed to be comforted, giving her ſelf wholly over to Melancholly, and telling them, That ſhe died, but the true Cauſe of her Death they were ignorant of, which if they deſired to know, they ſhould after her Death diſſect her heart,

heart, and there they ſhould find *Calais*. Intimating by that, the loſs of *Calais* had occaſioned this Fatal Grief, which was likewiſe thought to have been increaſed by the Death of the Emperour her Father-in-Law. The Truth is, her Liver being over-cooled by a *Mole*, theſe things peradventure might haſten her end, which could not otherwiſe be far from her, and caſt her by degrees into that kind of Dropſy, which Phyſicians call *Aſcites*. This Dropſy being not diſcovered in time, deceived her Phyſicians, who believed that ſhe had conceived by King *Philip*, whereas ſhe bred nothing but her own Death. So that mature Remedies being not applied, and ſhe not obſerving a fit Diet, ſhe fell into a Fever, which increaſing by little and little, at laſt ended in her Death, after ſhe had lived Forty three years, and Reigned (like a Fury) Five Years, four Months, and eleven Days: Her Reign being begun, continued, and ended in Blood; being happy in nothing but in the ſhortneſs of it; and that, ſeeking by ſuch violent means, to Eſtabliſh Popery, ſhe did moſt effectually root it out: Her Reign and Name being ſeldom mentioned without horror, and the utmoſt deteſtation; until the late Reign of a Second Queen *Mary*, had endeared that Name to the Nation; being more Eminent for a Merciful and Vertuous Queen, than *Mary* the Firſt was deteſtable for her furious Rage, and bloody Cruelty.

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# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF Queen *ELIZABETH.*

ELizabeth, *the ſecond Daughter of* Henry *the Eighth, by his ſecond Wife* Ann Bolen, *being wonderfully preſerved in the late Reign, ſucceeded next to Queen* Mary *her half-Siſter, and reſtored the Reformation, for which ſhe was Excommunicated by the Pope, and her Subjects abſolved from their Allegiance; which occaſioned Plot upon Plot, and Rebellion upon Rebellion; the Roman Party ſtriving to cut her off by Treachery, or dethrone her by Force. But it pleaſed GOD ſo to diſappoint their Deſign, that in ſpite of all her Enemies, ſhe was bleſſed with a glorious Reign of Forty four Years. Memorable was the Year* 1588, *for the Spaniſh Invaſion, attempted by King* Philip *with his Invincible Armada, but diſappointed by GOD's Providence. Whereupon Queen* Elizabeth *purſuing her Blow, carried on the War againſt* Spain, *with ſo much Conduct and Succeſs, both in* Europe *and* America, *that the* Engliſh *became every where a Terror to the* Spaniards; *and the very Names of our Chief Commanders,* Howard, Eſſex, Norris, Drake, *and* Raleigh, *ſtruck an Awe upon them. Thus Queen* Elizabeth *became ſuch a Scourge to the Monarchy of* Spain, *that it decay'd ever ſince, and could never recover it ſelf to this day. In* Ireland *ſhe quelled two great Rebellions, one headed by* O Neal, *and the other by* Tir Owen. *The New-ſprung States of* Holland *ſhe cheriſhed, and protected againſt the Attempts of* Spain. *The whole Ocean ſhe commanded; and ſo great was her Fame, that it was reſpected even by the* Muſcovites, Turks, Perſians *and* Tartars, *and her very Enemies. Unhappily ſhe conſented to the Death of that Unfortunate Princeſs* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *who being outed of her Dominion by a Potent Faction, was compelled to fly for ſhelter into* England; *where, upon a Charge of Treaſon againſt her, and after a tedious Impriſonment at* Fotheringhay-Caſtle, *ſhe was at laſt Condemned and Beheaded. The Earl of* Eſſex *his Death, was alſo very much lamented by the Queen, whoſe Favour, more than his Crime, was the occaſion of his Fall. The Queen her ſelf lived but two Years after, and died a Maiden (but an Heroick) Queen,* March 24. 1602.

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*in the Sixty ninth Year of her Age, and the Forty fifth of her Reign. A Queen whose incomparable Wisdom will ever be admired by future Ages, as the Wonder of her Time, and a Pattern to Princes of the better Sex. 'Twas in her Reign that Famous Sir* Francis Drake *travelled round the World in three Years, wanting twelve Days; and* Forbusher, *another of our great Seamen of that Age, sailed to the North-East a great way further than any had done before him. In the Honour of this Virgin-Queen it was, that* Virginia *came to be so called.* Thus far her General History.

Her Secret History will be contained in less room than that of her Predecessors, and in very much less than that of her Successors, tho' her Reign was longer. And indeed Queen *Elizabeth* has left so great a Stock of Credit and Reputation behind her, that the Reader may perhaps wonder that there should be any room for a Secret History in her Reign, since the Honour and Intereſt of *England*, and the Good of her People, was the great Design she aim'd at; in which she had no Secret Reserves, but still appeared above-board. But in answer to this, the Reader ought to consider, that as even *Silver Cynthia* her self, that Queen of Heaven, against which the Dogs so often bark in vain, is not without her Spots; so neither was this Vertuous Princess so free from those Imperfections which are the constant Concomitants of Corrupted Nature, as to be Exempted from all Blemishes: For as 'tis scarce to be expected, but that the Liquor should have some Relish of the Cask which contain'd it; so neither ought we to think it strange, that in a Reign of Four and forty Years, *Elizabeth* should not shew her self to be the Daughter of King *Henry* the Eighth, from whom she was descended. And since it is the Design of our Secret History, to set the Secret Practices of Princes in the truest Light, I see no Reason why *Elizabeth* should be exempted; or our History, for her sake, be accounted Partial.

When Queen *Elizabeth* came to take Possession of the Throne, vacant by the Death of her Sister, she found the Government in the hands of Papists, the Protestants and Favourers of the Reformation having been all suppressed in her Sisters Reign, and several of the most Eminent put to Death: So that *Elizabeth* seemed to be at a stand, as to what she should do. To advance the Protestants, and introduce the Reformed Religion, would be to act contrary to the Laws in being, and to set the whole Kingdom against her: For tho' the People were generally against those Flaming Executions which were so frequent in her Sisters Reign; yet they were for Popery moderated, and not for making a total Change; nor did the Queen indeed design it: For tho' she very well knew the Protestants were of her side, yet she was not willing at first so far to indulge them, as to disoblige those of the Popish Party; for she her self had the Popish Service said before her;

her; only she indeed forbid the Archbishop of *York*, when he celebrated Divine Service (or said Mass) before her, to Elevate the Host for Adoration; by which he was so much disobliged, that he refused to perform the Ceremony of her Coronation, which therefore was done by Dr. *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*.

*Elizabeth* was hardly well seated in her Throne, but that King *Philip* receiving certain Information of his Wife's (Queen *Mary*'s) Death, and fearing to lose the Strength and Title of the Kingdom of *England*, which he had found to be very useful to him, and suspecting that the Kingdoms of *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*, by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might at length grow into one Body with the Kingdom of *France*; he by the Earl of *Feria*, (whom he had sent to see his Queen lying Sick, and also to visit *Elizabeth*) now dealeth seriously with the New Queen, concerning the Matter of Marriage with himself, offering and promising to get a Peculiar Dispensation from the Pope, for the Allowance of the same. And this Business was no little trouble to the Queen, who seemed to have some Inclination thereunto; being ever and anon admiring and talking of the Behaviour of so great a Prince; how compounded with Grace and Comelineſs, how full of Majesty and Princely Comportment he was; which sufficiently shewed how well she could have liked him: Which was so discernable to some of her Counsellors, that (in order to prevent it) they declaimed against the Pride and Haughtiness of the Spanish Nation; and how ill agreeing with the Temper and Manners of the *English*: And yet doubting still which way she might incline, they dealt so plainly with her, as to tell her, that if she accepted of the Spanish Match, both she and her Friends were utterly undone; and the hopes they had entertained of Restoring the Reformed Religion, would all prove Abortive.

But if there had not been some more Prevailing Arguments than these, which made it her Interest as well as Duty, to refuse this Match, no doubt but the Queen, in this irresolute State in which she was at first, might have easily consented to King *Philip*'s Courtship. But the true tho' Secret Reason that put her off from, and made her resolve against it, was this; She should thereby confirm the Lawfulness of her Father's Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, and tacitly acknowledge her being begotten in an Adulterous Bed: For there is the same Parity or Reason against a Sister's Marrying her Sisters Husband, as there is against a Brothers Marrying her Brothers Wife; and that it was therefore unlawful: And that the Pope's Dispensation was invalid, and could not dispense with the Positive Law of GOD, was that which justified her Father in his second Marriage; and consequently made her a Legitimate Child, and capable of Inheriting the Crown of *England*. If therefore she should now accept of

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the *Pope*'s Dispensation; and grant that it could make her Marriage with King *Philip* lawful, she must then likewise allow that it was lawful in her Father to Marry with his Brothers Widow; and if so, than she must be Illegitimate, being begotten of *Ann Bolen* during Queen *Katharines* Life: Which being granted, she had no Right to the Crown, and then *Mary* Queen of *Scots* would come in as the next Heir. These Reasons were of that Weight, that they easily turned the Ballance; for at the same time that she made *Philip* a King, she Virtually deprived her self of the Title and Right of being a Queen, (of *England*, I mean; for Queen of *Spain* she would have been by her Marriage with *Philip*.)

Upon these grounds therefore it was resolved to quit all thoughts of this *Spanish* Match. Tho' not without some regret, at those Circumstances which obliged her to reject it: For she considered that she should thereby reject the mightiest Prince of all Europe; and not only so, but one that had deserved well at her hands, whilst he was her Sister's Husband, as being a Means both of her Liberty and Preservation; and that now of his own accord he sued to her for Marriage; she thought that to deny him, would at least cause her Wisdom to be called in question, if not her Gratitude also. And the *French* King was so afraid thereof, and so netled at the hearing of the News, and that thereby *England* was like to cleave to the King of *Spain* his mortal Enemy, that he made all the Interest he could at *Rome*, by the Intercession of the Bishop of *Engoulesm*, that no Dispensation to that purpose might be granted, forasmuch as Queen *Elizabeth* was known to favour the Doctrine of the Protestants; using his Interest also with the *Pope*, that it might be declared unlawful: Whilst the *Spanish* Ambassador, to the end he might procure this Marriage, secretly perswades the Papists, that there was no other way left for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and their Ancient Honours and Renown. Thus we see that *France* was as much afraid, as *Spain* was desirous of this Match. But tho' the Reasons formerly mentioned had absolutely taken the Queen's thoughts off from the Marriage (which were much confirmed by the Account she had that the *French* King was busy at *Rome*, to have *Mary* Queen of *Scots* declared Queen of *England*) yet she was not willing to break off rudely with the King of *Spain*. And therefore that she might deny him without denying him, she became fully resolved to bring in an Alteration of Religion out of hand, believing that upon a change of Religion, King *Philip*'s Mind would also be changed, from making any further mention of Marriage. So that the Expelling of Popery, and the Establishing of the Protestant Religion, was perhaps brought about as much out of Necessity as Choice. And this appears the more probable, because before she went about this, she entered into a Secret Consultation with her most intimate Councellors, to weigh well before-hand

fore-hand what might be the Dangers that might ariſe from hence, and what Reaſons ſhould hinder their Proceedings. After ſerious Conſultation and deliberate weighing of things, they divided the Dangers to which the Reformation was Expoſed, into two Claſſis; to wit, Dangers from Abroad, and Dangers at Home. The Dangers from Abroad, they found would be theſe: The Pope would ſend forth his Thunder Bolts of Excommunication, and expoſe the Kingdom as a Prey to thoſe that would invade it: Alſo the *French* King would from thence take occaſion to procraſtinate, or put off the Buſineſs of the Peace began at *Cambray*, or rather would wage War with the *Engliſh* in the Queen of *Scots* Quarrel, and perſecute them not as Enemies only, but alſo as Hereticks; and ſtir up *Scotland* likewiſe to do the ſame, which was now at the *French* Kings Beck and Command. The *Iriſh* likewiſe, who were moſt obſtinately addicted to the *Roman* Religion, would break out into Seditions and Rebellions. There was danger alſo from the King of *Spain*, who was potent in the *Netherlands*, that Neighboured upon us. The Remedies to be applied to theſe Dangers, were, That the *Pope*'s Excommunication is to be looked upon only as a Scare-Crow, and not to be feared. For Peace with the *French*, they thought it very neceſſary, and therefore to entertain it if it be offered; and if it be not, rather to ſue for it than go without it, becauſe a Peace with *France*, includes a Peace with *Scotland* alſo. Nevertheleſs the Proteſtants of *France* and *Scotland*, were in no caſe to be forſaken. And *Berwick* and the Borders of *Scotland*, as alſo *Ireland*, were to be ſecured with greater Gariſons; but the Friendſhip of the King of *Spain* was thought fitting by all means to be procured, and the Ancient *Burgundian* League confirmed. Thus much for the Dangers expected from Abroad.

The Dangers to be expected at Home, were ſuch as would proceed from the Lords that were removed from the Council, and from the Biſhops that upon ſuch a Change muſt be diſplaced, with their depending Eccleſiaſtical Officers; alſo from the Judges that adminiſtred Juſtice; likewiſe from the Juſtices of Peace in the ſeveral Counties; and from thoſe Lay-Perſons that are of greateſt Wealth and Reputation, and yet are devoted to the Romiſh Religion. And as to all theſe, they concluded that they muſt be diſplaced out of all Offices of Power and Truſt, and kept in Obedience by the ſeverity of Laws, and none but Proteſtants admitted to any place of Government, nor into the Colledges of either Univerſity. And further determined to remove all Popiſh Maſters or Preſidents out of both Univerſities, and the Schoolmaſters from *Wincheſter*, *Eaton*, and other Schools. The reſult of this Cabinet Council being that the dangers neither from Abroad, nor at Home, could be ſo great in Abolishing Popery, as it would be in Embracing of it. But that however they ſhould

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bring about the Change gradually, and in the firſt Place get her Right to the Crown Recognized by Parliament. And accordingly the Queen gave a Check, to the forwardneſs of ſome Miniſters that being impatient of delay, were willing to anticipate the Laws, and deliver the Proteſtant Doctrine in Publick Aſſemblies, whilſt the Popiſh Laws were in Force. And yet to ſtay their Stomachs, and keep up their hopes, ſhe permitted the Epiſtles, Goſpels, and the Ten Commandments, to be Read to the People in the *Engliſh* Tongue, but without any Commentary or Expoſition; and ſoon after allowed the Lord's-Prayer, Apoſtle's Creed, and the Letany alſo, to be Read in the *Engliſh* Tongue. But in all other matters they were to conform to the Romiſh Rite and Cuſtom, till order could be taken for the Eſtabliſhing Religion by Authority of Parliament.

A few days after the Queen had been Solemnly Crowned with the utmoſt Expreſſions of Joy by the People, the Parliament was Aſſembled; wherein, to the Queens great Satisfaction, it was by their Suffrages, firſt of all Enacted, *That* Elizabeth *was, and that by Divine Right, the Civil Law of* England, *and the Statutes of the Kingdom, ought to be, the Lawful, Undoubted, and Certain Queen of* England; *and juſtly and lawfully deſcended from the Blood Royal, according to the Order of Succeſſion, ſet down by the Nobles, and body of the Kingdom, in the* 35th *year of the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth.* This Act fixed the Queen upon the Throne, her Title being but precarious before, foraſmuch as there was a Law in being whereby her Father had Excluded her from the Succeſſion of the Kingdom. And that this Law was not Repealed at this time, was moſt certainly a falſe ſtep, becauſe it afterwards gave occaſion to diſſaffected Perſons to engage themſelves in Treacherous Practices againſt her, as being an unlawful Queen. But perhaps Sir *Nicholas Bacon* (upon whoſe Wiſdom the Queen relied in things of that Nature, as on an Oracle of the Law) thought the repealing of that Law was needleſs, becauſe it is a Known Maxime in the Law, *That the Crown takes away all Defects.* It was therefore by ſome thought to be ſo far from a Fault, in Sir *Nicholas* that it was imputed to him as a piece of Wiſdom, not to rub up an old Sore; becauſe that which made for *Elizabeth*, reflected upon *Mary*; and therefore he thought it was beſt to let that alone, and only take notice of that Act which was provided for the Fame and Dignity of both alike.

And no doubt the Queen was very well ſatisfied in what was done, or elſe ſhe would have taken ſome farther care about it; for no one could be more Tenacious of her Title to the Crown than ſhe; which led her into ſome Practiſes which were not ſo much for her Honour, nor comporting with the ſtrict Laws of Juſtice; for it was upon the Queen's Conſciouſneſs of ſome Defect in her own Title, and of the Right

that thereby resided in the Person of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, the undoubted Heir of *Margaret*, Eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, that she always looked upon her with an Evil Eye; and to whom she would be never reconciled, but pursued her with her hate, even to the Scaffold: And this being one of the great Blemishes of this Queens Reign, will require to be insisted on somewhat largely, that things may be set in a true Light. For as to what the Queen did with respect to *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, who were great Grand Children to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, and to *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had Married their Sister; it rather shewed that the Queen looked sharply about her, and saw where there could be the least pretences to Royalty, than that there was any great matter in it. And the Mercy she shewed them after Sentence was past, shewed both her regard to the Royal Blood of the *Plantaginets*; and also how little she feared what they could do; they being descended but from the Second Brother, whereas she claimed from the First, her Father being the Son of *Elizabeth*, Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth. But the Lady *Katharine Gray*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, (and Sister to the Vertuous Lady *Jane*, who was unhappily proclaimed Queen after the Death of King *Edward* the Sixth) who was much nearer to the Queen in Blood, was more sharply handled for a smaller Fault: For being Grand-Daughter to the other Sister of *Henry* the Eighth, and Married to *Henry* Eldest Son of the Earl of *Pembrook*, and soon after lawfully divorced, and long time neglected; when she was with Child, and ready to be delivered, was cast into the Tower of *London*; professing that she was joyned in lawful Wedlock with *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and by him gotten with Child. He being sent for out of *France*, whither he was gone for his Pleasure, with the Queen's leave, openly professed the same, and was in like manner clapped up in the Tower. And then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and others, were made Delegates, to hear and determine the Cause without all Appeal. And when he could not within a time prescribed produce Witnesses of the Marriage, a Definitive Sentence was pronounced by the Archbishop, *That he had had undue and unlawful Carnal Copulation with her; and that for such their Excess, both he and she were to be punished according to their Deserts.* This Sentence, as Unjust, Unreasonable, and Null, was by Mr. *John Hales*, a very Learned and Able Lawyer, opposed; who argued that they were lawful Man and Wife by their Sole Consent: Whereupon he also was committed to Custody; which was more an Effect of Arbitrary Power, than of Legal Authority: The Lady soon after was brought abed of her First born Son in the Tower, and had also another by the same Earl of *Hertford* her Husband; they having Corrupted their Keepers; for which the Lieutenant of the Tower was

turned

turned out of his Place, and made a Priſoner himſelf. And the Earl of *Hertford* was accuſed in the Star Chamber of a threefold Crime: To wit, That he had defloured a Virgin of the Blood Royal in the Queen's Houſe; that he had broken Priſon; and that he had Ravished her a Second time. The Earl ſtill proteſting that he had Lawfully contracted Matrimony with her; but owning that he had paſſed through the Doors of the Priſon, ſtanding open, to Comfort her who mourned for the Sentence pronounced, and had paid his Marriage Debt. Whereupon he was for every Crime fined five Thouſand Pounds, and kept in Priſon the ſpace of Nine Years, in vain interpoſing his Appeal againſt the Archbishops Sentence; which before he could obtain his Liberty, he was forced publickly to renounce. During the Earl's Confinement, his Counteſs, the Lady *Katharine Gray*, a Priſoner likewiſe, though kept from him, fell ſick of a Fever, and there ended her Days: But before she died, she ſent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and by him craved Pardon of the Queen for the contracting of Matrimony without her Privity; proteſting that was all the Crime she knew her ſelf guilty of; commending her Children to the Queen's Protection, and deſiring that *Hertford* might obtain his Liberty. This was it ſeems the whole of that mighty Crime, for which she ſuffered ſo ſevere an Impriſonment, and died a Priſoner: Which yet both the Archbishop (to comply with the Queen's humour) would make, at the beſt, an undue and unlawful Carnal Copulation; and, as appears by the Sentence in the Star-Chamber, no leſs than a Rape: When in truth, the Crime was no more than a Man's lying with his own Wife, having Married her without her Kinſwoman's Conſent. But the Secret Reaſon of all this Severity was, leſt the Lady *Katharine*, being of the Royal Blood, should have made any Pretences to the Crown; which was the great *Noli me tangere* of this Queen. And this was the Original Quarrel between her and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; whoſe ſtory we will next review.

To ſearch into the Original of the difference between the two Queens, it will be neceſſary to obſerve that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* being Married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*; the *French* King had an Eye upon *England*, as that to which he judged the Dauphin in right of his Wife had a juſt Claim; and therefore tho' he had made Peace with Queen *Elizabeth*, by vertue whereof he was to draw his *French* Forces out of *Scotland*; yet he not only delayed ſo to do, but underhand ſent more; and at the ſame time earneſtly dealt with the Pope, that he would pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick, and Illegitimate, and (which was the deſign and neceſſary Conſequence thereof) *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, to be Lawful Queen of *England*: Which notwithſtanding the *Spaniard* and the Emperour by their Agents at *Rome*, moſt

carefully, but at the ſame time cloſely and ſecretly laboured to croſs; the Intereſt of Princes bearing more ſway with them than Religion. Nevertheleſs the *Guiſes* had put the *French* King, being Ambitiouſly credulous, into ſuch ſweet hopes of joyning *England* to the Scepter of *France*, by the Queen of *Scots* their Niece, that he openly claimed *England* for his Son and Daughter-in-Law; and commanded, when he could not prevail at *Rome*, that in all Publick Inſtruments they ſhould uſe this Title, FRANCIS *AND* MARY *BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING AND QUEEN OF* SCOTLAND, ENGLAND *AND* IRELAND; and every where ſet forth the Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, quartered with the Arms of *Scotland*, in their Houſhold-ſtuff, and painted upon the Walls, and wrought into the Coat of Arms of their Heralds; whilſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in vain complained of the Injury hereby done to Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he had very lately contracted Amity; foraſmuch as he had not done it while Queen *Mary* lived, who had denounced War againſt him. He levied alſo Men, both Horſe and Foot, in *France* and *Germany*, to be tranſported into thoſe parts of *Scotland* that were bordering upon *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* had Reaſon to be jealous of the Deſigns of the *French* King; eſpecially ſince he breathed forth nothing but Blood and Slaughter againſt the Proteſtants. But all his Attempts were cut off by ſudden Death, which arreſted him as he was running at Tilt, at the Nuptial Solemnities of his Daughter with the *Spaniard*, and his Siſter with the *Savoiard*. This happened ſeaſonably for Queen *Elizabeth*, whom, for all the Peace he had made with her, he intended to have aſſailed (both as an Heretick and Illegitimate) with all the Power he could; on the one ſide out of *Scotland*, and on the other out of *France*: Which yet the Queen ſo far diſſembled the knowledge of, that to do him Honour (being dead) ſhe ſolemnized his Funeral, as for a King her Friend, with great Pomp in St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*; and alſo condoled the Son by an Ambaſſador, for his Fathers Death, and at the ſame time, congratulating his Succeſſion, put him in mind to obſerve the Amity lately entred into.

But *Francis* the new King, and the Queen of *Scots* his Wife, (by the Advice of the *Guiſes*, who now in a manner bare all the ſway in *France*,) pretended openly to be King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, and abſtained not from the Arms of *England*, which they had before Uſurped, but more and more ſhewed them abroad every where. And tho' Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was Leiger-Ambaſſador there, on the Queen's behalf, ſharply Expoſtulated the matter with them about it; yet they anſwered, That it was lawful for the Queen of *Scots* to bear them, with ſome ſmall Note of Difference, to ſhew the nearneſs of her Kindred to the Blood Royal of *England*: This *Throckmorton* abſolutely denied; ſhewing

shewing it was contrary to the Laws of Arms, to uſurp the Arms of any Family, who is not born of a certain and known Heir of the ſame Houſe: Then she urged that she arrogated thoſe Arms to no other purpoſe but that the Queen of *England* should abſtain from the Arms of *France*. But to this *Throckmorton* anſwered, (which Dr. *Wotton* had alſo before alledged in the Treaty of *Cambray*) that Twelve Kings of *England* had born the Arms of *France*, and that with ſo undoubted a Right, that in all the Confederacies between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, nothing had been provided to the contrary. At laſt, through the Mediation of *Montmorency*, who was an Emulator of the *Guiſans*, they wholly abſtained from the Title and Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; he thinking it to be no Honour to the Kingdom of *France*, that any Title or Arms should be aſſumed or Engraved in the Kings Seal, than thoſe of the King of *France*; and that this one Title was as good as many. He shewed alſo that the former Kings had uſed no other Title when they proſecuted their Right to *Naples* and *Milan*.

I have been the larger in reciting theſe things, becauſe indeed from this Title and Arms, which through the Perſwaſion of the *Guiſes*, *Henry* King of *France* had perſwaded the Queen of *Scots* to Aſſume, being then in her Tender Age, flowed, as from a Fountain, all the Calamities wherein that Queen was afterwards involved. For hereupon Queen *Elizabeth* looked upon the *Guiſes* as her Mortal Enemies, and on the Queen of *Scots* as an Aſpiring Woman, and therefore bore a ſecret Grudge againſt her; which the ſubtile Malice of Men of both ſides cherished: Emulation growing betwixt them, and new occaſions daily ariſing: Queen *Elizabeth* holding her ſelf obliged by the Impulſe of Nature, Honour, and Religion, to oppoſe her, (as afterwards she did) to the Death: Wherein it may be there was no leſs of Envy, than Reaſon of State; being perhaps as much offended with her Perfections as Pretenſions: For Sir *Winſton Churchil*, ſpeaking of theſe two Queens, ſays, of the Queen of *Scots*, That ſhe was a Lady that Equalled her in all, Surmounted her in ſome, and was inferiour to her in no reſpects, but that of Fortune only: For it was Flattery and Feminine Diſdain that without doubt firſt divided them, beyond what the difference of Nation, Intereſt, or Religion could have done; which heightening their mutual Jealouſies, inſenſibly, engaged them before they were aware, in ſuch a Game of Wit and Faction, as brought all that either had at laſt to ſtake, and made them ſo wary in their Play on both ſides, that the Set ended not as long as the one lived, and the other Reigned.

The Queen of *Scots* had the Advantage of Queen *Elizabeth*, by the Kings in her Stock, (to purſue the Metaphor of a Game at Cards) the Kings of *France* and *Spain* being her ſecret Friends and Well-wiſhers; not to mention the nearer

Obligations of her own Son, being then but young; and the Pope ever ready to pack the Cards for her, as occasion served. The Advantage Queen *Elizabeth*, had was altogether as great; for tho' Queen *Mary* had most Kings in her Stock, yet Queen *Elizabeth* kept the Knaves in her hand; all the Factious Demagogues of *Scotland* being at her Devotion; and so dependant on her Power, that their Disloyalty stood her in as much stead, as the Loyalty of her own Subjects; and whereof she made so good use, that her over-match'd Rival being never able to fix their Obedience, much less recover their Affections, she was fain to seek for help abroad. And after she became a Prisoner, finding none she could trust, was forced to attempt her Freedom singly; proceeding therein, for want of due Intelligence, by such indirect ways and means as proved very unprosperous; for still the more she stirr'd, the more she intangled her self, fastening her Bonds beyond all possibility of being shaken off again; which, (had she sat still) might possibly have loosened of themselves. Neither could it prove otherwise, while she was neither able to take right measures of her Adversaries strength, nor of her own weakness; Queen *Elizabeth* having more Subjects than she knew of; for she had got the Ascendant of her Neighbours so far, that like her Father *Henry*, where she made not Kings, she gave them Laws. But these things will be best made appear, by a Review of what passed between the Queen of *Scots* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

There having been a Treaty made with the *Scots* by the Queens Commissioners at *Edinburgh*, which was confirmed and solemnly Sworn to by Queen *Elizabeth*, according to a Provision made therein, she sent over to *France*, to have it there Confirmed, (as it was agreed in the Treaty) by the *French* King and his Wife, the Queen of *Scotland*; but they both refused it: And it happening that *Francis* died soon after, and the Queen of *Scotland* being a Widdow, she was then again solicited by Queen *Elizabeth* to ratify the said Treaty; but she still refused it, giving no other Answer, but that she must deliberately determine of so great a matter; and that she neither could nor would confirm it, but by the Advice of the Nobility of *Scotland*. Which considering she was a Widdow, and out of her Kingdom, was a sufficient Answer: But this vexed Queen *Elizabeth*, who looking upon her Refusal to be out of a Design to foment some Disturbances in *England*, resolved to be before-hand with her, and so sends Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, with a Message to the Nobility there, to exhort the Nobility to mutual Amity, which is most firmly founded in Unity of Religion; and also to give them to understand, That the Princes of *Germany* had entered into a Confederacy against the Bishop of *Rome*, and that Queen *Elizabeth* heartily wished that the *English* and *Scots* were comprehended in the same: That now was the most convenient

convenient time, (when the *Scottiſh* Queen was a Widdow) to accord all variance between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, who had contended ſo many years, to the loſs of both their Bloods; either by their entering into a perpetual League with the *Engliſh*, or cutting off ſuch Contracts, by ancient League with the *French*, as were wont to ſow diſcord between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*; and finally to give ſecret Warning to the *Scots*, not to ſuffer the Queen Widdow to take any other Foreign Prince to Husband again, by whoſe Power she might revenge her ſelf on them which very lately reſiſted the *French*, and might bring their Liberty in danger of Thraldom again. Tho' I own this was good Counſel to the *Scots*, yet conſidering what Opinion the Queen of *Scots* was of, whether or no Queen *Elizabeth* would have taken it well to have had her Subjects ſo ſet againſt her, and ſet on to reſtrain her, with reſpect to her Marrying again, I very much queſtion; and there is no doubt but that the Trouble the Queen of *Scots* afterwards met with from her own Subjects, was very much owing to Queen *Elizabeth*'s tampering with them.

In the mean time, the Queen of *Scots* propoſing to go into *Scotland*, requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* that she might croſs the Seas into *Scotland*, upon Publick Warrantize, or ſafe Conduct; and that *D' Oyſell*, a *Frenchman* whom she ſent before, might paſs through *England*. But Queen *Elizabeth*, in preſence of a great many ſtanding by, denied both the one and the other. Which was ſo ſmall a Kindneſs, that it ſeemed a great Unkindneſs to deny it. And indeed, this Repulſe did not a little move the Queen of *Scots*, as appears by the long Speech she had with *Throckmorton* (*Elizabeth*'s Ambaſſador in *France*) about this matter, which I will briefly here inſert out of *Throckmorton*'s own Letter, to the End that the beginning and progreſs of the Grudges and Diſpleaſures between theſe two Queens, may more clearly appear.

"The 20*th* of this preſent (*July*, 1561.) I had acceſs "to the Queen of *Scotland*, with whom I found Monſieur "*D' Oyſell* talking, when I entred into her Chamber; she "diſmiſſed Monſieur *D' Oyſell*, and roſe from her Chair, when "she ſaw me: Unto whom I ſaid, Madam, whereas you "ſent lately Monſieur *D' Oyſell*, to the Queen my Miſtreſs, "to demand her Majeſties ſafe Conduct for your free Paſſage "by Sea into your own Realm; and to be accommodated "with ſuch Favours as upon Events you might have need of "on the Coaſt of *England*; and alſo did further require the "free Paſſage of the ſaid Monſieur *D' Oyſell* into *Scotland* "through *England*: The Queen my Miſtreſs hath not "thought good to ſuffer the ſaid Monſieur *D' Oyſell* to paſs "into *Scotland*, nor to ſatisfy your deſire for your Paſſage "Home, neither for ſuch other Favours as you required to "be accommodated withal at her Majeſties hand; inaſmuch "as you have not accomplished the Ratification of the Trea-

" ty accorded by your Deputies in *July*, now twelve Months " ago at *Edenburgh*, which in Honour you are bound many " ways to perform; for beſides that you ſtand bound by your " hand and Seal, whereby your Commiſſioners were Autho- " rized, it may pleaſe you, Madam, to remember that many " Promiſes have been made for the Performance thereof, as " well in the King your Husband's time, as by your ſelf ſince " his Death; and yet notwithſtanding the Treaty remaineth " unratified, as before, a whole year being expired ſince " the Accord thereof, which by your Commiſſioners was a- " greed to have been ratified within Sixty days: So as upon " this unamicable and indirect dealing, the Queen my Mi- " ſtreſs hath refuſed you theſe Favours and Pleaſures by you " required, and hath grounded this her Majeſties ſtrangeneſs " unto you, upon your own Behaviour, which her Majeſty " doth uncomfortably, both for that your Majeſty is, as she " is, a Queen, her next Neighbour, and next Kinſwoman; " nevertheleſs her Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay unto " you, Madam, (quoth I) that if you can like to be better " adviſed, and to ratify the Treaty, as you in Honour are " bound to do, her Majeſty will not only give you and yours " free Paſſage, but alſo will be moſt glad to ſee you paſs " through her Realm, that you may be accommodated with " the Pleaſure thereof; and ſuch Friendly Conference may " be had betwixt you, as all Unkindneſs may be quenched, " and an aſſured perfect Amity betwixt you both, for ever " eſtabliſhed. Having ſaid thus much unto her, the ſaid " Queen ſat down, and made me ſit alſo by her; ſhe then " commanded all the Audience to retire them further off, " and ſaid, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I know not well my own " Infirmity, nor how far I may with my Paſſion be tranſport- " ed: But I like not to have ſo many Witneſſes of my " Paſſion, as the Queen your Miſtreſs was content to have, " when ſhe talked with *Monſieur D' Oyſell*. There is nothing " doth more grieve me, than that I did ſo forget my ſelf, " as to require of the Queen your Miſtreſs that Favour " which I had no need to ask: I needed no more to have " made her Privy to my Journey, than ſhe doth me of hers: " I may paſs well enough into my own Realm, I think, with- " out her Paſs-port or Licenſe: For tho' the late King, " your Maſter, ſaid ſhe, uſed all the Impeachment he could, " both to ſtay me, and to catch me when I came hither, yet " you know, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I came hither ſafely, " and I may have as good means to help me home again, " as I had to come hither, if I would Employ my Friends: " Truly, ſaid ſhe, I was ſo far from Evil-meaning, to the " Queen your Miſtreſs, that at this time I was more willing " to Employ her Amity to ſtand me in ſtead, than all the " Friends I have; and yet you know, both in this Realm, and " elſewhere I have both Friends and Allies, and ſuch as would

" be

" be glad and willing to Employ both their Forces and Aid " to ſtand me in ſtead. You have, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, " (quoth she) oftentimes told me, That the Amity between " the Queen your Miſtreſs and me, was very neceſſary and " profitable for Us both; I have ſome reaſon (quoth she) " now to think that the Queen your Miſtreſs is not of that " Mind; for I am ſure if she were, she would not have re- " fuſed me thus unkindly: It ſeemeth she maketh more " account of the Amity of my diſobedient Subjects, than she " doth of me their Soveraign, who am her Equal in Degree, " tho' Inferiour in Wiſdom and Experience, her nigheſt Kinſ- " woman, and her next Neighbour; and trow you (quoth " she) that there can be ſo good meaning between my Sub- " jects and her, which have forgotten their principal Duty " to me their Soveraign, as there ſhould be betwixt Her and " Me? I perceive that the Queen your Miſtreſs doth think, " that becauſe my Subjects have done me wrong, my Friends " and Allies will forſake me alſo: Indeed your Miſtreſs " doth give me cauſe to ſeek Friendſhip where I did not " mind to ask it. But *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, let the Queen " your Miſtreſs think, that it will be thought ſtrange amongſt " all Princes and Countries, that she ſhould firſt animate " my Subjects againſt me, and now being a Widdow, to im- " peach my going into my own Country: I ask her nothing " but Friendſhip: I do not trouble her State, nor practiſe " with her Subjects: And yet I know that there be in her " Realm that be inclined enough to hear offers; I know " alſo they be not of the Mind ſhe is of, neither in Religion, " nor other things. The Queen your Miſtreſs doth ſay that " I am young, and do lack Experience; indeed, (quoth she) " I confeſs I am younger than ſhe is, and do want Experience; " but I have Age and Experience enough to uſe my ſelf to- " wards my Friends and Kinsfolks friendly and uprightly: " And I truſt my Diſcretion ſhall not ſo fail me, that my " Paſſion ſhall move me to uſe other Language of her, than " it becometh of a Queen, and my next Kinſwoman. Well, " *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, I could tell you, that I am, as ſhe " is, a Queen Allied and Friended, as is known; and I tell " you alſo, That my Heart is not inferiour to hers; ſo as " an equal Reſpect would be had betwixt us on both parts; " but I will not contend in Compariſons: Firſt you know " (quoth ſhe) that the Accord was made in the late King, " my Lord and Husband's time; by whom, as reaſon was, " I was commanded and governed; and for ſuch delays as " were then in his time, uſed in the ſaid Ratification, I am not " to be charged; ſince his Death, my Intereſt failing in the " Realm of *France*, I left to be adviſed by the Council of " *France*, and they left me alſo to my own Council: Indeed " (quoth ſhe) my Uncles being as you know, of the Affairs " of this Realm, do not think meet to adviſe me in my

" Affairs,

"Affairs, neither do my Subjects, nor the Queen your Mi-
"ſtreſs, think meet that I ſhould be adviſed by them, but
"rather by the Council of my own Realm: Here are none
"of them, nor none ſuch as is thought meet I ſhould be
"Counſelled by; the matter is great, it toucheth both them
"and me, and in ſo great a Matter it were meet to uſe the
"Advice of the Wiſeſt of them; I do not think it meet in
"ſo great a matter to take the Counſel of private and un-
"expert Perſons, and ſuch as the Queen your Miſtreſs know-
"eth, be not moſt acceptable to ſuch of my Subjects as ſhe
"would have me be adviſed by: I have (quoth ſhe) often
"told you, that as ſoon as I had their Advices, I would ſend
"the Queen your Miſtreſs ſuch an Anſwer as ſhould be rea-
"ſonable. I am about to haſte me home as faſt as I may,
"to the intent the matter might be anſwered, and now the
"Queen your Miſtreſs will in no wiſe ſuffer neither me to
"paſs home, nor him that I ſent into my Realm; So as,
"*Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, (quoth ſhe) it ſeemeth the Queen
"your Miſtreſs will be the Cauſe why ſhe is not in this mat-
"ter ſatisfied; or elſe ſhe will not be ſatisfied, but liketh to
"make this matter a Quarrel ſtill betwixt us, whereof ſhe is
"the Author. The Queen your Miſtreſs ſaith that I am
"young; ſhe might as well ſay that I was as fooliſh as young,
"if I would in the State and Country that I am in, proceed
"to ſuch a matter of my ſelf, without any Counſel; for that
"which was done by the King, my late Lord and Husband,
"muſt not be taken to be my Act; ſo as neither in Honour
"nor Conſcience, I am bound, as you ſay I am, to perform
"all that I was by my Lord and Husband commanded to do;
"and yet (quoth ſhe) I will ſay truly unto you, and as
"GOD favours me, I did never mean otherwiſe unto her,
"than becometh me to my good Siſter and Couſin, nor meant
"her no more harm than to my ſelf; GOD forgive them
"which have otherwiſe perſwaded her, if there be any ſuch.
"What is the matter, pray you, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*,
"(quoth ſhe) that doth ſo offend the Queen your Miſtreſs,
"to make her thus Evil-affected to me? I never did her
"wrong, neither in Deed nor Speech; it ſhould the leſs
"grieve me, if I had deſerved otherwiſe than well. And
"tho' the World may be of divers Judgments of us and
"our Doings one to another, I do well know, GOD that is
"in Heaven, can and will be a true Judge, both of our Doings
"and Meanings.

"I anſwered, Madam, I have declared unto you my Charge,
"commanded by the Queen my Miſtreſs; and have no more
"to ſay to you on her behalf, but to know your Anſwer for
"the Ratification of the Treaty.

"The Queen anſwered, I have afore time ſhewed you, and
"do now tell you again, that it is not meet for me to pro-
"ceed in this matter, without the Advice of the Nobles and

States

" States of my own Realm, which I can by no means have " until I come amongſt them. You know, (quoth ſhe) as " well as I, there is none come hither ſince the Death of the " King, my late Husband and Lord, but ſuch as are either " come for their private Buſineſs, or ſuch as dare not tarry " in *Scotland*. But I pray you, *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, (quoth " ſhe) tell me how riſeth this ſtrange Affection in the Queen " your Miſtreſs, towards me? I deſire to know it, to the " intent, I may reform my ſelf, if I have failed.

" I anſwered, Madam, I have by the Commandment of the " Queen my Miſtreſs, declar'd unto you the Cauſe of her " Miſ-contentation already. But ſeeing you ſo deſirous to " hear how you may be charged with any deſerving, as one " that ſpeaketh of my own Mind, without inſtruction, I will " be ſo bold, Madam, by way of Diſcourſe, to tell you: As " ſoon as the Queen my Miſtreſs, after the Death of her " Siſter, came to the Crown of *England*, you bore the Arms " of *England*, diverſly quarter'd, with your own, and uſed " in your Country notoriouſly, the Stile and Title of the " Queen my Miſtreſs, which was never by you put in uſe in " Queen *Mary*'s time: And if any thing can be more pre- " judicial to a Prince, than to uſurp the Title and Intereſt " belonging to them; Madam, I do refer it to your own " Judgment. You ſee ſuch as be noted Uſurpers of other " Folks States, cannot patiently be born withal for ſuch Do- " ings; much more the Queen my Miſtreſs hath cauſe to be " grieved, (conſidering her undoubted and lawful Intereſt) " with the offer of ſuch Injury.

" *Monſieur l' Ambaſſadour*, ſaid ſhe, I was then under the " Commandment of King *HENRY* my Father, and of the " King my Lord and Husband; and whatſoever was done " then by their Order and Commandment, was continued " till both their Deaths; ſince which time, you know, I " neither bore the Arms, nor uſed the Title of *England*. " Methinks, (quoth ſhe) theſe my Doings, might aſcertain " the Queen, your Miſtreſs, that that which was done be- " fore, was done by Commandment of them that had the " Power over me; and alſo in Reaſon ſhe ought to be ſatis- " fied, ſeeing I order my Doings as I tell you. It were no " great Diſhonour to the Queen my Couſin, your Miſtreſs, " though I, a Queen alſo, did bear the Arms of *England*; " for I am ſure, ſome, inferiour to me, and that be not on " every ſide ſo well apparanted as I am, do bear the Arms of " *England*: You cannot deny (quoth ſhe) but that my " Grandmother was the King her Father's Siſter; and (I " trow) the Eldeſt Siſter he had. I do aſſure you, *Monſieur* " *l' Ambaſſadour*, and do ſpeak unto you truly as I think, I " never meant nor thought matter againſt the Queen my " Couſin. Indeed (quoth ſhe) I know what I am, and " would be loth either to do others Wrong, or ſuffer too

" much

"much Wrong my ſelf. And now that I have told you my "Mind plainly, I pray behave your ſelf betwixt us as a good "Miniſter, whoſe part is to make things betwixt Princes "rather better than worſe. And ſo I took my leave of the ſaid Queen for that time.

This Diſcourſe of the Queen of *Scots* with *Throckmorton* ſufficiently ſhews the Original of the difference between the two Queens; her aſſuming the Arms of *England*, with the Royal Title and Stile thereof, was the ground of the Controverſy; which the Queen of *Scotland* modeſtly excuſes as not being her Act and Deed, but that of her Father-in-Law's, firſt, and after of her Husbands. Alledging that after their Deaths, ſhe relinquiſhed them. And as to the not ratifying of the Treaty, ſhe alſo gives a ſufficient reaſon, laying Queen *Elizabeth*'s Cauſleſs Unkindneſs wholly at her own Door.

But the ill Opinion that *Elizabeth* had entertained of the Queen of *Scots*, had taken too deep a root, to be eaſily eradicated; ſhe believed that, ſhe did nothing but interpoſe delays upon ſome New hopes, foraſmuch as ſhe had propounded nothing to the Eſtates of *Scotland*, concerning the Confirmation of the Treaty, tho' they had aſſembled once or twice after the Death of her Husband. To obviat all which, the Queen of *Scots* being now upon her way, ſent for *Throckmorton* to *Abbeville*, where ſhe again ask'd him, How ſhe might in Word or Deed ſatisfy Queen *Elizabeth*? *By ratifying* (ſaid he) *the Treaty of* Edenborough, *as I have often told your Majeſty already.* To whom ſhe replied, *Hearken therefore, that you may judge whether they be not juſt Reaſons, which ſhe calleth Delays and vain Excuſes.*

The *Firſt Article* in that Treaty, for Ratifying the Treaty at the Caſtle of *Cambray*, between *England* and *France*, concerneth not me at all.

The *Second*, touching the Ratifying of the Treaty there made between *England* and *Scotland*, was Ratified by my Husband and Me; and cannot be Ratified again, unleſs it had been concluded in my own Name alone; whereas my Husband is expreſly named therein.

The *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* Articles, are accomplished already. For Warlike Proviſions have ceaſed, the *French* Garriſons are called home out of *Scotland*, the Fortreſs of *Aymouth* is demoliſhed; I have abſtained from the Arms and Title of *England*, ſince my Husbands Death. But to Raze and Scrape them out of the Buildings and Charters throughout all *France*, is not in my Power. As neither is it in my Power to ſend back the Biſhop of *Valence* and *Randon*, who are not my Subjects, into *England*, to a debating of the Sixth Article.

As for the *laſt Article*, I hope my Seditious Subjects will have no Cauſe to complain of my Severity; but I perceive, ſhe will prevent me by ſtopping my Return, that they ſhall not have Trial of my Clemency.

*What remaineth now in this Treaty, which may be prejudicial to the Queen your Miſtreſs? Nevertheleſs for her more full Satisfaction, I will write unto her more at large with mine own hand, touching this matter; though ſhe doth not vouchſafe to write back unto me, but by a Secretary. But I pray you, my Lord, that are an Ambaſſadour, to do the part of an Ambaſſadour; that is, rather Molify, than Exaſperate the matter.*

But tho' the Queen of *Scots* had thus made things as plain as poſſible, yet neither theſe Reaſons nor her Letters could ſatisfy Queen *Elizabeth*; whoſe Mind being filled with Prejudice, could not believe but that the Queen of *Scots* would again aſſume the Arms and Title of *England*, unleſs ſhe were bound and tyed to the contrary, by the Confirmation of the Treaty, and the Conſcience of an Oath.

In the mean time the Queen of *Scots* having gotten a fit opportunity, ſet Sail from *Calice*, and arrived ſafe in *Scotland*; paſſing by the *Engliſh* Ships by the advantage of the foggy Weather. For the *Engliſh* Ships were Cruiſing about; and tho' it was given out by ſome, that they were to do her Honour; and by others that they were to ſuppreſs Pyrates, yet the true but ſecret Deſign was, to intercept the Queen of *Scots*. For *James* the Baſtard, having returned very lately through *England*, had given the Queen ſecret Advice to intercept her, if ſhe would provide for the Safety of Religion, and her own Security. And *Lidington*, being glad that *D' Oyſell* was detained in *England*, perſwaded it alſo: Leſt (as he Wrote) ſhe returning, ſhould raiſe Tragedies, ſtop all intercourſe of Letters and Meſſages with the *Engliſh*, and finally Exerciſe Cruelty againſt the Proteſtants of *Scotland*; not as Traitors, but as Hereticks; as Queen *Mary* of *England* had done not long before. But theſe were but vain fears, for ſhe being returned, uſed her Subjects with much Gentleneſs, nor did ſhe Endeavour to make any Alteration in Religion, tho' it was introduc'd in a Tumultuous manner, and not ſo regularly as it was in *England*, where it was countenanced by the Royal Authority.

The Queen of *Scots* being now in her own Kingdom, ſent *Lidington* with Letters from herſelf and ſeveral of the *Scottiſh* Nobility, to Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein ſhe expreſſed her deſire to enter into and keep Peace with her; and requeſted her that ſome certain Courſe of Peace might be taken between *England* and *Scotland*; and that the moſt certain way to Eſtabliſh Peace between them, was, That Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould declare her, by Authority of Parliament, to be her Heir Apparent, and next to ſucceed her in the Kingdom of *England*, in caſe ſhe ſhould not have Iſſue.

Queen *Elizabeth*, (who never cared to hear of a Succeſſor) was very much ſurprized at this Letter, who expected nothing but the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinborough*, promiſed both under her hand, and by word of Mouth; and

therefore

therefore returned for Anſwer, *That ſhe hoped the Queen of* Scots *would not take away the Scepter from her and her Children, if ſhe ſhould have any: That ſhe would derogate nothing from her Title to the Scepter of* England; *tho' ſhe, through the over-haſty Ambition of others, arrogated the Title and Arms of* England, *for which Injury it was meet ſhe ſhould make Satisfaction. But by deſigning her her Succeſſor, ſhe feared leſt Amity ſhould rather be diſſolved than confirmed: Foraſmuch as to thoſe that are in place of Government, Succeſſors are always ſuſpected and Envied; the inconſtant humour of the People rather looking to the Riſing than the Setting Sun: Yea, the deſigned Succeſſors themſelves are not able to limit their own and others wicked Hopes within the Bounds of Equity and Reaſon: So that if ſhe ſhould confirm unto her the Succeſſion, it would be the ready way to cut off her own Security, and in her Life-time lay herſelf in her own Winding-ſheet, and make her own Grave: Admoniſhing her ſtill to confirm the Treaty.* Which the Queen of *Scots*, tho' ſhe did it not, did not directly deny; yet ſignified that ſhe could not well do it till the *Scottiſh* Affairs were firſt ſettled.

After this, that all miſunderſtanding between the two Queens might be removed, the Queen of *Scots* propounded an Enterview between her and the Queen; but becauſe it was propounded by her, it was not well taken: for Queen *Elizabeth* took every thing ſhe did, by the wrong handle, being ſuſpicious of her moſt Innocent Actions; and as to this Interview, the Queen ſuſpected that the Queen of *Scots* did it to ſerve her Turn, and to temporize, that ſhe might either Strengthen her Title to *England*, or elſe give hope and Courage to the Papiſts in *England*, and to the *Guiſes* her Kinſmen in *France*: And this was the Opinion of ſeveral of the Queen's Council alſo; tho' others were of Opinion that hereby a moſt firm Amity might be ſtruck up between them; and that the Confederacy betwixt the *French* and the *Scots* might be in time diſſolved, and the Queen of *Scots* brought to Embrace the Proteſtant Religion. But others again Objected, That by ſuch Interviews and Conferences, it has been obſerved that Seeds of Emulation have been ſown, rather than Love; and that the Oſtentation of the Wealth and Power of the one, is ever Envied of the other; that Preſence doth not many times anſwer to the Opinion and Fame of the Comelineſs of the Body, Beauty of the Face, and Gifts of the Mind, but leaves place of Reprehenſion to either of them.

The Queen of *Scots* underſtanding that there were ſuſpicions of that propoſed Enterview, made by the Queen and her Council; began to ſuſpect her ſelf alſo, that it was not very ſafe to put her ſelf into Queen *Elizabeth*'s hands, with whom ſhe had contended about the Title of the Kingdom. She was alſo unreſolved which part ſhe ſhould incline to, (having heard that Queen *Elizabeth* ſtood openly for the Proteſtants

of

of *France*, while she considered that she drew her Descent by her Father out of *England*, by her Mother out of *France*; that in *France* she had been a Crowned Queen, and was now Dowager; in *England* she was the most certain Heir, and in Expectance of a Crown; that she owed much to her Uncles in *France* that had brought her up; and she desired also to owe much to the love of her Sister Queen *Elizabeth*. She also was fearful that if she should contract a stricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, she should not only be forsaken of the *Guises*, her Uncles, but also incur the Displeasure of the *French* King, and so perhaps lose her Dowry out of *France*; whilst she should neglect the certain Love of the *French*, for the uncertain Friendship of Queen *Elizabeth*. Upon which considerations on both sides, the Interview, which had been for some time in hand, and Articles for it also propounded, came to nothing: For at last, the Queen of *Scots* by her Letters, absolutely refused any Interview, unless she might by Authority of Parliament be declared Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*; or adopted by Queen *Elizabeth* for her Daughter; and this to be done for the settling of a most certain Peace, and the Union of the Kingdoms, so often desired. And if these things might be granted, she promised to be most devoted to Queen *Elizabeth*, even with the neglect of her Uncles the *Guises*. But the Queen of *England* not agreeing to these Demands, the Interview, as was said before, came to nothing.

Soon after this (if not at the same time) the Cardinal of *Lorain* dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the Queen of *Scots* might Marry with his Son the Arch-Duke *Charles*, (who was then a Suitor to Queen *Elizabeth*) whereupon, Queen *Elizabeth*, (who perhaps was unwilling to be Rival'd by the Queen of *Scots*) sent her word by Sir *Thomas Randolph*, That if she hearkened to the Cardinal, the *English* Mens Capital Enemy, concerning that Marriage, both the Amity between *England* and *Scotland* might happen thereby to be dissolved, and she might perhaps be barred of the hopes of the Succession of the Kingdom of *England*; which hopes, that she might not lose, she *Friendly warned her* (for so was Sir *Thomas* ordered to say) to chuse such a Husband in *England*, as in whom she might first please her self, and then her own People, and the *English*, in Embracing Peace, and making a sure way for her self to the Succession in *England*, which could not be declared, unless it were first known whom she would take for her Husband. This was one of the kindest Messages Queen *Elizabeth* had yet sent her; but there was now some reason for it: For first Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' she intended not to Marry the Arch-Duke *Charles*, yet she would have looked upon it as an under-valuing of her, if he should have left her, to have courted the Queen of *Scotland*: And Secondly, she had now Entered into a Contract with the *French* Protestants,

teſtants, in order to repreſs the Exorbitant Power of the *Guiſes*. It was at this time therefore needful to be upon fair terms with the Queen of *Scotland*. And as to her taking a Husband, Queen *Elizabeth* commended to her *Robert Dudley*, upon whom she conferred ſeveral Honours, to make him the more worthy of ſo high a Marriage; making him Maſter of the Horſe, and afterwards Baron of *Denbigh*, and then Earl of *Leiceſter*; and having theſe Honours conferred upon him, he woed the Queen of *Scots* by all the good Offices he could; and that he might the better win her Favour, he accuſed the Lord Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, for having intermedled againſt the Queen of *Scots*, in the matter of the Succeſſion; and as being privy to a Book wherein one *Hales* went about to derive the Title of the Crown of *England*, (in caſe the Queen should dye without Iſſue) to the Houſe of *Suffolk*.

This recommending of *Dudley* to the Queen of *Scots* for a Husband, was of great Service to her, tho' she rejected the Offer: For her Dowry-Money being not paid out of *France*, as it should have been, and the Priviledge of the *Scots* there being taken away, and *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chaſter-herault*, deprived of his Dukedom; The Cardinal of *Lorain* her Uncle, fearing left upon theſe Accounts she should forſake the *French*, and comply with the Marriage of *Dudley*, and thereby confirm the Amity of the *Engliſh*, diſſwaded her againſt this Match, with *Dudley*, as a great Diſparagement to her, and moſt unworthy of the Royal Blood. And that in caſe she refus'd it, she should not only have her Dowry-Money paid to her, but that the *Scots* should be confirmed in their former Priviledges, and alſo have new ones granted them.

But tho' the Queen of *Scots* refuſed *Leiceſter*, yet she had ſuch a Regard to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, that she ſent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* into *Scotland*, by Advice of the Counteſs of *Lenox* her Aunt; under colour to reſtore him to his Antient Inheritance, but indeed to conſult with him about theſe Matters. Who, by his Wife's means, obtained both leave and Letters of Commendation, from Queen *Elizabeth*, when he had been a banished Man out of his Country Twenty years, in which time, (he being a *Stuart* of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*) King *Henry* the Eighth, who had a great reſpect for him, gave him to Wife *Margaret Douglaſs*, his Niece by his Elder Sifter, with large Poſſeſſions; and acknowledged him the next Heir of the Crown of *Scotland*, after *Mary*, who was then an Infant. By this *Margaret*, he had a Son named *Henry*, who was made Lord *Darly*. This *Henry* being by Birth an *Engliſhman*, and of the Royal Blood both of *England* and *Scotland*; if he should Marry into ſome Potent Family in *England*, the Queen of *Scots* feared (he being ſo very well beloved by the *Engliſh*) might prove an Obſtruction to her, in her Title to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. Foraſmuch as, in the Opinion of moſt Men, he

was

was looked upon to be the next Heir, after her, of the Crown of *England*. Him therefore she designed for her Husband: There being no one thing which she more desired, than that the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be devolved by her upon some Man of the *Scottish* Blood; and might by him be propagated to Posterity in the Royal Name of the *Stuarts*. Which by this Marriage she Effected. But what hopeful *Stuarts* they all prov'd, we shall have too large occasion to shew in the succeeding Reigns.

Queen *Elizabeth* was not at all pleased with this designed Marriage, and therefore to prevent it, advertiz'd the Queen of *Scots* by *Randolph*, that that Marriage was generally so disliked by all the *English*, that she had Prorogued the Parliament to another time against the Mind of her Council, left the Estates of the Realm being incensed, should even for this Cause Enact somewhat against her Title to the Succession. Which that it might not be done afterward, and that she might give Satisfaction to the *English*, she advised her to think of some other Marriage, and again Earnestly commended *Leicester* to her for a Husband, whom in this respect chiefly she had raised to the Honour of an Earl.

Upon this, Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat at *Berwick* about her Marriage with *Leicester*; for upon this Condition, Queen *Elizabeth* had promised to declare her by Act of Parliament her adopted Daughter, or Sister, as soon as she was Married. But this Treaty likewise (as all between these two Queens did) came to nothing; and how could it be otherwise, when their Aims and Ends, were different? What the *Scots* Queen's Aim was, I have declared before: And as to Queen *Elizabeth*, we must do her the Justice, as to acknowledge that her Design herein was very honourable, and worthy of herself; for the reason why she so much desired this Marriage, was, that thereby the Succession of both Kingdoms might be Established in an *English* Stock: Tho' at the same time, to speak the Truth, she was too slow about a matter of this great Importance, and especially having to do with a Queen that was so eager to be Married. For by her slow Proceedings, she made the Queen of *Scots* believe that she was deceitfully dealt with: And that Queen *Elizabeth* propounded this Marriage to no other End, but to choose for her self the best of all the Suitors; or else to Marry with *Leicester* the more Excusably, if she, being an absolute Queen, did first consent to the Marriage of *Leicester*. And indeed, that haughty Earl having entertained some hopes of Marrying Queen *Elizabeth* himself, was become very cold in his Courtship to the Queen of *Scots*; and secretly warned the Earl of *Bedford* by private Letters, that he should not be too Eager in the matter. And for the same reason also, he was thought to have secretly favoured the Lord *Darly*; who was really every way a Compleat Gentleman, and for his Person and Con-

ditions, well worthy of a Crown; and therefore the Queen of *Scots*, no ſooner ſaw him, than ſhe fell in love with him: Nor could all that Queen *Elizabeth* could either ſay or do, hinder the Match, which proved for him but a very unhappy one; for the Seeds of Diſſention being ſown between them by ſome ill Inſtruments, the Effects of it were very Tragical, the Queen of *Scots* loſing much of her Honour thereby; for ſhe having entertained an *Italian*, one *David Rizio*, an Excellent Muſician, for her Secretary, it was given out that ſhe admitted him to too great a Familiarity; which ſo incenſed the King that nothing would ſerve him but his Blood; which he not only attempted but executed, entring with ſeveral others into the Queen's Chamber while ſhe was at Supper, with the Counteſs of *Aran*, and there ſeizing upon *Rizio*, who was eating ſome Meat that came from the Queens Trencher; and ſetting a Piſtol to the Queen's Breaſt, ſhe being then big with Child, inſomuch that ſhe run a great Riſque of Miſcarrying of the Child ſhe went with. Then they haled him into a little Chamber hard by, and there Murthered him, (for Jealouſy is the rage of a Man) ſhutting the Queen, in the mean time, into her Privy-Chamber, while *Morton* beſet all Paſſages of Acceſs.

This Murther of *Rizio* widened the Breach between the King and Queen; of which the King ſeemed ſo ſenſible, that he repented of his Raſhneſs, and craved Pardon for his Fault; and as it is ſaid, confeſſed that he committed it through the inſtigation of *Murray* and *Morton*. And from that time Endeavoured how to ruin them. But having acquainted the Queen with his Deſign of making them away, he was prevented from putting it in Execution; and himſelf was ſoon after made a Sacrifice, whether to the Queen's or *Murray*'s Reſentments, or both, is hard to ſay: Hiſtorians are very ſilent in the manner of this Murder; and only paſs it by with ſaying the King was Murdered; and that it was done by *Bothwel*: And yet even this brings the Queen under Suſpicion enough, conſidering that this *Bothwel*, whom they all agree to be the Murderer, was ſoon after (having been acquitted of this Regicide by a Sham-Trial) Married to the Queen: For would any Woman, that had not been concerned in it her ſelf, have Married a Man that ſhould have been ſo much as ſuſpected for the Murder of her former Husband? But the Manner of the Murder does much more confirm the ſuſpicion, which I will relate from a great Friend and Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*. *Cauſ. Holy Court*, Part 5. p. 84.

"The King fell ſick of the ſmall Pox at *Glaſco*, which the "Queen underſtanding, immediately repaired thither to "bring him unto *Edinborough*, where were better Accommo- "dations for him; at the ſame time the Conſpirators Aſſem- "bled themſelves to accompliſh their Deſign; and moreover "they

" they had a desire to involve the Queen and her Son in the " same Ruine; but they feared that it would be too appa- " rent, and it would be more Expedient for them to bring all " the Envy of the Death of the Husband upon the Head of " his Wife; whom they conceived to be still highly offended " for his ill demeanor towards her: To which purpose they " undertook to Torment her Spirit, and prompt her to " thoughts of Vengeance; which they never could effect, so " strong was the New Knot of their reconciled Love. They " deliberated among themselves to put this Miserable Prince " to death by fire; and because it was inconvenient to per- " form it in the Palace, they entred into Council amongst " themselves, to remove him into a fair House, which was at " the upper end of the City, where they had prepared a fatal " Mine for his Destruction: His Sickness being such, *the Queen* " *accorded to his Removal*, and very innocently did take her " Husband by the hand, and did conduct him to the Entry " of his Lodging; where, with a singular Prudence she dis- " posed of every thing which concerned the Recovery of his " Health. And not contented with that, she stayed with him " without the Apprehension of any danger of Infection; " which put the Plotters of this delicate Conspiracy into fear, " but she seemed to be nothing troubled at it, and staying " with him until Midnight, she entertained him with all the " Satisfaction that he could expect from so bountiful a Na- " ture. As soon as she was retired, behold by the secret " Artifice of the Powder, to which fire was given under the " Lodging of the King, the Chamber was blown into the " Air, and the Bed all on fire, he found himself to be desper- " ately enwrapped in this Calamity; and the Authors of the " Mischief conspiring with the Elements did dispatch him " out-right, having found him half dead in a Garden, into " which place the Violence of the Fire had thrown him. The " Queen hearing of it, was possessed with a wonderful Amaze- " ment, and lost in the depth of Sorrow; she feared every " thing, and knew not what to do, or what to hope; every " hour attending to see the end of that Tragedy to be the " beginning of another on her own Life. The malicious " Earl of *Murray*, who now had given the Blow by the Instru- " ment of his Wickedness, as he had spoken a little before, " to those that were neareſt to him, that the King should die, " the same Night did cunningly retire himself. The People " murmured, and knew not what to take to; but the cleareſt " sighted among them perceived that it was a work of this " pernicious Brother, who had a desire utterly to destroy the " Royal Family, to mount himself upon the Throne.

So far that Author. In which it is sufficiently obvious, notwithstanding his putting the best colours upon it that it will bear, that the Queen of *Scots* could not but be privy to the Murder of her Husband: Why else did she bring him from

*Glaſco* to *Edinborough*, at a time when he was ſick of the Small Pox? And why elſe did ſhe permit him to be removed from the Palace to a Houſe at the upper end of the City, where they had before prepared a Mine to blow him up? And as for his ſaying, *They had a deſign to have involved the Queen in the ſame ruine*, if they had had ſuch a deſign, why did they not do it? Could they ever expect a fairer opportunity than when ſhe was ſo long with the King alone, even till Midnight? But, did they not, on the contrary, defer their deſign till ſhe was gone? And as ſoon as ſhe was retired, they ſet fire to the Mine, and blew up the King: For the Queen her ſelf was to be the Reward of the Murderer, as appears by her Marrying of *Bothwel*, (who was the Perſon that acted this Villany) ſoon after. And ſo reſolved ſhe was upon this Marriage, that neither the ſuſpicion of his being the Murderer of the King, nor his being Married already to another Woman, could hinder her. All theſe things conſidered, which even *Cauſin* himſelf grants to be true, are a ſufficient Indication of her guilt. And indeed the Queen's Marrying of *Bothwel*, begat a general ſuſpicion of her being concerned in the Murder of the King, and that ſhe was privy thereto: Which ſuſpicion was increaſed by ſeveral of the Nobility, who ſent Letters to that Effect into ſeveral parts of the Kingdom: So that in a little time thoſe very Perſons that had before acquitted *Bothwel* by a Sham-Tryal, of the Murder of the King, and perſwaded the Queen to Marry him; now riſe up againſt both, ſeeking the Depoſing of the one, and the Deſtruction of the other. To avoid which, *Bothwel* provides for his ſafety by flight, but the Queen being taken, was impriſoned, and hardly uſed there, till ſhe was conſtrained to reſign the Kingdom to her Son, (who was then ſcarce Thirteen Months old) and named the Earl of *Murray* to be Regent or Viceroy during the Minority of her Son; and yet, even after this, ſhe was detained in Priſon till ſhe ſecretly found means to Eſcape. Being again at Liberty, a Sentence declaratory was pronounced by the Unanimous Conſent of all the Noblemen that were there Aſſembled, That the Reſignation extorted from the Queen in Priſon, through fear, was Null from the very firſt; and that it was extorted by force, the Queen her ſelf made Oath. The Queen thereupon ſoon levied an Army of Six Thouſand Men, with which ſhe Engaged with *Murray*, by whom they were defeated; upon which the Queen ſaved herſelf by flight, Riding that day Sixty Miles; and afterwards, by Night-Journeys came to the Houſe of *Maxwel* Baron *Herris*, and choſe rather to commit her ſelf to the Mercy of the Sea, and to the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Fidelity of her own People; nevertheleſs, ſhe ſent *John Beton* firſt with a Diamond Ring, which ſhe had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of Mutual Amity, intimating that ſhe would come into *England*, and implore her

her Aid, if her Subjects offered to perſecute her any further. To whom Queen *Elizabeth* returned Anſwer, that she should expect from her in abundant manner all loving and friendly Offices. But before the Meſſenger was returned, she (contrary to the Advice of her Friends) entered into a ſmall Bark, and with the Lords *Herris* and *Fleming*, and a few others, landed at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, near the Mouth of the River *Derwent*: And the ſame Day writ the following Letter to the Queen, the chief heads whereof, foraſmuch as they contain an Hiſtorical Narration of things done againſt her in *Scotland*, more fully than I have related them, I have thought good to ſet down out of the very Original; which runneth thus:

"You are not ignorant (moſt Excellent Princeſs, and my "very good Siſter) how ſome of my Subjects whom I have "raiſed to the higheſt top of Honour, have conſpired to im- "priſon me and my Husband; and how I alſo at your In- "terceſſion, received them again to Favour, after they were "by force of Arms driven out of my Kingdom. Yet theſe "Men brake into my Chamber, cruelly Murthered my Ser- "vant before my Face, when I was great with Child, and "shut me up in Cuſtody: And when I had pardoned them "a ſecond time, behold they pretended a New Crime againſt "me, which they plotted themſelves, and ſigned with their "own hands, and were now ready with an Army in the "Field to charge me. But I truſting in my own Innocency, "and to ſpare the Spilling of Blood, put my ſelf into their "Hands. They preſently put me into Priſon, removed all "my Servants from me, ſaving one or two Waiting-Maids, "my Cook, and my Phyſician, drave me by Threats and Ter- "ror of Death to reſign my Kingdom; and in an Aſſembly "of the States convocated by their own Authority, refuſed "to hear me or my Advocates; deſpoiled me of my Goods, "and barred me from all Conference with any Man. After- "wards, with GOD's Guidance, I eſcaped out of Priſon; "and being guarded with the Flower of the Nobility, which "gladly flocked unto me from all parts, I put my Enemies "in mind of their Duty and Allegiance, I offered them Par- "don, and propounded that both Parties might be heard in "an Aſſembly of the States, leſt the Commonwealth ſhould "be rent any longer with Civil Combuſtions. Two Meſ- "ſengers I ſent about this Matter, and both of them they "caſt in Priſon; thoſe which aided me, they proclaimed "Traitors, and commanded them by Publick Proclamation, "that they ſhould preſently leave me. I prayed them that "the Lord *Boyl* might upon Publick Faith and Aſſurance "Treat with them about a Compoſition; but this alſo they "flatly denied. Yet I hoped that by your Mediation they "might have been recalled to their Duty. But when I ſaw "that I muſt have undergone either Death, or a new Im-

" priſonment, I reſolved to go to *Dunbriton*. They in the " way oppoſed themſelves againſt me, ſlew and put my Men " to flight in Battel. I betook my ſelf to the Lord *Herris*, " with whom I am come into your Kingdom, truſting aſſured- " ly in your ſingular Kindneſs, that you will aſſiſt me, and " excite others by your Example: I do therefore Earneſtly " intreat you that I may be forthwith conducted unto you, " who am now in very great Straits, as I ſhall more fully " inform you when it ſhall pleaſe you to take pity on me. " GOD grant unto you a long Life, and to me Patience " and Conſolation. Which I hope and pray that I may ob- " tain of him by your means. *Signed*,

MARY, *Queen*.

I will not undertake to juſtify the Queen of *Scots*; nor whether the Charge of her Subjects againſt her was true or falſe; tho' the Probabilities of her being conſenting, at leaſt, to the Murder of her Husband, carries too great an Evidence of Truth along with it, and is no more to be doubted than that thoſe very Perſons that accuſed her with it, were themſelves the Actors of it; though now they were for caſting the whole Odium of it upon her, whereas indeed they were all Equally guilty; only that the Murdered Perſon was her Husband, was an Aggravation that peculiarly belonged to her. But let that be as it will, it is what was acted in *Scotland*; and the Queen of *Scots* being, as ſhe writes in danger of her Life from her own Subjects, and being promiſed by Queen *Elizabeth* that ſhe ſhould receive from her all the Love and Kindneſs of a Siſter; who could have expected that after her Arrival in *England*, ſhe ſhould not only be denied Acceſs to the Queen's Preſence, but alſo kept as a Priſoner? And that ſhe ſhould not only not be aſſiſted againſt her Subjects, but that inſtead thereof, the Queen ſhould ſupport them againſt her, and give them Commiſſions, and an Order to form a Proceſs againſt her; was certainly (to ſpeak as gently of it as we can) a very great Piece of Ingratitude in Queen *Elizabeth*; and may well enough be called Injuſtice. And ſo no doubt it was looked upon by the Lord Viſcount *Herris*, who made the following Addreſs in her behalf, to Queen *Elizabeth*:

Madam, *The Queen, my Miſtreſs, who is in nothing ſubject to you but by Miſfortune, does deſire you would conſider that it is a work of Evil Example, and moſt pernicious Conſequence, to give way that her Rebellious Subjects ſhould be heard againſt her, who being not able to deſtroy her by Arms, do promiſe themſelves to Aſſaſſinate her even in your own Breaſt, under the Colour of Juſtice. Madam, Conſider the Eſtate of Worldly Affairs, and ſhew ſome Compaſſion to the Calamities of your poor Suppliant. After the moſt horrid Attempt on the King her Husband, the*

*Murder*

*Murder of her Servants, the Cruel designs on her Sacred Person; after so many Prisons and Chains, the Subjects are heard against their Queen, the Rebels against their lawful Mistress, the Guilty against the Innocent, and the Felons against their Judge. Where are we, or what do we do? Tho' Nature hath planted us in the Extremities of all the Earth, yet hath she not taken the sense of Humanity from us. Consider, she is your own Blood, your nearest Kinswoman, one of the best Queens in the World, for whom you are preparing Bloody Scaffolds; and that in a place where she was promised and expected greatest Favours. I want words to express so barbarous a deed: But I am ready to come to the Effects, and to justify the Innocence of my Queen, by Witnesses unreproveable, and by Papers Written and Subscribed by the hands of the Accusers. If this will not suffice, I offer my self by your Majesties Permission, to fight hand to hand for the honour of my Queen against the most hardy and resolute of those who are her Accusers. In this I do assure my self of your Equity; and that you will not deny that Favour unto her, who will acknowledge her self obliged to your Bounty.*

But it was in vain to make Addresses of this Nature to Queen *Elizabeth*, who found her Advantages in the Misfortunes of the Queen of *Scotland*, and therefore made no Account of such Remonstrances, but commanded the Commissioners, who were the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Sussex* to proceed unto the Charge. To countenance which, the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darley's* Mother, had of late with Tears grievously complained to Queen *Elizabeth* in her Husband's and her own Name, and desired she might be called to her Trial, for the Murther of their Son. And the Council were almost all of Opinion, that she ought to be detained here as a Prisoner taken as by right of War, till she gave Satisfaction for usurping the Title of *England*, (for this Core lay still at the Bottom) and for the Death of the Lord *Darley* her Husband, who was a Native Subject of *England*. So that the Queen of *Scots*, instead of being received by Queen *Elizabeth* as a Neighbouring Queen and Kinswoman, was denied access to her Presence, and tried as a Criminal before Commissioners delegated by her self, for things done in her own Kingdom, where she was a Soveraign Queen, and how consistent this was with the Love and Kindness promised her, or even with Common Justice, I leave the Reader to Judge.

To speak of the Charge against the Queen of *Scots*, before the Queen's Commissioners, and the Pleadings of the *Scots* against her, and her Answers thereto, would take up too much room. The issue of it was that they came to no Definitive Sentence one way or other; which the Queen was not pleased with: However other Commissioners were chosen to hear and examine further into this matter; and in the mean time to keep the Queen of *Scots* a Prisoner. And indeed that unhappy Queen was kept a Prisoner in *England* almost Twenty

Years, and could not obtain her Liberty but by her Death, and that a Violent one too, being taken off by the hand of (Juſtice I will not ſay, for I think ſhe had hard Dealing, but by the hand of) the Hangman. The occaſion of which I will make haſte to declare.

The Queen of *Scots* being impriſoned, as we have before related, for no other reaſon but becauſe ſhe fled into *England* to avoid the fury of her own Rebellious Subjects, became extreamly troubled at it, and ſo did all that had any kindneſs for her; and ſeveral Attempts were made by them for her Deliverance; but inſtead of Effecting that, they did but make her Bonds the ſtronger. The Duke of *Norfolk* ſought her in Marriage, and the Queen of *Scots* was well enough pleaſed with it; nay, the great *Leiceſter* himſelf Encouraged the Duke of *Norfolk* therein. And yet this matter came to nothing, or rather to worſe than nothing with the Duke, who inſtead of getting the Queen of *Scots* for his Wife, loſt his own Head upon Tower-Hill. If it be ſaid that the Queen of *Scots* was privy to ſeveral Deſigns againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and that thoſe that were her Friends, were the Queens Enemies; I grant it: But who that had been ſo long, and ſo cauſleſly kept a Priſoner, would not be glad of making uſe of any probable means for the obtaining of their Liberty, tho' they were ſuch as could not perhaps in ſtrictneſs of Juſtice be approved of? And I would further ask, Whether it was not more unjuſt in Queen *Elizabeth* to detain the Queen of *Scots* ſo long a Priſoner, without cauſe, than for that Queen to endeavour to procure her Liberty, by what means ſhe thought were moſt likely to Effect it? Eſpecially after the Queen of *Scots* had ſo often applied her ſelf to Queen *Elizabeth* in the moſt Suppliant and Affectionate manner in the World, offering to give her all the Aſſurance ſhe was capable of, never to give her any cauſe of trouble while she lived; tho' she was not only her near Kinſwoman, but the next Heir of the Crown. But perhaps that was her only Crime, and had she not been ſo circumſtanced, she might have found more favour at *Elizabeth*'s hands. And tho' after the Pope had Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and was willing to give away that which was none of his own, that is, her Kingdom from her; and that all the Conſpiracies againſt her, made it one of their Deſigns to deliver the Queen of *Scots*, upon the ſuppoſal of her preſent Right to this Kingdom; yet I ſee not how this could affect that Queen, both becauſe ſhe was a Priſoner, and altogether ignorant of their Proceeding. Tho' I confeſs this was pleaded in vain by that Queen, when ſhe was both tried and condemned, and afterwards Executed, for having a hand in *Babington*'s Conſpiracy. Which, as I have before noted, being the great Blemiſh of *Elizabeth*'s Reign, it will be worth our while, to ſet that work of Darkneſs in a true Light; and Examine how far the Queen of *Scots* could be affected by it.

And

And the rather, becauſe by making the Injuſtice thereof appear, we ſhall juſtify the Impartiality of our Secret Hiſtory.

That the Popiſh Party was always violently enraged againſt Queen *Elizabeth* (as they are ſtill againſt all Proteſtants) is too evident to be denied: As an inſtance whereof one *Ballard*, a Seminary Prieſt of *Rheims*, came over into *England* with as much Malice in his heart againſt Queen *Elizabeth* as *Rome* and Hell was able to inſpire him with, and endeavoured to ſtir up ſeveral Perſons to Aſſaſſinate the Queen, telling them they ſhould have Aſſiſtance from the King of *Spain* and others, and that this was the moſt convenient time, that could be met withal, or hoped for, ſince the Pope, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Prince of *Parma*, had decreed to ſet upon *England*; to divert them from the *Low-Country* War. Amongſt others that this *Ballard* had drawn in to hearken to his ſtories, was one *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman deſcended from a good Family in *Darby-ſhire*, of a great Spirit, and of Knowledge above his Age; and (which was the main Motive) a very zealous Roman Catholick; who had not long before been privately in *France*, where he became familiarly acquainted with one *Thomas Morgan*, a Servant of the Queen of *Scots*, and the Biſhop of *Glaſco* her Ambaſſador, who by their continual applauding and admiring of the Vertues of ſo great a Princeſs, made him have an ardent deſire to be acquainted with her; and now *Ballard* the Prieſt propounding the ſetting of the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, to be one part of their Deſign, made him the more Zealous in the Buſineſs; by whom alſo ſeveral others were drawn in, and eſpecially Six, that had Engaged to give the fatal Blow. Some being carried on by hopes of great Reward, ſome by their hatred to the Proteſtant Religion, and ſome were ſo vain as to pretend it was by a deſire of Glory; and ſo fond were ſome of this bloody Embryo conceived in their own wicked Hearts, that they cauſed their Deſign to be Printed in a Table, with Devices to it, as the Authors of Liberty: And among the reſt, *Babington* could not contain himſelf from Writing an Account of it to the Queen of *Scots* in Priſon; but the Letters being brought to her Secretaries, *Nave* and *Curles*, they did not think fit to communicate it to their Miſtreſs, as well knowing ſhe had before often declared her abhorrence of ſuch violent Deſigns; but ſince one part of the Conſpiracy was to releaſe the Queen of *Scots* from her Impriſonment, they thought they would not neglect the occaſion; and therefore they wrote back an Anſwer to the Letter in the Queens Name, tho' without her knowledge; in which they praiſed *Babington* for his Zeal to the Catholick Religion, and to the Sacred Perſon of their Lady, who was the Supportreſs of it; adviſing him to take Conſideration with him in this Enterprize, and to make a ſtrong Aſſociation amongſt them who were to be the Actors and the Authors,

and

and to attempt nothing before they had Assurance of Aid from Foreign Parts; and withal, to stir up some new Troubles in *Ireland*, before they gave this Blow in *England*; they advised him also to draw unto his Party the Earl of *Arundel* and his Brothers, and others named in the Letter; they also prescribed a means for the Deliverance of the Queen, either by overturning one of her Coaches in the Gate, or by setting on fire some Rooms belonging to her Querries in the Castle; or to take her away where she took Horse to refresh her self, by taking the Air: And in conclusion advised him to promise great Rewards to the Six Gentlemen, and to all the rest.

*Babington*, presuming it was the Queen who by this Letter treated with him, became so vainly puffed up, that, to Encourage his Brethren in Iniquity he discovered the Letter to them, to inflame them with the greater desire to execute their Design. And they were so transported therewith, that tho' they shut their Eyes against the Danger, yet they opened their Mouths to discover the Secret, which was communicated to so many of their Accomplices, that the Number of the Conspirators was the means of detecting the Conspiracy: (Tho' in truth Secretary *Walsingham* knew of it from the beginning, and let them go on so long, till the Queen (whom he all along acquainted with what he knew) told him, *That to let it go on any further, was not to trust GOD, but to tempt him.*) For there was one *Gifford* among them, who being charged with a Commission to keep all their Letters safe, carried them all to Secretary *Walsingham*, who having opened and transcribed them, made them up again with that dexterity that it was unperceiveable. And the last written by *Babington*, with the Answer of the Secretaries, in the Name of the Queen of *Scots*, was carried to Queen *Elizabeth* and shewed to her Council. And the Conspirators being apprehended, *Babington* was examined about those Letters, who confessed, according as he believed, that he had treated with the Queen of *Scotland*, according to those Letters; in which he spoke truly as he thought, tho' he did not speak the Truth.

The Conspirators after Examination were brought to their Trials, at which some pleaded Guilty, and others were found Guilty by their Jury; whereupon they were all Executed, and that in so severe a manner (I mean the first seven) that, tho' they well deserved Death for the horrid Treason they designed to perpetrate; yet the manner of their Execution was such, as justly merits the Imputation of Barbarous Cruelty; for *Ballard*, the Prime Instigator of all, who was deservedly first Executed, was cut down while he was alive; and had his Bowels ript up, and taken out before his Face; and *Babington* being cut down, and about to be quartered, cried out, Lord Jesus have Mercy on me; *Savage*, who first undertook

undertook to kill the Queen, the Rope breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was immediately bowelled, and his Privy Members cut off, while he was yet alive; which inhumane Cruelty was diſliked of thoſe who yet thought them worthy of Death.

The Trials and Execution of theſe Criminals being over, it was now debated in Council what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*, who by the Letters found with *Babington*, and even by his own Confeſſion, was Privy to their Deſign, and an Encourager of it; tho' that *Babington* was miſtaken, and how he came to be ſo, has been already declared; and the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, *Nave* and *Curle*, having been apprehended and Examined, and well enough knowing what they had done, if they ſhould own it as their own Act and Deed, would conſign them over to the juſt Puniſhment of the Law, they declared they had writ thoſe Letters by the Command of the Queen of *Scots*, who dictated what they writ. Theſe things appeared ſo evident, that a Commiſſion was granted for the Tryal of the Queen of *Scots*; Tho' at the ſame time there was a great Suſpicion that *Walſingham* had ſome hand in Corrupting her Secretaries to write thoſe Letters; that ſo ſhe might be brought in as an Acceſſary in that Conſpiracy; for it was evident from ſome of their Letters, that *Curle* about this time preſſing *Walſingham* to be as good as his Word, *Walſingham* checked him, as one unmindful of the Extraordinary favour ſhewed him, foraſmuch as he had confeſſed nothing but what his fellow *Nave* ſtanding by, and urging him to, he was not able to deny. Which in ſhort, ſhewed ſome foul Practice between *Walſingham* and them.

A Commiſſion being granted by Authority of the Queens Letters, to ſeveral Lords of the Privy Council, and divers others of the *Engliſh* Nobility, grounded upon an Act of the 27*th* of the Queen, for the paſſing of Sentence, as in caſe of High Treaſon, againſt all ſuch as raiſed Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any Violence againſt the Queen.

The greater part of theſe Commiſſioners ſoon after repaired to *Fotheringay-Caſtle* in *Northampton-ſhire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then kept Priſoner; and the next day ſent to her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Powlet*, and *Edward Barker*, a Publick Notary, who delivered the Queens Letters for her Tryal into her hand; which ſhe firſt peruſed, and then ſaid, *I am very much troubled that the Queen, my dear Siſter, is ſo ill informed of me, after I have ſo often fore-warned her of many Imminent Dangers, tho' I could not be believed, but have always been deſpiſed, and no credit given to my words. When the Aſſociation was Entred into, and an Act of Parliament paſſed upon the ſame, I foreſaw that whatſoever Danger from Foreign Princes, or diſcontented Perſons at home, or for the matter of Religion, that ſhould happen here, it would all be laid upon my*

*Back,*

*Back, having many cruel and Potent Adverſaries at the Court.* ——*I very much wonder that the Queen ſhould lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, whom ſhe knows to be an abſolute Queen; neither will I do any thing which may derogate from Princely Majeſty, or be prejudicial to Princes of my degree, or to my Son the King of Scotland*, &c. with ſeveral other Words to that purpoſe; but ſhe had as good have ſaid nothing, for they were reſolved to try her, notwithſtanding all her Allegations to the contrary: And having deſired that ſhe might anſwer in Parliament before the States of the Kingdom, that alſo was denied her: And when ſhe told the Commiſſioners that ſhe would never ſubmit to the New Law mentioned in the Commiſſioners Patent, the Lord Treaſurer told her they would proceed againſt her, tho' ſhe were abſent, and continued Contumacious. At laſt, upon their Regiſtring her Proteſtation againſt it, ſhe ſubmitted to her Trial.

Upon her Trial, *Babington*'s Conſpiracy was brought as an Evidence againſt her; alledging that ſhe was guilty of it, as having approved it, aſſented to it, and both promiſed Aſſiſtance, and laid down the way and means of Effecting it. To which ſhe anſwered that ſhe knew not *Babington*, that ſhe had never received any Letters from him, neither had ſhe ever written to him, nor had ſhe ever plotted the Queens Deſtruction; and for the Evincing hereof, they muſt produce ſome Subſcription written with her own hand; but that ſhe never had ſo much as heard of any ſuch thing; that ſhe knew not *Ballard*, nor had ſhe ever torſtered him; that ſhe had excited no Perſon to any wicked deſign; and that being in Priſon, ſhe could neither know of, nor hinder their Attempts: Then ſhe was urged with *Babington*'s Confeſſion of the Correſpondence by Letters that had paſſed between her and him: And the Copies of *Babington*'s Letters were Read, wherein the whole Conſpiracy was ſet down. *As for thoſe Letters*, ſaid ſhe, *I know not but that* Babington *might write them, but let it be proved that ever I received them. If* Babington, *or any others affirmed ſo much, I ſay plainly that they lie: Other men's faults muſt not be laid upon me. A Pacquet of Letters indeed which was detained almoſt a whole year, came to my hands, but who ſent it, I know not.*

To prove that ſhe received *Babington*'s Letters, were Read out of *Babington*'s Confeſſion, the Heads of the Letters which *Babington* voluntarily confeſſed that ſhe had written back to him. In which, when mention was made of the Earl of *Arundel* and his Brothers, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, ſhe burſt forth into Tears, and ſaid, *Alas for me! what and how many Miſeries for my Cauſe hath that Noble Family of the* Howards *ſuffered!* And a while after, wiping her Eyes, ſhe anſwered, Babington *might confeſs what he liſted; but it was a manifeſt Lye, that ſhe had invented any ſuch means to Eſcape. The Private Characters which ſhe uſed in writing to others, her Adverſaries*

*versaries might easily get, and therewithal write many false and fained things. Neither was it likely she should seek help of the Earl of* Arundel, *whom she knew was laid in Prison, or of* Northumberland, *who was a very young Man, and unknown to her.*

There were also Read those things that were gathered out of the Confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, who confessed that *Babington* shewed them Letters which the Queen of *Scots* had written to him.

To this she affirmed, *That* Babington *received none from her; yea, that she was offended at others, who secretly advertised her of a purpose to invade* England; *and she advised them to beware what they went about.*

Then were those Letters produced, in which *Babington's* Treason was commended and approved. She desired to see the Copy of them; which being shewed her, she averred, *That they came not from her, but it might be from her Alphabet of secret Characters in* France: *For she owned that she, as every one by the instinct of Nature will do, was earnestly desirous to regain her Liberty, and dealt with her Friends to procure it; yet to some, (whom she would not name) that offered their Assistance to free her, she gave not so much as a word in answer. Nevertheless she had a great desire to turn away the storm of Persecution from the Catholicks, and this she earnestly besought the Queen for: That she would not willingly gain the Kingdom with the Blood of the meanest of the People; much less of the Queens: Many there were that took dangerous Enterprizes in hand, which she knew nothing of. And that some in Letters which she had lately received, had asked Pardon of her, if they should take any matter in hand without making her acquainted. That it was a very easy matter to Counterfeit the Cyphers and secret Characters of others; the which a young Man lately did in* France, *which took upon him to be her Sons Bastard Brother. She feared likewise that this might be* Walsingham's *Device against her, who, as she had heard, plotted against her own and her Sons Life. She also protested that she had not so much as in thought conspired against the Queen's Life; that she would willingly lay down her Life, rather than for her cause, and in hatred to her, the poor Catholicks should be thus miserably vexed, and hurried to lamentable Executions.*

But (*said the Treasurer*) no Person that behaved himself as a dutiful Subject, hath been put to Death for his Religions sake; but some indeed for Treason, while they maintained the Pope's Authority, and his Bull against the Queen.

*But I have been told to the contrary,* said she, *and have Read it in printed Books.*

*To which the Treasurer replied,* True indeed; so the Authors of those Books write, that the Queen hath lost all Priviledge of Princely Dignity.

Then

Then *Walſingham*, (who perceived he had but juſt before been ſtruck at by her words, laying hold upon this occaſion, roſe up, and ſaid, *I call GOD to witneſs, that as a private Man, I have done nothing unbeſeeming an honeſt Man, nor any thing which ſuited not well with my Place, conſidering the Publick Charge I bear: I confeſs, that being very carefully ſolicitous for the ſafety of the Queen and Kingdom, I have ſearched ſomewhat curiouſly to find out the Machinations againſt her. If* Ballard *had proferred me his help, I would not have rejected it, but have requited his pains alſo. If I plotted or deviſed any thing with him, why revealed he it not to ſave his Life?*

The Queen of *Scots* replied, *She was ſatisfied with this Anſwer; and requeſted him moreover not to be offended that ſhe ſpoke freely what had been told her; and that he would give no more belief to thoſe that ſlandered her, than ſhe would to thoſe that traduced him; Spies and Agents of that Nature being not to be truſted, for they will think one thing, and ſay another; and that he would in no caſe believe that ſhe gave any conſent to hurt the Queen*; and thereupon burſting forth into Tears, ſhe ſaid, *Never would I hazard my own Souls health, by conſpiring the deſtruction of my deareſt Siſter.*

The Lawyers went on ſtill, charging her with a Letter which *Charles Paget* writ, touching the Conference between *Ballard* and *Mendoza*, about the invading of *England*, and ſetting her at Liberty, and that *Curle* one of her Attendants, had teſtified that she received the ſame. Alſo that she had adviſed about making over the Kingdom of *England* to the *Spaniard*, and that she had a purpoſe to ſend her Son into *Spain*: Alſo that she knew *Morgan* well enough, who ſent *Parry* into *England* to be the Queen's Aſſaſſinate, and allowed him a yearly Penſion. They likewiſe produced the heads of her Letters to *Ingleſield* and the Lord *Paget*, and to *Barnardine Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, touching Foreign Forces: But after all the Allegations, the matter in the Concluſion was reduced to *Babington's* Letter, in which he gave her notice of the Conſpiracy, and to the Anſwer which she made to it, exhorting him to purſue his Deſign: But moſt of all to the Depoſitions of her own Secretaries, who gave aſſurances that she did dictate the ſaid Letter, as alſo other Letters to Foreign Princes, to invade *England* with Arms: Theſe things they preſſed hardeſt upon her, and indeed they ſeemed to carry ſome Probability with them. But to all their ſeveral Allegations, she thus vindicated her ſelf: In which the Reader may ſee the Solidity of her Judgment, and the Clearneſs of her Underſtanding: Which tho' it be ſomething long, yet I know not how to omit it, it being all to the purpoſe.

"If the Queen my Siſter hath given you a Commiſſion to "ſee Juſtice done, it is reaſonable that you ſhould begin it "rather by the Eaſing of my Sufferings, than by the Oppreſ-"ſing of my Innocence. I came into *England* to implore Suc-

"cour

" cour againſt the Rebellion of my Subjects. My Blood, Alli-
" ance, Sex, Neighbourhood, and the Title which I bear of a
" Queen, did promiſe me all Satisfaction, and here I meet with
" my greateſt Affliction. This is the Twentieth Year that I
" have been detained Priſoner, without Cauſe, without Rea-
" ſon, without Mercy, and (which is more) without Hope.
" I am no Subject of your Miſtreſſes, but a free and an Abſo-
" lute Queen; and ought not to make Anſwer but to GOD
" alone, the Soveraign Judge of my Actions, or bring any
" Prejudice to the Character of Royal Majeſty, either in my
" Son the King of *Scotland*, or his Succeſſors; nor other So-
" veraign Princes of the Earth. This is the Proteſtation
" which I have made, and which I repeat again in your Pre-
" ſence, before I make any Anſwer to the Crimes which are
" impoſed on me.

" The blackeſt of all the Calumnies do charge me for ha-
" ving conſpired the Death of my moſt dear Couſin; and
" after many Circumventions, all the Proofs are reduced to
" the Letter of *Babington*, the Depoſition of my Secretaries,
" and my Solicitations made to Foreign Princes, to invade
" *England* with Arms. I will anſwer effectually to all theſe
" Articles, and make the Juſtice of my Cauſe moſt clearly ap-
" pear to thoſe, who ſhall without Paſſion look upon it. And
" in the firſt place, I ſwear and proteſt that I never ſaw *Ba-*
" *bington*, who is made the Principal in this Charge. I never
" received any Letter from him, neither had he any Letter
" from me; I have always abhorred theſe Violent and Black
" Counſels, which tended to the Ruine of Queen *Elizabeth*,
" and I am ready to produce Letters from thoſe, who having
" had ſome Evil Enterprize, have excuſed themſelves that they
" have diſcovered nothing to me, becauſe they were aſſured
" that my Spirit was oppoſite to ſuch Deſigns. I could not
" know what *Babington* or his Accomplices have done, being a
" Priſoner; he might write what he pleaſed, but I am certain
" that I never ſaw nor heard of any Letter of his to me.
" And if there be found any Anſwer written by me to ſuch
" things as never ſo much as entered into my Imagination, it
" is an abominable Forgery. We live not in an Age nor a
" Realm, that is to learn the Trade to deceive. I am inform-
" ed that *Walſingham*, one amongſt you, who hath conſpired
" my Death, and the Death of my Son, doth uſe ſuch Arti-
" fices, and hath counterfeited a Letter from me, in anſwer
" to that of *Babington*'s; which he hath intercepted. The o-
" ther innocently believed it, and took his Oath that it came
" from me: But all this is no more than one ſimple Con-
" jecture. There ſhould be a Million of Witneſſes, more
" clear than the Rays of the Sun, to impeach a Soveraign
" Queen, who comprehends within her Authority ſo many
" Millions of Lives. And a Man unknown, a Man half dead,
" is believed againſt me; who ſpake all that he knew, and that

" which he knew not, to deliver himself from the horrible " Cruelties of his Examiners. Let them produce but one " Letter of my hand, one shadow of the Crime, and I will " yield my self convinced. I speak it in the Sincerity of my " heart, and of the Tears of my Eyes, I would not Conquer " a Kingdom with the Blood of the vilest Person picked out " of the Scum of the People; much less with the Blood of a " Queen. I will never make Shipwrack of my Soul, in con- " spiring the Ruine of a Person, to whom I have vowed so " much honour and friendship.

" For my Secretaries, I did always take them for good honest " Men, but if they do charge me, and accuse me in their De- " positions, with having dictated an Answer to *Babington*'s " Letter, they have committed two great Faults; the first, in " violating the Oath which they have made to be Secret and " Faithful to their Mistress. The second, in inventing so de- " testable a Calumny against her to whom they owe all Re- " verence and Fidelity. In a manner all the belief that you " draw from them, amounts to no more than this, that it comes " from perfidious Men. O good GOD! In what a desperate " Condition, is the Majesty and Safety of Princes, if they de- " pend upon the Writings and the Witnesses of their Secre- " taries in Affairs of so high a Consequence! How many are " of them, who prostitute themselves to the uncertainty of " Riches? How many of them for fear only do comply with " the Menaces of the Great Ones? They are Men of For- " tune, who follow the Ebb and Flow of Inconstancy. If those " poor Men have taken their Oaths, as you say, it was only to " deliver themselves from the horror of your Torments, and " put all upon the Crowned Head of a Queen, which they " thought was inaccessible to your Commissions.

" But what Lawyers are you, to put *Babington* to Death, " without bringing him before me, face to face? To open " his Mouth by Torments to tell a Lye, and then to shut it up " for ever against the Truth? If my Secretaries are yet a- " live, let them come into my Presence, and I assure my self " they will not persist in that Deposition which you object a- " gainst me. Doth it not easily appear, that you proceed here " in a bad belief; and that you borrow these poor Formalities " to give some slight tincture to your pre-judgings?

" I never did dictate any thing to my Servants, but what " Nature did suggest unto me, for the Recovering of my Li- " berty. This is the third Objection of your Process. And " I demand of you, if I have not committed a great Crime, to " desire a Benefit which every common Voice doth teach us; " which the Laws do approve, which all Men do practice; " which Nature prompts the *Nightingals*, and every little Bird " unto, that are imprisoned in their Cages: What can he do " less that sees himself in Irons, but implore the assistance of " his Friends, and desire that some strong hand of Mercy might

" open

" open the Priſon for him. I confeſs, I have had the deſire of
" Liberty, but I deny that I ſought the Effect thereof by that
" means which you alledge. It is a ſtrange thing that a Pri-
" ſoner, all whoſe Actions are ſpied into, and every ſtep ſhe
" treads is counted, ſhould do the Affair which great Sove-
" raigns, tho' of free and moſt abſolute Power, could not re-
" move. So many years are now paſſed, ſince I have been as
" it were in the Chains of miſerable Captivity; yet neither
" the Offers which I have made, nor the Aſſurances which I
" have given, nor the increaſe of my Sickneſs, nor the decli-
" ning of my Age, could move my Siſter to my Enlargement.
" Have I not offered to contract a ſtrict Friendſhip with her,
" to cheriſh her, to reſpect her above all the Princes in Chri-
" ſtendom, to forget all Offences, to acknowledge her the
" true and Legitimate Queen of *England*; ſubmitting all my
" Rights to the Benefits of her Peace; neither to pretend to,
" nor take any part of the Crown, during her Life; and to
" remove both the Title and the Arms of *England*, which I
" only attributed to my ſelf by the Commandment of *Henry*
" the Second King of *France*? And yet all theſe Submiſſions
" have prevailed nothing for my Deliverance. Am I ſo much
" to be blamed, if I have deſired Foreign Princes, my Friends
" and my Allies, to draw me out from the Depth of theſe
" Miſeries? And yet I neither have, nor was ever willing
" to confirm into the hands of the King of *Spain*, the Right
" which he pretended to the Crown of *England*, altho' he
" hath been angry with me concerning it: But I have given
" reſpect unto my Siſter ſo far, that I have neglected both my
" Life and Liberty, to ſatisfy her Intereſt; and have de-
" lighted my ſelf with the Prayers of *Eſther*, and not with
" the Sword of *Judith*. But I now ſpeak and declare,
" that ſince *England* is inequitable, and ſo unkind unto me,
" that I neither ought, nor will refuſe the Aid of other
" Kings.

" I have here ſincerely declared my thoughts, and my Coun-
" ſels to you, on this Accuſation; and if Right and Equity
" muſt give way to Power, and Force muſt oppreſs the Truth
" amongſt Men, I do appeal to the Living GOD, who hath
" an Abſolute Empire of Command over *Elizabeth* and my
" ſelf. I ſwear unto you by GOD, and proteſt unto you by
" my Honour, that for this long time, I have had my
" Thoughts on no Kingdom but only that of Heaven; which
" I look on as the Haven after my Sufferings: I believe I
" have now ſatisfied all your Objections: And I am ſure
" that you are ſatisfied in your own Conſciences, that the
" greateſt Charge againſt me is my Birth, and that nothing
" renders me guilty but my Religion. But I will not deny
" that, to which by GOD's Goodneſs I am born, nor remove

" the Character which I received in the days of my Baptiſm;
" for as I have lived, ſo I will die a Catholick. For that's the
" Crime alone, for which I need no Advocate to defend me;
" in which I deſire all the World to be my Witneſſes, and fear
" not the ſevereſt Judges.

This is the Subſtance of the Queen of *Scots* Defence; which not ſatisfying the Commiſſioners, they prorogued their Meeting again, till the 25*th* of *October*, at the Star-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*: At which time and Place all the Commiſſioners met, except the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were then indiſpoſed. And when *Nave* and *Curle* had conſtantly affirmed that the ſeveral Letters and Copies of Letters formerly produced before them, were true and Authentick, and confirmed the ſame by Oath, *viva voce*, willingly and voluntarily, without *Hope or Reward*, ſays the Record; (as if their own Lives, who were guilty of writing thoſe Letters, were not Reward enough) Sentence was pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*; which was ratified by the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, in manner and form following:

Viz. *By their unanimous Aſſent and Conſent, at the Day and Place laſt mentioned, they pronounce and declare this Sentence, and Judicial Verdict, and ſay, That after the End of the foreſaid Seſſion of Parliament, ſpecified in the Commiſſion aforeſaid, to wit, after the firſt day of* June, *in the ſeven and twentieth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lady the Queen aforeſaid, and before the date of the ſaid Commiſſion, divers matters were Compaſſed and imagined in this Kingdom of* England *by* Anthony Babington, *and others, with the Privity of the ſaid* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *pretending Title to the Crown of the Kingdom of* England, *tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of the Royal Perſon of our ſaid Soveraign Lady the Queen. And furthermore, that after the firſt day of* June *aforeſaid, in the ſeven and twentieth year aboveſaid, and before the dating of our Commiſſion aforeſaid, the foreſaid* Mary, *pretending Title to the Crown and Kingdom of* England, *hath compaſſed and imagined within this Kingdom of* England, *divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of the Royal Perſon of our Soveraign Lady the Queen, againſt the form of the Statute ſpecified in the Commiſſion aforeſaid.*

This was the Sentence and Iſſue of the Queen of *Scots* Trial, which depended wholly upon the Truſt and Honeſty of her own ecretaries; or rather upon their Villany and Perjury; and yet even theſe Witneſſes, as bad as they were, were not ſuffered to be brought face to face againſt her, whereby the Truth of their Evidence, or her Innocence, might have been made the better to appear: But that her own Servants ſhould be taken as Witneſſes againſt her, to prove a

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Correſpondence that they themſelves were only guilty of, without her being ſuffered to confront 'em, and make her own Defence before 'em, can never be accounted Juſtice. Beſides, one of 'em, to wit, *Nave*, ſeveral years after, *viz.* in 1605. denied that he had at all accuſed the Queen of *Scots*, as was alledged; but affirmed that had he had his Liberty, and been permitted to appear, he would have acquitted her, and would have teſtified that ſhe neither ever ſaw *Babington*'s Letter, nor much leſs writ any Anſwer. And indeed the Proof againſt her was ſo very weak, that thoſe who Condemn'd her, did nevertheleſs declare that the Sentence pronounc'd againſt her, did no ways affect or prejudice *James* King of *Scots*, either in Right or Honour; but that he continued in the ſame Place, Right, and Honour, as if that Sentence had never been paſſed.

Sentence being thus paſs'd againſt her, Execution was yet deferr'd: The Queen was unwilling (how much ſoever ſhe deſir'd it) to make this her own Act: She knew very well how ill it would be reſented by Foreign Princes, and eſpecially by the King of *Scotland*, to have his Mother die by the hands of the Hangman; and that the leaſt ſhe could expect, would be to be branded with Tyranny, if not Inhumanity, conſidering the Queen of *Scots* was her near Kinſwoman. Therefore ſoon after the Sentence pronounc'd againſt her, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, in which the Queen was Petition'd, that for the Preſervation of the true Religion, the Tranquility of the Kingdom, the Safety of the Queen and of the Nation, and their Poſterity, the Sentence againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots* might be executed, backing their Requeſt with ſeveral Reaſons: Such as, the imminent Danger Religion, the Queen's Perſon, and the whole Nation was in, from her that was nuzled up in the Popiſh Religion, and Sworn to the Holy League for the Extirpation of Proteſtants, and that had now a long time arrogated and aſſum'd to her ſelf a Right to the Kingdom, even whilſt the Queen is yet alive; and held it a moſt juſt and meritorious Act to bereave her of Life, as ſtanding under the Pope's Excommunication: That ſhe had overturn'd the moſt flouriſhing Families in the Kingdom, and given fewel to all the Machinations and Tumults in *England*; and that therefore to ſpare her, was nothing elſe but to deſtroy her own People. Theſe Reaſons were enough to perſwade any one to that which they had a Mind to before, as the Queen no doubt had in this caſe; ſhe was willing and deſirous it ſhould be done, but was as willing alſo to avoid the reproach which ſhe fear'd it would bring upon her: Neither did ſhe think the Parliament's taking the Odium of it upon themſelves, would be ſufficient to excuſe her. She would therefore have been willing it ſhould have been done by a

Private hand, rather than a Publick Execution; and this was obliquely hinted to Sir *Amias Powlet*, in whose Custody she was: But he either did not, or probably would not take notice of it. And it was certainly his wisest and safest course not to give Ear to any such Intimations; for tho' he might have thereby served the Queen; she might perhaps have been as willing to have crush'd him for her own Vindication, as she did *Davison* afterwards.

But to the request of the Parliament, after giving of them Thanks for the care they took for her and the Nations Preservation, she told them in what a strait she was in this matter, and how much she was troubled that the Life of the Queen of *Scots* should be incompatible with her own, and the good of the Kingdom; concluding thus: 'I pray and conjure 'you to content your self with an Answer without an Answer; 'I approve your Judgment, and comprehend the Reasons: But 'I pray you excuse the careful and the doubtful thought which 'doth torment me, and take in good part the gracious Affection which I bear you; and this Answer, if it be of that worth 'that you Esteem it for an Answer. If I say I will not do 'what you demand, peradventure I shall say more than I 'think; if I say I will grant it, then I precipitate my self into that Ruine you are willing to preserve me from.

Soon after this, the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots* being signified to her, she received it with much (at least seeming) Joy and Alacrity; desiring only that she might have some of her own Communion to prepare her for Death; which those in whose Custody she was, deny'd; commending to her the Assistance of the Bishop and Dean of *Peterborough*, which she rejected. After which she writ the following Letter to the Queen:

*Madam*,

"I give thanks to GOD with all my heart, who by the "Sentence of Death, hath been pleas'd to put an End "to the tedious Pilgrimage of my Life: I desire not that it "may be prolonged, having had too long a time to try the "bitterness of it. I only beseech your Majesty, that since I "am to expect no favour from some Zealous Ministers of "State, who hold the first place in your Councils, I may "receive from you only, and from no other, these following "favours.

"In the first place, I desire, that since 'tis not allowed me "to hope for a Burial in *England*, according to the Solemnities of the Roman Church, practiced by the Ancient Kings, "your Ancestors and mine; and that in *Scotland* they have "forced and violated the Ashes of my Grandfathers, that

"my

" my Body ( when my Adverſaries ſhall be ſatiated with my " innocent Blood ) may be carried by my own Servants, into " ſome holy Land; and above all, if it may be, into *France*, " to be there interred, where the Bones of the Queen, my " moſt honoured Mother, are lodged; to the end my poor " Body, which knew no reſt while joyned to my Soul, might " now reſt, being ſeparated from it.

" Secondly, I beſeech your Majeſty, ( in the apprehenſion " I have of the Tyranny of thoſe to whoſe power you aban- " don me ) that I may not ſuffer in any private place, but in " the view of my Servants, and other People, who may give " a Teſtimony of my Faith, and of my Obedience to the " true Church, and defend the remnant of my Life, and my " laſt ſighs, againſt the falſe reports which my Adverſaries " may contrive againſt me.

" In the third place, I deſire that my Servants, who have " attended on me with great Fidelity, during ſo many Affliƈti- " ons, may have free leave to retire where they pleaſe, and " enjoy thoſe ſmall Legacies which in my laſt Will, my Poverty " hath bequeath'd to them.

" I conjure you, Madam, by the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by " the nearneſs of our Conſanguinity, by the Memory of *Henry* " the Seventh, our common Father, and by the Title of a " Queen, which I carry to my Grave, not to deny me theſe " reaſonable demands, but by one Word under your hand " to grant me an aſſurance of them; and I ſhall dye as I have " liv'd,

*Your moſt Affectionate Siſter*

*and Priſoner,*

Mary, *Queen.*

Whether this Letter came to the hands of Queen *Elizabeth* or not, is uncertain; it is moſt probable it did not, becauſe there is no Anſwer can be found to it. However there were ſeveral Interceſſors to the Queen on her behalf; who ſtrongly urged that ſhe had very hard meaſure ſhewed her; and that it was without Example to commit a Lady, the Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, and the neareſt Kinſwoman ſhe had in the World, into the hands of a Hangman: A Queen which was not a Priſoner of War, but a Gueſt, whom ſhe had called and invited into her Kingdom, and had promiſed by Sir *Henry Middlemore*, upon the Word of a Princeſs, all Humanity, Courteous Uſage, and Protection; and yet that inſtead thereof, ſhe was detained in Priſon, to the violation of the Sacred Laws of Hoſpitality: That ſhe could not

be in a worſe condition than one taken in War, and that it is lawful for ſuch to uſe any means for freeing themſelves, and recovering their Liberty: That ſhe could not commit the Crime of Treaſon, becauſe ſhe was no Subject; and Peer over Peer hath no Authority: That the Judicial Sentence of the Emperour againſt *Robert* King of *Sicily*, was of no Validity, becauſe he was no Subject to the Empire: That Ambaſſadors, who are but the Miniſters and Agents of Princes, if they conſpire againſt thoſe Princes to whom they are Employed on Ambaſſy, are not held liable of Treaſon, much leſs Princes themſelves: That beſides all this, ſhe was condemn'd contrary to the Divine Law, the Civil Law of the *Romans*, and the Common Law of *England*; yea, contrary to the firſt Statute of the Parliament holden in the Thirteenth year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf, wherein it was Enacted that none ſhould be called in Queſtion concerning Treaſon plotted againſt the Life of the Queen, but by the Teſtimony and Oath of two lawful Witneſſes, which were to be brought face to face before the Party delinquent: Whereas in this Tryal, there was no Witneſſes openly produced; and only the Teſtimony of her own Secretaries, who were abſent, urged againſt her: To which purpoſe the ſaying of *Adrian* the Emperour, back'd by the Dictates of Right Reaſon, and a Rule in the Civil Law, was urged, *Teſtibus, non Teſtimoniis credendum*; Not the Witneſs, but the Witneſſes themſelves muſt be produced.

But there wanted not Arguments alſo on the other ſide, urging and juſtifying the Juſtneſs of her Execution; who brought many Domeſtick Examples, ſhewing how the Kings of *England* had carried themſelves towards their Couſins and Competitors; which yet, in truth, was little better than juſtifying one Barbarous Action by another. But however, the Queen ſeeming divided between two Opinions, and by her delay having caſt the Odium of all upon the Nation, and thereby taken off the ſcandal from her ſelf, ſhe deliver'd to *Daviſon* Letters under her Hand and Seal, to get a Commiſſion made under the great Seal of *England*, for the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*: Pretending not to have the Commiſſion executed, but that it might be in a readineſs, if any ſudden Danger ſhould preſent it ſelf: Charging him not to diſcloſe the matter to any Body; and the next day, pretending that her Mind was alter'd, ſhe ſends Sir *William Killegrew* to *Daviſon*, (but not till ſhe thought it might be done) to command that the Commiſſion ſhould not be made; thereupon *Daviſon* comes to the Queen, and tells her the Commiſſion's made, and the Seal put to it; for which ſhe ſeem'd to be angry, and chid

him

him for his haſtineſs: *Daviſon* perceiving the Queen's Deſign, that ſhe had a mind to have the Buſineſs done, and yet not ſeem to know of it, he imparts the matter to ſome of the Privy Council, and without any difficulty perſwades them that the Queen commanded it ſhould be put in Execution. Hereupon without delay, *Beale*, the Clerk of the Council, (who was one of the greateſt Adverſaries the Queen of *Scots* had, in regard of her Religion) is ſent down with Letters, wherein Authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be put to Death, according to the Law.

As ſoon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drugo Drewry*, went to the Queen of *Scots*, and reading their Commiſſion, ſignify'd the Cauſe of their coming, and deſir'd her to prepare her ſelf for Death, foraſmuch as ſhe muſt dye the next day; The Queen without any Emotion of Mind, ſaid, *I had not thought that my Siſter the Queen, would have conſented to my Death, who am not ſubject to your Laws: But ſince ſhe is ſo pleas'd, Death ſhall be to me moſt welcome. Nor is that Soul worthy of Cœleſtial Bliſs, and Joys Eternal, whoſe Body cann't endure one Blow from a Hangman.* Then ſhe requeſted that ſhe might conferr with her *Almoner*, Confeſſor, and *Melvin* her Steward: But as to her Confeſſor they deny'd it, and commended to her the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborow*, which ſhe abſolutely rejected. Whereupon the Earl of *Kent*, in a fit of Zeal, paſſionately told her, *Your Life will be the Deſtruction of our Religion; and on the other ſide, your Deſtruction will be the Preſervation of it.* Some mention being made of *Babington*, ſhe conſtantly deny'd that ſhe was acquainted with his purpoſe of Treaſon, and ſaid ſhe left Revenge to GOD; asking what was become of *Nave* and *Curle*, and whether it was ever known that Servants were Suborn'd againſt their Maſters, and admitted to be Witneſſes againſt them? When the Earls were departed, ſhe gave Orders that Supper ſhould be haſten'd, for the better diſpatching of her Affairs; which being brought in, ſhe Supped very ſoberly and ſparingly, as ſhe was wont to do: And perceiving, as ſhe ſat at Supper, her Servants to weep and be troubled, ſhe endeavour'd to comfort 'em, by bidding them wipe away their Tears, and rejoyce rather, for that ſhe was now to depart out of this Life, in which there was nothing but a World of Miſeries. At the end of Supper, ſhe drank to all her Servants, and they in their order pledg'd her upon their knees, mingling their Drink with their Tears: Begging of Pardon for their Neglect of Duty; which ſhe

also required from them in like manner. After Supper, she look'd over her Will, and read the Inventory of her Goods, and Jewels; and writ their Names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; and to some of them she distributed Money with her own hands: Then she writ to her Confessor to pray to GOD for her: She also writ Letters Commendatory for her Servants to the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Guise*. At her usual hour she went to Bed, slept three or four hours, and then arose, and spent the rest of the Night in her Devotions.

The fatal Day being dawn'd, which was the 8*th* of *February*, 1587. she made her self ready, putting on her best Apparel; and calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be Read, and desired them to take their Legacies in good part, seeing her Estate would reach no further. And then with-drawing her self into her Closet, she continued in Prayer, till the Sheriff of the County gave her notice that it was time to come forth; which she presently after did, with a Princely Majesty, having her head covered with a Linnen Veil, hanging down almost to her feet; with her Beads hanging by her side, and an Ivory Crucifix in her hand. In the Gallery, the Earls met her, and several other Gentlemen; where *Melvin* her Servant, upon his bended knees full of Tears, deplor'd his own hard fortune, that he should carry into *Scotland* the sad News of his Ladies most unhappy Fate; but she comforting him, said, *Do not lament thus, thou shalt by and by, see* Mary Stuart *freed from all her Cares, say* (continu'd she) *that I dyed constant in my Religion, and firm in Fealty towards* Scotland *and* France. *GOD forgive them who have thirsted for my Blood, as Harts after a Spring. Thou, O GOD, who art Truth it self, and knowest truly and throughly the most inward Secrets of my Heart, knowest how earnestly I have desired that the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *might grow into one.---- Commend me to my Son, and certify him that I have done nothing which might any way derogate from the Kingdom of* Scotland: *Warn him to hold amity with the* Queen *of* England; *and see that you do him trusty Service.* And then the Tears gushing out, she bid *Melvin*, who wept also, again and again, Adieu. Then turning her self to the Earls, she requested, *That her Servants might be courteously intreated, that they might quietly enjoy what she had severally bequeathed them, stand by her at her Death, and be sent back into their Country with publick Caution.* The former of these Requests was granted, but that they should stand by her at her Death, the Earl of *Kent* was very loth to grant, for fear of Superstition:

To

To whom the Queen ſaid, *Fear nothing: Theſe poor wretches deſire earneſtly to give me my laſt Farewel: I know the Queen, my Siſter, would not deny me ſo ſmall a requeſt; if but out of reſpect to me as a Woman, that my Maids might ſtand by me: I am neareſt in Blood to her, deſcended from* Henry *the Seventh, Queen Dowager of* France, *and the anointed Queen of* Scotland. Having thus ſpoken, and turned her ſelf away, it was permitted that the Servants whom she would name, should ſtand by; ſo she named *Melvin*, *Burgoin* her Phyſician, her Apothecary, Chyrurgion, two Women, and others; of whom *Melvin* bare up her Train. So the Gentlemen, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was ſet up at the upper end of the Hall, where there was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, and all things covered with Mourning: As ſoon as she was ſat down, and ſilence bidden, *Beale* read the Commiſſion; which being read, the Dean of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Fleetwood*, reminded her of her fore-paſt Life, and the Condition of the preſent and future World, earneſtly perſwading her to Repent, and by a lively Faith to truſt in Chriſt: She anſwered him, *That that was the very ſame Religion wherein ſhe was born, brought up, and would now dye.* The Earls ſaying, That they would pray for her, she ſaid, *She would give them great Thanks if they would pray with her; but to joyn in Prayers with you who are of another Profeſſion, to me* (ſaid she) *were a Sin and an Offence.* Then they commanded the Dean to go to Prayers, and while the Company there joyned with him, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in *Latin*, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin: After the Dean's Prayer was ended, she in *Engliſh* commended to GOD, the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth.* Praying GOD to turn away his Indignation and Wrath from this Iſland, and profeſſing that she hoped for Salvation from the Blood of Chriſt, at which she held up the Crucifix, and invocated the holy Company of Saints to intercede for her to him; and then forgiving her Enemies, kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, she ſaid, *As thy Arms, O Chriſt, were ſpread forth upon the Croſs, ſo Embrace me, with the Open Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* Then the Executioner asking her Pardon, she granted it. And her Women, while she made haſte, helping off her other Garments, and breaking forth into Shrieks and Cries, she kiſſed them, ſigned them with the Croſs, and with a chearful Countenance, deſired them to leave lamenting, for now an End of her Sorrows was at hand. Then turning her ſelf in like manner to her Men-ſervants,

vants, which wept alſo, she ſigned them likewiſe with the Croſs, and ſmiling on them bid them adieu. Then shadowing her face with a Linnen Cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *In te Domine ſperavi, ne confundar in æternum.* Then ſtretching forth her Body, and often reiterating, *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum*, her head at two Blows was taken off; the Dean crying out, *So let the Enemies of Queen* Elizabeth *periſh*; to which the Earl of *Kent* ſaid, *Amen.* Her Body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough.* And thus fell *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*; who though she died in the Popiſh Religion, yet died with much Courage and Reſolution, and with a great Magnanimity of Mind.

And now give me leave, Reader, to inſert, what an Excellent Author, ſomewhere ſpeaking of *Fotheringay Caſtle* in *Northampton ſhire*, writeth: "As for the Diſaſter which e-"ven here befel another mighty Prince, *Mary* Queen of "*Scots*, I had rather it should be wrapt up in ſilence, "than once ſpoken of: Let it be forgotten quite, if poſſi-"ble; if not, yet let it be hidden in ſilence. Under the "beſt Princes, ſome there are, who being once armed with "Authority, know how by ſecret ſlights to ſet a goodly "ſhew, and fair pretence of Conſcience and Religion, "thereby to cloak their own private deſigns. Neither can "it be denied, but that even the beſt Princes themſelves "are otherwhiles violently carried away, as good Pilots "with Tempeſts, againſt their Wills, whither they would "not.

As ſoon as the News of the Queen of *Scots* Death was brought to Queen *Elizabeth*, she heard it with great Indignation; her Countenance was dejected, and her Speech failed her, and she was in a manner benumbed with horrid and unſpeakable Grief: Putting on Mourning Apparel, and giving her ſelf wholly over to Sorrow; ſeverely blaming her Counſellors that endeavour'd to comfort her, and commanding them out of her Preſence: Ordering *Daviſon* to be cited to the Star-Chamber: Sending a Letter, as ſoon as her grief would ſuffer her, to King *James* of *Scotland*; wherein she diſowneth the Fact, and excuſeth her ſelf from knowing any thing of the matter, and tells him how full of Grief she is for what has happened. But whether all this was real Grief, or only a ſhew of it, is very doubtful: Or, whether this trouble of the Queen's, was that the Queen of *Scots* was put to Death; or that she fear'd the Effects of it, with reſpect to other Princes, who would be ready to reſent the Indignity, that in the Perſon of the Queen of *Scots*, was offer'd to all Crowned Heads.

Heads. And indeed, if King *James* had had ſo much kindneſs for his Mother as he ought, he would not have ſo tamely paſt it by: And perhaps the Queen might fear he would not have taken the News of it ſo patiently as he did, but that he might have joyn'd with *France* to have reveng'd her Death. But King *James* was of a more Pacifick Temper; and provided he might but be certain of Succeeding to the Crown of *England*, he was well enough contented; as believing that the Crown of *Scotland* ſat faſter on his head by his Mother's Death, he having until then no Legal Claim.

But that the Queen's Innocency, or Ignorance, in this matter, might appear the more, *Daviſon* is cited into the Star-Chamber, where he is charg'd by *Popham* the Queen's Attorney, with contempt of the Queen's Majeſty, violating of his Truſt, and neglect of his Duty, for that, when the Queen out of her in-bred Clemency would not have the Queen of *Scots*, (who was already condemned) put to Death, for Cauſes known to her ſelf alone, and by others unſearchable; nevertheleſs for preventing of Dangers, she gave Command to have the Commiſſion made ready and Seal'd, and committed the Buſineſs to *Daviſon*'s Fidelity and Secrecy; he, who was a Sworn Secretary, forgetting his Truſt and Duty, and contemning the Queen's Majeſty, contrary to the Queen's Command, imparted the Buſineſs to the Counſellors, and put the ſame into Execution, she not being ſo much as once acquainted.

To this *Daviſon*, according to his ſingular Modeſty, very Mildly, and yet with a good Courage, anſwered, That if he should acknowledge himſelf guilty of the Crimes objected, he should wrong his Reputation, which was dearer to him than his Life; and if in his own Defence he should conteſt with the Queen, he muſt do that which ill beſeem'd a Loyal Subject, a Dutiful Servant, and a Truſty Secretary: He therefore made proteſtation before Almighty GOD, and the Delegates, that he had done nothing Willingly or Wittingly in this matter, but what he perſwaded himſelf the Queen was willing to have done. Wherein, if he had behaved himſelf as he ought not, either through Ignorance, or Negligence, he could not but be wonderful ſorry, and would patiently undergo the Cenſure of the Commiſſioners. But the matter being canvaſſed among the Commiſſioners, altho' *Daviſon* was clear'd of having any ill intention againſt the Queen, and by ſome o' 'em very much commended, yet he was fined Ten Thouſand Pound, and to ſuffer Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure. In which *Daviſon* had certainly very hard meaſure, as appears by his Apology to *Walſingham*, which I have inſerted Verbatim, as that which will ſet this whole Affair in the trueſt Light.

*The*

*The Queen* (ſaith he) *upon the Departure of the* French *and* Scotch *Ambaſſadors from her, of her own Accord Commanded me to prepare the Commiſſion for putting in Execution the Sentence againſt the Queen of* Scots. *When the ſame was exhibited, ſhe willingly ſign'd it with her own hand; and gave order it ſhould be made ready under the great Seal of* England; *and jeſtingly ſaid, Signify thus much to* Walſingham, *who is ſick, tho' I fear greatly it will make him die out of hand with grief. She added alſo the Reaſons why ſhe had thus long deferred it; to wit, that ſhe might not ſeem to be drawn unto it forcibly or maliciouſly, tho' ſhe were not ignorant all the while how neceſſary it was. Furthermore, ſhe blam'd* Powlet *and* Drewry, *that they had not freed her of that Care; and ſhe wiſhed that* Walſingham *would try them therein. The next day after that the Great Seal was put to it, ſhe ſent an Injunction by* Killegrew *that it ſhould not be done. And when I ſhewed her that it was done, ſhe reproved my great haſte; intimating that ſome other Courſe, according to the judgment of ſome wiſe Perſons, might be taken. I made anſwer, That that is always the beſt way, which is the juſteſt. But fearing ſhe might lay the fault on me, (as ſhe had done the Duke of* Norfolk's *Puniſhment on the Lord* Burghley) *I imparted the whole matter to* Hatton; *proteſting I would Engage my ſelf no further in ſ great an Affair. He ſtraightway communicated it to* Burghley, Burghley *to the reſt of the Counſellors; who all conſented to have the Buſineſs haſtened, and ſeverally vowed that they would bear the blame, and ſent down* Beal *with the Commiſſion and Letters. Three days after, perceiving that her Mind was doubtful, by a Dream which ſhe told of the Queen of* Scots *Death, I asked if her Mind were altered? No, (ſaith ſhe) but ſome other Courſe might have been thought on; and withal demanded if* Powlet *had returned any Anſwer? Whoſe Letters when I ſhewed her, wherein he plainly refuſed to undertake it, as being neither honourable nor juſt, ſhe in an angry manner accuſed him and the reſt, which had tied them in the Aſſociation, of Perjury, and their Vow violated, who had promiſed great matters for their Princes ſafety, and would perform nothing; and yet there were among them, ſhe ſaid, that would do as much in their own Cauſe. But I ſhewed how infamous and unjuſt a thing that were; and into what Dangers ſhe would caſt* Powlet *and* Drewry: *For if ſhe allowed the Fact, ſhe muſt draw upon her ſelf Danger and Diſgrace; beſides a Note of Injuſtice: But if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe muſt ruine well-deſerving Men and their Poſterities. Afterward, the ſame day that the Queen of* Scots *was put to Death, ſhe gave me a Check, that the Sentence was not all this while put in Execution.*

This Apology of *Daviſon*'s ſets the whole matter in ſo clear a Light, that it needs no Comment to explain it: *Elizabeth* was willing to be rid of the Queen of *Scots*, but ſhe was unwilling

willing to be ſeen in it: Had *Powlet* and *Drewry* either Poyſon'd her, or any other ways made her away, ſhe would have been very well ſatisfied; and perhaps have hang'd them for their Pains, to ſave her own Reputation; and ſo have made good the old Proverb of *Loving the Treaſon, but hating the Traitor.* But finding her Servants too Wiſe and too Honeſt to venture a hanging, and to do an unjuſt thing to pleaſe her humour, ſhe at laſt ſigned the Warrant, and gave it to *Daviſon*, to get the Great Seal affix'd to it: And that ſhe had a mind to have her Executed, is Evident beyond all Contradiction, ſeeing on the very day the Queen of *Scots* was put to Death, (tho' without her Knowledge) *Daviſon* was check'd by her, for not having put the Warrant in Execution. So that the Queen cannot be thought to have been ſo much troubled for the Queen of *Scots* Death, as for fear that her own Reputation ſhould ſuffer thereby. For which only Reaſon it was, that poor *Daviſon* was proſecuted in the Star-Chamber, and fined Ten Thouſand Pounds, and detain'd a long while in Priſon beſides. Which is an Action for which Queen *Elizabeth* cannot be excus'd, unleſs it can be thought any Alleviation of her Guilt, to ſay, That after ſhe had ruin'd him without Cauſe, she ſometimes reliev'd his Neceſſities; for ſo I find she did. But ſo much shall ſuffice to be ſaid concerning the Queen of *Scots.*

Another of the Blemishes of this Queens Reign, was the violent Proſecution of thoſe that were Oppugners of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; but this I have the Charity to think is rather to be charg'd upon the Bishops than the Queen: For they, according to their Power, have been as great Perſecutors of thoſe that oppos'd their Lordly Domination, as even *Bonner* himſelf was of the Proteſtants in the laſt Reign: Nay, *Bonner* and the Popiſh Perſecutors, were in this reſpect to be prefer'd before them, for they endeavoured to convince the Martyrs of what they call'd Error, by the Scriptures; tho' at the ſame time it muſt be granted that they preverted them to juſtify their Idolatries. But theſe (tho' they had ſo narrowly eſcaped the fiery Trial themſelves) shew'd tho' they had better Principles, they had worſer Practices; reviling, mocking and condemning them, without ever endeavouring to convince them. And having Power in their hands, us'd it as Tyrannically againſt thoſe that oppos'd them, as ever their Predeceſſors, the Popiſh Perſecutors, did againſt the Marian Martyrs.

Three of theſe Honeſt and Well-meaning Men (for ſo I take them to be) ſuffer'd Death for Conſcience ſake; nothing but their Opinions being alledged againſt them, which was no other than what are now generally held by moſt of the Proteſtant Diſſenters at this Day. They were not burn'd indeed,

indeed, but Executed at *Tyburn*, by the Rage of the Persecuting Bishops, and Clergy. But tho' they dy'd in the Reign of this Queen, and by Vertue of her Authority (the Clergy commonly making use of the Secular Power to do their Drudgery) yet I will not impute it to the Queen, as her Act. For I find that the Queen happening to Ride out in her Coach to *Hide* Park to take the Air, the next Day after *Barow*, *Greenwood*, and *Penry* were Executed, and riding within sight of *Tyburn*, Dr. *Reynolds* (who was then in the Coach with the Queen) told her that *there was the Place where the Three Men suffered Yesterday*; upon which the Queen ask'd him, *if he saw them dye?* He answered, *He did. Pray Doctor* (said the Queen) *what End did they make?* The Doctor reply'd, *A Right Godly and Christian End; making a very Religious and Orthodox Declaration of their Faith, and praying for your Majesty with great Fervency.* At which words the Queen seem'd very much troubl'd, and said with some Passion, *How unhappy am I, that have no body that will tell me the Truth till it be too late!* And commanding the Coach to drive back to Court, went immediately into her Closet, as one mightily concern'd at what had happen'd; and soon after stopp'd the Carreir of the Bishops Persecution; so that no more were Executed on any such Account, during her Reign. And by this it appears that they were far otherwise represented to the Queen, than what indeed they were. It being the Practise of the Persecuting Prelats (as well as of the Heathen Persecutors of Old) to cloath those whom they lik'd not, in the Skins of Beasts, and as such give them up to be worried.

But to draw nearer a Conclusion, It will not be convenient to close the Secret History of this Reign, without saying something of the Earl of *Essex*; who being most beloved by the Queen of any of her Subjects, and for that very Reason had the most and greatest Enemies; and being a Man of a free and open Carriage, who always participated more of Truth and Loyalty to his Soveraign, and of Zeal to the Protestant Religion, than Prudence or Reason of State; became the Easier Prey to those who sought his Ruine; and their Plots were so well laid, and suited to the free and open Temper of the Earl, that he was snatch'd out of the Arms of his Mistress, and torn from the hearts of the People, that were his Servants; and in the sight of both, brought to an untimely Death. It appearing no less a Wonder that both Prince and Subject should meet in their Affections, than that they should both be so quiet Spectators of his Ruine. But as GOD shewed in his Death the Weakness of the Arm of Flesh, so not long after he declared as plainly the Power of his Justice, in the strict Account he took

took from thoſe that were the Principal Agents in it. For after the Blow was given, the Queen (preſaging by the Multitude of Tears ſhed for him, the great Drouth that was likely to appear in the Eyes of her Subjects, when the hand that ſigned the Warrant for it, ſhould be cut off) fell into a Deep Melancholy, whereof ſhe died not long after: And for the Fame that immediately followed her, ſhe was more beholden to her Succeſſors Miſcarriages, than to any Popular Eſteem attending her to the Grave.

During the Critical minute of the Queens ſtrongeſt Affection to *Eſſex*, he had importun'd her for ſome *ſignal Token*, which might aſſure him that in his Abſence, his Enemies (of whom he had many about the Chair of State) ſhould not thro' their Malice or Subtilty diſtreſs him, nor render him leſs deſerving in her Eſteem: Upon this, in a great deal of Familiarity ſhe preſented a Ring to him; which after ſhe had by Oaths endued with a Power of freeing him from any Danger or Diſtreſs, (which either his future Miſcarriage, her Anger, or his Enemies Malice, could caſt him in) ſhe gave it him; with a Promiſe that at the firſt ſight of it, all this, and more, if poſſible, ſhould be granted. After his Commitment to the Tower, he ſent this Jewel to her Majeſty, by the then Counteſs of *Notingham*, whom Sir *Robert Cecil* kept from delivering it: This made the Queen think her ſelf *ſcorn'd*, which was a Treaſon againſt her Honour; (a Crime more Capital than that pretended againſt her Perſon). Beſides, the Earl had been tempted by Paſſion to ſay, (or at leaſt his Enemies had Suggeſted ſo to the Queen) *That ſhe now doted, and owned a Mind no leſs Crooked than her Body*: A high Blaſphemy againſt ſuch a Divine Beauty, as Flatterers (the Idolizers of Princes) had inſhrin'd her in. And from theſe his Misfortunes, led on by the Weakneſs that Jealouſy and Age had bred in her, his Maligners took Advantage; ſo as his Head was off, before either Diſcretion, Love or Pity, had leiſure to dictate, *The Ring might be miſcarried, and the former Relation falſe*. But the Counteſs of *Notingham* coming to her *Death-bed*, and finding the Daily Sorrow that the Queen expreſs'd for the loſs of *Eſſex*, she who had been a Principal Agent in his Deſtruction, could not be at reſt till she had diſcovered all, and humbly implored Mercy from GOD, and forgiveneſs from the Queen: But the Queen, ſtruck with an unſpeakable Grief at this Diſcovery, not only refuſed to forgive her, but ſhaking her, as ſhe lay in her Bed, ſaid, *GOD's Curſe, and Mine, go along with thee for ever*; and ſo ſent her, accompanied with many other Fearful Curſes,

to

to a higher Tribunal. And it was not long after, that the Queens Weakneſs appeared mortal; haſtened by the Wiſhes of many, that could not in reaſon expect Pardon for a Fault which they found she had punish'd ſo ſeverely in her ſelf, as to take Comfort in nothing after. But upon all occaſions of ſigning Pardons, would upbraid the Movers for them, with the haſty anticipation of that brave Man's End, not to be Expiated, in relation to the Nation's Loſs, by any future Endeavours, much leſs ſo unſeaſonable an Uncharitableneſs to a Dying Lady.

After *Eſſex* was thus laid by, the total Management of State-Affairs devolved to Sir *Robert Cecil*, as having the greateſt Name for Wiſdom; who being now free from all Competition, took upon him the Boldneſs to inform the Queen, *That too many years had been already lapſed, and the Peoples quiet hazarded by her delay, in not fixing upon one certain Succeſſor: Nothing remaining wanting, but her Conceſſion to free the Nation from a Civil War, in declaring the King of* Scots *her Lawful Heir, who beſides an immediate Right, had the greateſt Power at hand, to quell the hopes of all contrary Pretenders, who were at that time more than a few; as having long been Emboldened either through her Majeſties Indulgence or Prudence, an Artifice dangerous for her People, and might (without ſome other meaſures) be now deſtructive to her ſelf.* Nor did *Cecil* alone fill her Ears with theſe Sounds, (no leſs terrible to her Age, then they had been formerly ungrateful to her Youth) but the generality of all about her; there remaining after *Eſſex* his Death, no Faction at Court, able to reſcue any from the preſent or future Revenge of this Man; as appear'd in the next Reign by *Cobham*, *Gray*, and *Raleigh*. So that the Queen did not only bury her Affection, but her Power alſo, in the Tomb of *Eſſex*.

THE

# THE TRUE SECRET HISTORY OF King JAMES the First.

KING James *the First, Succeeded Queen* Elizabeth *in the Realm of* England, *being before King of* Scotland, *and the Sixth of that Name there: His Claim to the Crown of* England *was, as being deſcended from* Margaret, *Eldeſt Daughter of King* Henry *the Seventh. For he was the Son of* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *who was beheaded in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign; and the Daughter of* James *the Fifth, of* Scotland, *Son of* James *the Fourth, by the aforeſaid* Margaret. *His Father was the Lord* Darnly, *Queen* Mary's *Husband, Eldeſt Son of* Matthew *Earl of* Lenox, *deſcended from* Robert Stuart, *the next Succeſſor to* David Bruce, *King of* Scots. *Thus by King* James's *Acceſſion to the Crown of* England, *theſe two Kingdoms (which had been for ſo many Ages in a perpetual Feud) became United together under one Head; the Kings of* England *having ever ſince aſſumed the Title of Monarchs of Great* Britain. *King* James, *according to the prudent forecaſt of* Henry *the Seventh, quitted the Leſſer for the Greater, making* London *the Royal Seat of the three Kingdoms. Upon his coming into* England, *he Eſcaped, two Conſpiracies in the two firſt years of his Reign, and both from the Popiſh Faction: Particularly the Gun-Powder Treaſon, which at one Blow was to deſtroy Church and State, by blowing up at once all the Flower of the Kingdom, King, Prince, and Parliament: This King made a Peace with* Spain; *and for a Sum of Money, quit the Cautionary Towns we had in* Holland, viz. *the Brill and Fluſhing, &c. He alſo created a New ſort of Knights called Baronets, next to the degree of a Baron, and made the Honour Hereditary. Under this King the Lord* Bacon, *a Man of great Learning, was from the high Station of Lord Chancellor of* England, *reduc'd to a degree of Poverty little ſhort of Beggary. And the Learned Sir* Walter Raleigh, *a great Man in the former Reign, was by the Prevalency of* Gondamore *the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador, Beheaded. This King was Eſteem'd famous for his Learning, having writ ſeveral Books, but was no Martial Prince. He gave for his* Motto Beati Pacifici, *and loved Peace to a fault: For his Daughter* Elizabeth *being Married to* Frederick, Elector Palatine *of the Rhine, (afterwards choſen King of* Bohemia, *and Crowned with his Wife*

*at* Prague) *could not prevail with her Father to assist them against their Competitor* Ferdinand *the Emperour, by whose Power they came to be dispossessed of all. After he had Reigned* 22 *years and three days, he died at* Theobalds *in the* 59*th year of his Age, and was interred at* Westminster. *He had issue,* Henry *his Eldest Son, the Darling of the People, who died in his Fathers Life-time*; Charles, *his next Successor*; Elizabeth *before-mentioned*; Mary *and* Sophia, *who died young.* Thus far his General History.

His Secret History. We are now come to a New Race of Kings: The *Plantagenets* and *Teudors* are gone off the Stage: And a *Stuart* enters next; And if we take a Survey of his Reign, a Prime *Stuart* we shall find him! Who being come from the Cold Climate of the half-starv'd North into the more temperate Zone of the Throne of *England*, began betimes like the Serpent to hiss at those by whose Warmth he had been cherish'd: His whole Reign being nothing else but one continued Design to undermine the Frame of the *English* Constitution; and set up Arbitrary and Despotick Power; which that he might the better Compass, he by his lavish Profuseness to his Needy Country-men, Endeavour'd to make this Kingdom as beggarly as that from whence he came. But before I rake into the Dunghil of his Life, I will give the Reader a sight of his Picture in Miniature; which I have by me ready drawn, by one of his Contemporaries: It is done in *Messo Tinto*, and so will be but a black One; and yet contains some very lively Lineaments of him; which therefore I will present to the Readers View; and then leave him to judge whether or no it ben't an Original. "As to King *James*, the "Addition of his Power, in joyning *Scotland* to *England*, gave "him at first a Reputation abroad; and made Foreign Princes "more afraid than hurt. By which means he had many Ad- "vantages to set up Prerogative, which he still carefully im- "prov'd: And tho his Scandalous Cowardize made him too "timerous to Act, yet was he most subtil in Council and De- "signs; for never did any King more insensibly and closely un- "dermine the Liberties of *England*, than himself; giving us "Cause to remember from whence he came: His Peaceable "Reign was the Skreen to his Secret Designs; for which we "may thank his Fears: Which tho' they kept him from Wars "and Blood, yet he laid as many Secret Springs to inslave this "Nation, as ever any did: his Will, was the Sole Rule "of his Government; nor had the People any thing to Act, "but submissive Obedience —— 'Tis true, he brought with "him a general Peace with all Christendom; but did not "Consider the particular Interest of this Nation, whether it "were honourable or safe, as the Affairs of *England* then "stood; his Predecessor having taken upon her to be Head "and Protectress of the Protestant Party wheresoever: But "he had his Ends to himself: He had indeed heard how often

"and

" and how many Attempts had been uſed to take away the " Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; whom it pleaſed GOD notwith- " ſtanding to preſerve and protect by the Diligence of her " Servants: But he was ſo conceited of his own King-Craft, " that he wou'd rather truſt to that, than to GOD's Provi- " dence. And then having taken away all thoughts of Wars, " his Deſign was to luxuriate the People, that ſo he might more " inſenſibly lay that foundation of Tyranny he intended. And " as the Effect of this, an Innundation of Exceſs and Riot " over-flow'd the Land, and waſh'd away many good Families, " and more good Hoſpitality, (formerly the Glory both of " our Nobility and Gentry) which was Succeeded with ſuch " an incredible increaſe of Taverns and Bawdy Houſes, that " neither *Rome* nor *Venice* cou'd hardly ſhew more; for which " two we are at this Day beholden to the *Scots*. And as Sin " is always the Avaunt Courrier of Judgment, ſo our Impieties " Uſher'd in the greateſt Plague that ever this Kingdom felt " before this time; as if the Divine Majeſty had told us from " Heaven we had deſerv'd it by betraying our ſelves; and " which but was a light fore-running Punniſhment, in reſpect " of what in time ſhould follow; and yet peradventure that " Plague was but a Shadow of Himſelf, the greateſt Plague " of All.

" The Kingdom cou'd not afford more pomp and Glory than " was ſhewn when King *James* came firſt through *London*; and " it was ſo much the more conſiderable, as to him, that from " a Naſty Barren Country (rather a Dunghil than a Kingdom) " came to be at that inſtant, as great a Prince as any was in " Chriſtendom. And indeed it was the wonder of thoſe Stateſ- " men, who had had Experience of the Gallantry of this Na- " tion, that a *Scot* ſhou'd Enjoy this Crown.

" Long had he waited for the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; " but longer had they waited, that waited upon him: For had " not their hopes as well as his, Expected their Shares of the " Spoils of this Kingdom, we may without doing any wrong " to that Nation, conclude him in the fate of his many Pre- " deceſſors whom they murdered. His Stock was odious to " the more Ancient Nobility of that Nation; and the Cloak " of the *Kirk* wou'd Ever ſerve without Scruple for ſuch a fa- " tal Covering as the Grand Seignior uſes to ſend Men doom'd " to Death. *His Original Extract I find was this*:

" *Banchoo*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, had a fair Lady to his " Daughter, whom *Mackbeth* the King deſires to have the uſe " of: *Banchoo* refuſes, and *Mackbeth* Murders him, and takes " the Lady by Force. *Fleance*, the Son of *Banchoo*, fearing the " Tyrants Cruelty, flies into *Wales*, to *Griffin ap Lhewellin*, the " Prince of *Wales*; *Lhewellin*, Entertains him with all hoſpi- " table Civility. *Fleance*, to requite his Courteſie, gets *Lhe-* " *wellins* Daughter with Child; *Lhewellin* Murders *Fleance*, " and *Lhewellin*'s Daughter is afterward delivered of a Son, " named *Walter*; this Son proves a Gallant Man; and falling

" out with a Noble Person in *Wales* that call'd him Bastard,
" *Walter* Slew him, and for his Safeguard fled into *Scotland*;
" where, in continuance of time he gained so much Reputa-
" tion and Favour, that he became Steward of the whole Re-
" venue of that Kingdom; of which Office he and his Po-
" sterity, attained the Sirname; and from hence all the Kings
" and Nobles of that Name had their Original.

" For his Person, a Man might sufficiently and truly make
" a Volume, only to tell of his Lazineſs, and his Uncleanneſs,
" but I cannot do't, without fouling too much Paper. He was a
" great Pretender to Learning and Religion; and for the
" Speculative part had as much as any of our Kings upon Re-
" cord; but for the Practical and best part of it, (if we may
" judge of the Tree by its Fruit) we may without Breach of
" Charity conclude him Not guilty. He was the greateſt
" Blaſphemer in the World, would Swear faſter than Speak,
" and curſe the People by the Clock: And it appears by the
" whole Courſe of his Life, that he was a moſt malicious Ha-
" ter of this Nation.

" That inſolent Act of *Ramſey*'s Switching my Lord of
" *Montgomery* at *Banſted* Downs at the Horſe-Race, was que-
" ſtionleſs a lay'd Quarrel, to have deſtroy'd much of our
" *Engliſh* Nobility; and had it been practis'd upon any but
" that thin-ſoul'd-Lord, who was importun'd but to draw his
" Sword, that had been a bloody-Day: What Reſerve the
" *Scots* had, was never known; but ſuch an Affront is not to be
" conſtru'd without reſervation. The King was naturally
" fearful, even as low as cou'd be; and what he would do,
" and durſt not own, that he would do by his Favourites;
" whom for the fitneſs of his Deſigns, he wou'd raiſe from low
" degree to oblige them the more; and to deſert them with
" more Eaſe; and Shift them often till he had them fitted for
" his purpoſe: *Dunbar* was too ſolid, *Hayes* too light; *Nor-*
" *thampton* too Crafty, *Montgomery* too ſilly: (*Here*'s two *Eng-*
" *liſh*, two *Scots*, all deſerted.) And now he hath found a
" young *Scot*, that had been one of his Pages in *Scotland*,
" and turn'd off with Fifty pounds in Money, and Cloaths, to
" ſeek his Fortune; having ſpent his Time and his Means in
" *France*, comes over hither; and for his Faſhion and Lan-
" guage is Entertain'd by his Country-Man, then Lord *Hayes*,
" (another *Scot* of the like Extract) for a Page; where the
" King takes notice of him, calls for him, and at the firſt daſh
" makes him one of the Bed Chamber, and ſuddenly his Fa-
" vourite, and Knight, Sir *Robert*, then Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and
" after Earl of *Somerſet*. This Man the King had wound up
" to his juſt pitch, of whom we may juſtly ſay, *Trim tram,*
" *like Maſter, like Man:* When this Man had long wallow'd
" in his Majeſties Bounty, and the Treaſures of this Kingdom,
" he fell then fouleſt that ever Man did, upon the Rocks of
" Diſhonour, Adultery, and Murder: Of Diſhonour, to a

" Noble

" Noble Peer of the Land, and in him to the whole Nobility;
" Adultery, not only to bewhore her, but to get her Divorced
" and Marry her: And Murder upon the Body of that unfor-
" tunate Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Overbury*, only for diſſwading
" him.

" And here it is much to our purpoſe to inſert how this
" Favourites carriage had highly offended Prince *Henry*, who un-
" derſtanding the looſe kind of Life this Man lived, eſpecially
" relating to her, diſtaſtes him, diſreſpects him, and forbears
" his Company; and flatly falls out with him: *Somerſet* com-
" plains to the King, and ſhortly the Prince falls ſick and
" dies. That he was poyſoned, hath been a Common fame
" ſince: But to Snuff the Candle, and make it burn clear,
" take the Teſtimony of the famous Phyſicians that diſſected
" his Body, and have left it upon Record under their
" hands.

## The Diſſection of the Body of Prince *HENRY.*

" *Firſt we found his Liver paler than Ordinary, in certain Places*
" *ſomewhat wan; his Gall without any Choller in it; and di-*
" *ſtended with Wind.*

" *Secondly, His Spleen was in divers places more than ordinary*
" *black.*

" *Thirdly, His Stomach was in no part offended.*

" *Fourthly, His Midriff was in divers places black.*

" *Fifthly, His Lungs were very black, and in divers places*
" *ſpotted; and full of a thin watery Blood.*

" *Laſtly, The Veins in the hinder part of his Head were fuller*
" *than ordinary; but the Ventricles and hollowneſs of the Brain,*
" *were full of clear Water.*

" *In witneſs whereof, with our own hands we have Subſcribed*
" *this preſent Relation,* November 7. 1612.

*Mayern* } *Palmer*
*Atkins* } *Gifford.*
*Hammond* } *Butler*

" This Prince was an Active Man, and full of high
" Thoughts: A Lover of this Nation, and look'd upon by
" them with much Affection and Expectation. What Fears
" and Jealouſies *Somerſet* might maliciouſly infuſe into the Kings
" too fearful and timerous Soul, we cannot tell: But that
" Language from *Somerſet* to the Lieutenant of the Tower,
" when he told him he muſt provide himſelf to go the next
" Morning to *Weſtminſter* to his Tryal, ſaid, *He would not*;

" *That the King had assur'd him, he should not come to any Trial;*
" *neither* DURST *the King bring him to a Trial.* This Lan-
" guage, I say, stinks abominably. And when he did come
" to his Trial, fearing, (being Enraged) that he might fly
" out into some strange Discovery, there were two placed on
" each side of him, with Cloaks on their Arms, with peremp-
" tory Command, that if *Somerset* did any way fly out against
" the Kings, they should instantly hoodwink him with their
" Cloaks, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him a-
" way. And this cou'd be no Mans Act but the Kings. He
" would often boast of his King Craft, but if his Fears and
" *Somerset*'s Malice, took this Princes Life away, 'twas a sweet
" Piece of King-Craft indeed! But the Fruit of it hath been
" bitter. I cannot enough admire that Language he used,
" when he gave in Charge to his Judges the Examination of
" Sir *Thomas Overburies* Murder.

" *My Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great*
" *and terrible Day of Judgment, That you Examine it strictly,*
" *without Favour, Affection or Partiality: And if you shall spare*
" *any guilty of this Crime,* GOD's *Curse light upon you and your*
" *Posterity: And if I shall spare any that are found guilty,* GOD's
" *Curse light on me, and my Posterity for ever.*

" This Expression hath a most honest Out-side; but if the
" King had a Design of Fear, rather to be so rid of *Somerset*,
" than an inward Desire of Justice, 'twas monstrous foul;
" which we shall better judge of by the Sequel: Seven Persons
" were condemned to die for this foul Murder; four of them,
" of the least Account, and Accessaries, are Executed; the
" three great Ones, and Principals, the King Pardons; and
" to *Somerset* himself, to his Dying Day, was most profusely
" liberal; and suffered to live with that She-Fire-brand of Hell,
" his Wife, under the Kings Nose, all the Days of their Lives.

" Here's fine Jugling! These must be sav'd for fear of
" telling *Scotch* Tales of the King: Wou'd the Spirits of
" those Noble Souls in these our Days, put up such a piece of
" Injustice in the Master, and such an Affront and contempt of
" this Nation, both from the Master, and the Man, two *Scots*,
" without Vengeance? I believe not.

" And this Favourite of his, when his Estate was seiz'd up-
" on for this foul Murder, was found to have two hundred
" thousand pounds in Money, Plate, and Jewels, in his House;
" and nineteen thousand pounds a year in Lands coming in:
" A fine Advance from a *Scots* Page, fifty pounds a year, and a Suit
" of Cloaths (and can any Man tell for what?) I never heard
" that all *Scotland* was worth so much. But enough of him.

" This King had no Wars, but spent more Money prodigal-
" ly, profusely, and riotously, than any of his Predecessors.
" What swarms of *Scots* came with him and after him, into
" this Kingdom? Who perpetually suck'd him of most vast
" Sums of Moneys, which stands yet upon Record; and which

" put

" put him upon all Dishonourable ways of raising Moneys; to " the most cruel oppression of the Nation, to serve their Riot " and Luxury: There are many yet living can justify this " Truth. But tho' they lived a while at such a height, yet " they died like themselves, Beggars; and at this Day scarce " one of them can shew the Fruits of those vast Donatives, " either in themselves or their Posterity, that's worth looking " upon: And so let them all perish, whomsoever, *Scots* or *Eng-* " *lish*, whose Foundation is such. 'Tho I see no reason but " that any Estate may be question'd, which is known to have " been rais'd on the oppression of this Nation; nor that " any Title of Honour so bought, should descend to Posterity. " A Lord is to be a Lord by Merit of Imployment in some " Noble Office for the Publick Good; not by projecting " Tricks, and couzening Devices to fill a Tyrants Coffers, to " the Enslaving of a gallant free Nation. But to return to " King *James*.

" In those Days, 'tis true, the Bishops, Nobility, and the " Lawyers, had a great influence upon the People, for their " Abilities, and supposed Honesties: Yet among these, such " are found, and others are made such, that whatsoever the " King would have, they are fit and willing Instruments to " bring it about, and make it pass for current Divinity and " Law.

" Witness the Burning of a whole Cart-load of Parliament " Presidents, that spake the Subjects Liberty; that were burnt " at the Kings first coming from *Scotland*. Witness the Nul- " lity. Witness the Life of Sir *Walter Raliegh*, that was taken " away in point of State; whose least part was of more worth " than the whole Race of the best of the *Scots* Nation. Wit- " ness the inhancing of the Customs, Privy Seals, Monopolies, " Loans, Benevolences, Seals of Lands, Woods, Fines, New " Buildings: Witness, the Lamentable Loss of the Palatinate. " Witness the Treaty of the *Spanish* Match: In which two last, " this Nation received more Dishonour than in any Action " any former Age can Parallel; and all under the Colour of " an honourable Treaty. His Daughter was undone, and his " Son bobb'd of a Wife, after the hazard of his Person, and vast " Expence of infinite Treasure to this Day undischarged.

" I could never understand what Piece of King-Craft it " was, to let the Prince, his only Son, with *Buckingham* his Fa- " vourite, make that Voyage into *Spain*, unless it were to be " rid of them both: And had he not had to do with a Noble " Enemy, surely they had never returned.

" He would sometimes call a Parliament for Money, and not " for Business; but if the Kingdom presented any Grievances; " he wou'd quarrel by his Prerogative, and Dissolve it. One " Letter of his to the Parliament, I cannot read but with " Amazement; which being but brief, take here from his " own hand.

## A Copy of His Majesty's Letter to the Lower House of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker:

" *WE have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, That the Distance of our Person at this time from Our High Court of Parliament, caused by Our want of Health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular Spirits in Our House of Commons, to debate and argue Publickly, in matters far beyond your Reach and Capacity, and so tending to Our high Dishonour, and Entrenching upon Our Prerogative Royal: You shall therefore acquaint the House with our Pleasure, That none therein shall from henceforth presume to meddle with any thing concerning Our Government, or Mysteries of State; Namely, Not to speak of Our dearest Son's Match with the Daughter of* Spain; *nor to touch the Honour of that King, nor any Our Friends or Confederates, and also not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motions in our ordinary Courts of Justice: And whereas we hear they have sent a Message to Sir* Edwyn Sands, *to know the Reason of his last Restraint; You shall in Our Name resolve them it was not for any Misdemeanour of his in Parliament: But to put them out of doubt of any Question of that Nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in Our Name, That We think Our Selves very free and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their Sitting, as afterwards; which we mean not to spare hereafter upon any occasion of any Mans insolent Behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto us. And if they have already touched any of these Points which we have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent to us: It is Our Pleasure that you shall tell them, That except they reform it before it come to Our Hands, we will not daign the Hearing or Answering of it.*

" I leave every Reader to Comment upon it, according to " his own Patience, and Passion: But that a *Scot* from so beggarly a Condition, to be so peaceably and honourably received to so Royal a Government over so brave a Nation, " should use such ungrateful presumptuous and proud Language to the Parliament of *England*, is to my Understanding, Monstrous Horrible, and not good. But 'twas his " Humour all his Reign; with impatience over-ruling, with " Jealousies threatning, and at Pleasure dissolving all Parliaments; thereby to lay the Foundation of Tyrannical and " Arbitrary Government, which he intended to bring upon " us.

" His Favourite *Somerset* being Condemn'd, and quietly " laid aside, he was ready provided of another, *George Vil-*

" *liers*

" *lers* by Name, a handſome young Man, lately return'd out " of *France*, from an Allowance of Threeſcore Pounds a " Year: Who comes to Court, is admitted to a Cup-bearers " Place, and then preſently Knighted, and made Gentleman " of the Bed-Chamber, and the ſame day a Thouſand Pounds " a Year out of the Court of Ward given him; and in a " Breath made Maſter of the Horſe, then Knight of the " Garter, then Baron of *Whadon*, Viſcount *Villers*, Earl of " *Somerſet*, and a Privy Counſellor, Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, " Lord Admiral of *England*, Chief Juſtice in Eyre, of all the " Parks and Forreſts on the South ſide of *Irent*, Maſter of " the *King's Bench* Office, Head-Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and " Conſtable of *Windſor-Caſtle*; and laſtly a Duke; and then " he cou'd go no higher in Title; but by his Maſter's Plea- " ſure and Courteſie, all the Affairs of the Kingdom are ſteered " by his Compaſs. Yet when he knew his Maſter to be wea- " ry of him, (notwithſtanding his ſlabbering Expreſſions of " Affection, and extravagant Honours and Riches) he found a " Playſter and a Powder that made him amends for all his " Favours: And here the King-Craft met with his Match. " How far King *Charles* might be privy to this Buſineſs, I " determine not; but the private familiarity between them, " continued ſo long after, and protecting him from being " queſtion'd for this very particular in Parliament, is no " ſmall Preſumption. But what that King denyed (Juſtice) " God ſent by the Hand of *John Felton*, who ſtabb'd this Duke " at *Portſmouth*, with a Ten-penny Knife, that he inſtantly " gave up the Ghoſt with theſe Words, *God's Wounds! I am* " *ſlain.*——To write all thoſe Actions this Duke did, by " theſe two King's Favours, to the prejudice of this oppreſ- " ſed Nation, would make a Cholerick Man mad; and Fleg- " matick, ſtupid: The King is the thing I intend; who made " uſe of him, the Flattering Prelates, the poor-ſpirited No- " bility, and Corrupt Lawyers, to frame ſuch a Government, " as all the Wealth in this Kingdom ſhould be at the King's " Diſpoſal. The Model whereof he left to his Son, with In- " ſtructions how to carry it on. [*And the ſad Cataſtrophe he* " *brought upon himſelf thereby, we ſhall have occaſion to take no-* " *tice of, when we come to his Secret Hiſtory.*]

" I cannot in the beſt Stories I have read, find who was " clearly King *James*'s Father: *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, a " luſty young Widow) marries the Lord *Darnly*, Son to the " Duke of *Lenox*, in the Year 1565. or thereabouts: And " at the ſame time had for a Reſerve in great Favour with " her, an *Italian* Fidler, and *Bothwel*, a *Scotch* Lord. After " Marriage, the Queen proves with Child. The King her " Husband, that was Lord *Darnly*, (Enraged by ſome Infor- " mations) comes into the room where the Queen his Wife " was at Supper, and very big; and drives the *Italian* Fidler " into another Room, and Murders him. The Queen was

" ſhortly

" ſhortly delivered of a Son, which was our King *James*:
" The Solemnity of the Chriſtening Ended, She and *Bothwel*
" Murder'd the King her Husband. Then the Queen Marries
" *Bothwel*, and all this in a Moment of Time; but they are
" both fain to fly: The Queen came into *England*, and was
" here Beheaded. *Bothwel* fled into *Denmark*, and there lay
" in Priſon all the Days of his Life.

" And now, Reader, obſerve the Fortune of this prodigious
" Family: His ſuppoſed Father was ſtrangled in his Bed, by
" the Conſent of his Mother, and flung out into a Garden:
" His Mother was beheaded: His Eldeſt Son, Prince *Henry*,
" in the Flower of his Youth, and ſtrength of his Age,
" is Poyſoned: His Daughter. Married to the *Palſgrave*:
" where ſhortly her Husband (in Ambition to be-
" come a King) is ſlain; and ſhe with her many
" Children are driven out of their Eſtates, and fly for
" Shelter into *Holland*, where ſhe hath lived ever ſince upon the
" Courteſie of *England*: Her Eldeſt Son, having lived long
" upon a particular Charity of this Nation, is now at length
" reſtored to a Feather of his Gooſe. Two other of her Sons,
" after Six years following Arms and Plunder for King *Charles*,
" turn'd Pyrates at Sea, and ſo are at preſent. King *James*
" himſelf, after two and twenty years Reign, by the Act of
" his Favourite *Buckingham*, is Poyſoned. King *Charles* after Eight
" years War with the Parliament, is taken, arraigned, and Con-
" demned, and Beheaded at his own Door. His Wife fled
" home to her Friends, and his Children ſcatter'd abroad in
" the World, to live upon the Charity of others.

" Are all theſe Circumſtances to be ſlighted, or uncon-
" ſidered? Or ſhall we take the Prieſts Word, *King* James
" *was of bleſſed Memory?* I challenge the the proudeſt of them;
" let them publiſh one clear Act of Honeſty from him, all the
" time of his Reign, or any honeſt Man that ever he lov'd,
" and I'll yield. His Hypocriſie, Perjury, Cowardice, Blaſphemy,
" Malice, are known to all: And baſe Ingratitude, which
" compreheuds more than all the reſt. Whereof one Exam-
" ple of him is well worth our remembring, to Sir *Henry*
" *Wotton*, which briefly was thus: Sir *Henry* (a Man for Per-
" ſon and parts highly Eſteemed and honoured of all that
" knew him) being in *Florence*, when Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death
" drew nigh, (which King *James* gaped for) the Duke of
" *Florence* had intercepted ſome Letters, which diſcovered a
" Deſign to take away the Life of King *James*: The Duke
" abhorring the Fact; reſolves to Endeavour the Preven-
" tion; calls for his Secretary to adviſe by what means a
" Caution might be beſt given to the King; and it was re-
" ſolved to be done by Sir *Henry Wotton*, who (being well in-
" ſtructed) is preſently diſpatched into *Scotland* with Letters
" to the King, and moſt rare Antidotes againſt all manner

" of

" of Poysons, whereby that Mischief was prevented; and " Sir *Henry Wotton* returns into *Italy*; where shortly after " came the News of the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and " *James* King of *Scots* proclaimed King of *England*; and away " comes Sir *Henry Wotton* to joy the King. This had been a " fit Subject to have shewn his Noble Mind upon, for a Fa- " vourite: But what doth the King? Takes him into two and " twenty years Travel, like a Packhorse, to make him an Agent " in Foreign Parts, and leaves him in his Old Age in *Eaton-* " *Colledge*, unable to pay his Debts; as may appear by his " Lamentable Complaint upon his Death-Bed: His Words " are these, in his last Will and Testament: *I humbly beseech* " *my Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *and the Lord Bishop of* Lon- " don, *to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign (in the* " *Bowels of Jesus Christ) that out of compassionate Memory of* " *my long Services, some Order may be taken for my Arrears, for* " *Satisfaction of my Debts.* This President alone is so tran- " scendently foul, as all his other Actions and Passions are Ver- " tues to it. Fellows of no Merit at home, must wallow in " his Bounty, and their own Luxury, to do his foul Pleasure, " and to Execute his Tyrannical Actions, whilst such a Noble " Soul as this, must suffer Want, and die in it.

Thus have I given my Reader, according to my Promise, King *James*'s Picture in Miniature; I will not become a Voucher for the Truth of all that he has mention'd; but if it be a true, as 'tis a Common Observation, that Water runs always the clearest, the nearer it is to the Fountain; then why should not those have the clearest Prospect of Truth, that lived nearest those Times wherein the things they treat of were transacted? And that this was long since Written, the Reader will easily discern, by many Passages therein. And the bold Strokes he has made in many Particulars, shews him to have been a Master Workman; tho' I cannot deny, but that if he had Shadow'd some things a little more, it might perhaps have render'd the Piece more acceptable to many Readers.

But King *James* his Life being a Copious Theme for our Secret History, we shall pursue it a little more at large; and deduce his History from the Death of his Grandfather, *James* the Vth, who was slain at *Muscleborough-Field*, by the *English* Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*. This King at his Death, left a sole Daughter, *Mary Stuart*, Inheretrix of that Realm; who when she attained to the Age of Viripotency, was Married to the *Dauphine* of *France*; (which Title belongs to the first Son of the Kings of that Crown) who coming afterwards to be King, Ended his Days by a Shiver of a Launce at a Tournament. This Match was contriv'd by the *French*, to make the *Scots* to be Goads in our sides, to prevent our invading of *France*, to which we had a just Title. But this *Mary*, deprived of her Mate by this sad Accident, living some few years in the *French* Court, where she was Educate

cated in the School of *Venus*, prov'd an apt Scholar in that wanton Academy; and affecting in her Inclination to be more absolute in her Passion of Love to chuse without Controul a Paramour suitable; when, how long, and whom she pleased, grew weary of the Delights of *Paris*; and desiring Variety, returned into *Scotland*, where she had more Power; she being constant in nothing but Inconstancy: A Place where the Amorous way was much in Esteem, tho the Church-Government somewhat hinder'd it; which yet was not then of such force as it has been since: This Princess cast her Glances every where about, to find a Beauty fit for her Embraces; and at last fix'd her liking on the Lord *Darnly*, of the House and Family of the *Stuarts* of *Boot* in *Scotland*, whose Ancestors were there famous, contesting long ago for the King, with one *Wallis*, in their home-bred Broils, who sided with the People. And indeed, this Lord was a goodly and amiable Person, fit for the Embraces of a Princess; but after some time the Queen grew weary of the Conjunction being Satiated; and the rather, because she had cast an Amorous Eye upon a New Servant she had Entertain'd, called *David Rizius*, a *Piedmontois*, and an Excellent Musician, who excelled in the Airs of *Italy* above others in that Faculty; and Enchanting the Queen with his Voice, made her think there was no Happiness but in his Approach in her Cabinet, (a Place wherein she continually resided) but from thence the Lord *Darnly* was Banished above nine Months; divorced from her Enjoyment, altho he sought divers means in Vain. At last, for a Medicine to allay his Discontent, one *Dowglass* administred Physick for his Cure; which was to remove *Rizius* from the Queen, and to put the Lord *Darnly*, her Husband, into her Arms: But so violent were the Ingredients, that *Rizius* was taken from the Queen by Twelve newly arrived Lords and their Retinue, who put her into the Lord *Darnley*'s Arms, Killing *Rizius*, and laying his dead Body on the same Trunk which was his Bed the first Night he arrived to the Queen's Service.

To understand this better, *Dowglass* was an Agent for the Twelve banish'd Lords out of *Scotland*, to return; but could not Effect it, unless the Lord *Darnly* undertook the Accomplishment; which he would not do, but upon the Condition of Dispatching *Rizius* from Court: But they being jealous of *Darnly*'s Promise, not fixt in other Punctilio's, would not believe him, till pricking his Fingers, he wrote an Assurance under his hand with Blood, really to Effect it; which was acted when the Queen leaned on *Rizius*'s shoulder, at the Game of *Primero*, with the Earl of *Morton* Chancellor of *Scotland*, who cherished this unlawful Familiarity. For *David Rizius* was so well known to have to do with the Queen, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, (being told of the Wisdom of King *James*, after his Accession to the Crown of *England*, (which by some Sycophantine Flatterers was very much

much cry'd up) and that he was call'd a Second *Solomon* ſmartly repartee'd, *I know no reaſon there is to call him a Second* Solomon, *unleſs it be becauſe he is the Son of* David *the Fidler.* But to proceed.

The Queen being greatly troubled for the Fate of *Rizius*, retir'd to *Sterlin* Caſtle, where ſhe was ſoon after brought abed of King *James*; but took no delight in her Husband's Company: For the Lord *Bothwel* became a new Corrival in her Affection; who both conſented (as *Germanicus* Wife with *Sejanus*,) after ſhe had been Laſcivious with him, to blow up her Husband's Body with Gunpowder, who was caſt dead on a Tree next Morning: A Spectacle made *Scotland* amazed at ſo fearful a Murder. By this moſt wicked Deſign, ſhe grew ſo contemptible to her Realm, that ſhe was fain to flee to Queen *Elizabeth* for Succour: But ſeveral Treaſons having been before diſcovered here, which were ſet on work by this Queen to take away the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*: The Privy Council (accounted the wiſeſt of all Europe) adviſed Queen *Elizabeth* to Condemn her, to free *England* from Treaſons againſt her Perſon: (for this *Mary Stuart* was the next Pretender to the Crown; from *Henry* the Seventh) But the Sage Princeſs conjectured that if her Death ſhould be by her Edict, it might raiſe the hatred of Foreign Princes againſt her; and therefore cauſed the Sentence only to be ratified by Act of Parliament, the Vote of the whole Realm; inſomuch that a Mock Secretary (called *Daviſon*) was choſen to go to *Fotheringham*, where ſhe was rewarded with a Hatchet, which was but a juſt Judgment of God upon her.

King *James* being now about Sixteen years old, was Crowned in *Scotland*, and had for Tutor one *Bohaunon* (called among us *Buchanon*) a Learned Divine, and Wiſe to train up young Princes; whoſe Books are famous throught this part of the World: This prudent Schoolmaſter obſerving the young Princes facility to Sign any Grant for his Servants without reading, by which means he had Pardon'd many Murthers, and paſſed other Inſtruments of pernicious Conſequence to the Commonwealth, he one day deſired a Boon of King *James*, in regard he had taken great Pains with him from his Childhood; and the King without knowing what it was, told him he would grant it. Thereupon one Morning, as the King was going out Early a hunting, *Buchanon* brought an Abſolute Reſignation of his Kingdom to him, with all Immunities belonging to it, which the King ſigned without looking on. At Night returning from his Hunting-ſport, and retiring uſually before Supper, to read ſome profitable Author, which his Schoolmaſter choſe; all being ſhut out of the Chamber, *Buchanan* ſat down in the Kings Chair, and told him that he was King, giving him the Writing to peruſe; which whilſt he was reading, he ſhed Tears for his Folly; yet *Buchanan*, after comforted him, and charged his Scholar not

to

to ſign any Grant, but what was juſt; and ſo threw the Grant of all *Scotland* into the Fire.

Soon after, King *James* was married to Queen *Ann* of *Denmark*, a Lady beautiful, but too ſtrong to be joyned with a weak ſpiny Prince; but in a little time, finding his Deficiency, what ſhe wanted in him, ſhe made up elſewhere; placing her delight firſt in one Mr. *Stuart*, of the Houſe of the Earl of *Murry*; but his haunting her Chamber too ſeduloufly, caus'd ſuch a jealouſie in the King, that he imparted his thoughts to the Marquis of *Huntley*, who between 'em got this *Stuart* out of the way, cauſing his Houſe to be burnt, and himſelf in it. After whoſe Death, the Queen made uſe of the Earl of *Gowry*, a Lord of a comley Viſage, good Stature, and an Attracting Mein, to ſatisfie her unruly Appetite; between whom and the King, there ſeemed much Love and Friendſhip; but the King upon a ſuſpicion of his having too much familiarity with the Queen, converted all his Love and Friendſhip into the Poyſon of Hatred, cauſing *Ramſy*, afterwards Earl of *Holderneſs*, with ſome others, to murther *Gowry* in his own Houſe; giving out, to blind the matter, that the Earl with others would have killed him. And to make this falſe Story look the more like Truth, he appointed the fifth of *Auguſt* as a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving for his pretended Delivery. Thereby making bold with Heaven; calling Truth it ſelf to bear Witneſs to a Lie: Upon which one wrote this Diſtich:

*Bold Prince, forbear, and trouble GOD no further:*
*For he Accepts no Thanks for Doing Murther.*

But the Queen, who cou'd not mortifie her unruly Affections, finds out New Servants to ſupply her wants; and ſoon after entertain'd into her Service one Mr. *Beely*, a *Dane*, to whom ſhe bore a great Affection; this Gentleman came with her into *England*, and grew more entire in her Thoughts: Sir *Edward Payton*, in his Divine Cataſtrophe, relates that he was very familiar with this Gentleman, and that he was a Commiſſioner for him in a Grant his Miſtreſs had procured for him of King *James*, of the Goods of Felons in divers Counties. However, this Gentleman at laſt waxing Old, the Queen took two other proper Gentlemen into her Service, of the Houſe of *Bohannon*; and theſe being Partners in her Affection, fell out with one another to that degree, that they fought a Duel, and Kill'd one another for Priority in her Love.

Not long after *Gowries* Death, Prince *Henry* was born at *Edenbrough*; whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* Amaſſador, to Congratulate his Birth, and be Godfather, with a Noble Retinue: But *Scotland* being poor, and the King wanting Money to diſcharge the Glory of ſuch a

Royal

Royal Entertainment, the Earl of *Orkney*, a Baſtard of the former Kings, pawned his Eſtate in the Iſlands of *Scotland*, to raiſe a great Sum to Diſcharge the Chriſtning: And as a Return for ſo great Kindneſs, King *James* did not only not diſengage this very Morgage, but ſuffered the Earl to die in Priſon at *Blackneſs* near *Edinburgh-Caſtle*: An Ingratitude ſo indelible, that after Ages will deteſt it.

But *Henry the* Fourth of *France*, being inform'd of this Congratulation, and conceiving it to be a Step to Unite *England* and *Scotland* in one Government, *Elizabeth* waxing old, ſent a Letter of Encouragment to King *James*, to joyn with him in Revenge of his Mothers Death; who replied (as the true Copy Expreſſed it) that he would not fall at difference with *Elizabeth*, ſince he was now more ſecure in his Throne, than in his Mothers time: Intimating he was not ſorry for his Mothers Removal, for her Life might have procur'd his Ruine.

Queen *Elizabeth* dying, after having reigned, four and forty years Compleat, King *James* was proclaimed King of *England* by the Privy Council, aſſiſted by Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Mayor of *London*; In *May* after, he came into *England*, and was met with many Nobles and Gentlemen; the Sheriffs attending him in every County from *Berwick*: Being all the way complemented upon his Acceſſion to the Throne of this Kingdom: And when he came near *London*, he was met by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, and Congratulated by Mr. *Richard Martin* of the *Middle Temple*, in the Name of the Sheriffs, with the following Speech; which, tho' ſomewhat long, I am willing to inſert for two Reaſons; Firſt, becauſe it may be a Novelty to the Reader, as being rarely to be had, I having obtain'd it out of a private Manuſcript. And Secondly, becauſe his Reign was the very Reverſe of what this wou'd have perſwaded him to: That had it been ſpoken afterwards, as it was before, it might very well have been taken for an *Irony*.

## A Speech deliver'd to King *James*, at his near Approach to *London*, in the Name of the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, by Mr. *Richard Martin* of the *Middle-Temple*.

*THE Common Fear and Difficulties which perplex moſt confident Orators ſpeaking before Princes, would more confound my diſtruſtful Spirit, ſpeaking to your high Majeſty, moſt mighty King, and our dread Sovereign Lord, did I not know that the Meſſage which I bring is to a good King, always grateful. Curioſities of Wit, and affected Strains of Oratory, I leave to thoſe who more delight to tickle the Princes Ear, than ſatisfy his deeper Judgment. To me, moſt gracious Sovereign, your Majeſty's meaneſt Subject, vouchſafe Your Mild and Princely Attention, whilſt in the Names of thoſe grave Magiſtrates*

ſtrates, your Majeſties Faithful Sheriffs of London and Middleſex, I offer to your benign Grace that Loyal and Hearty Welcome, which from that Honnurable and Ancient City, the Heart of this Kingdom, is brought by them whoſe deep and inward Grief conceived for the loſs of our Peerleſs and Renowned Queen Elizabeth, is turned into Exceſſive Joy for the Approach of your Excellent Majeſty, by whom the long and bleſſed Peace of Five and Fourty years, is made perpetual. Great is the Acknowledgment we owe to the Memory of our late Princes Government, whoſe far-ſpread Fame, as it ſhall live recommended to Poſterity for ever; ſo of her flouriſhing Reign no other Teſtimony need to be required than that of your high Majeſty, ſince none can be more honourable; that the like hath not been read or heard of in our Days, or ſince the Reign of Great Auguſtus; ſo that even Glorious and Vertuous Kings have juſt cauſe to Envy the Glory and Vertue of a Woman. But ſhe is gathered in Peace to her Fathers, a Memorable inſtance of your Majeſty's Divine Obſervation, That Princes differ not in Stuff, but in Uſe, from Common Men. Out of the Aſhes of this Phœnix wert thou King James, Born for our Good: The bright Star of the North, to which all true Magnetick Hearts had long before turned themſelves, whoſe Fame ariſing like a new Sun, diſperſed the Clouds of Fear which either our Politick Friends, or open Enemies, or the unnatural Factors for the firſt Monarchy, had given us ſome cauſe to apprehend; Yea, our Nobility, Counſellors, and Commons, whoſe Wiſdom and Fidelity is therefore renowned, as far as this Iſland is ſpoken of, with a general Zeal, poſted to your Majeſties Subjection; not more incited thereunto, by the Right of your Majeſty's Deſcent and Royal Blood, drawn to this fair Inheritance from the Loins of our Ancient Kings, than inflam'd with the Fame of your Princely and Eminent Vertues, wherewith, as a rich Cabinet of Precious Jewels, your Kingly Mind is furniſh'd, if conſtant Fame has deliver'd as a true Inventory of your rare Qualities: A King whoſe Youth needs no Excuſe, and whoſe Affections are ſubdued to his Reaſon: A King which not only does Juſtice, (which even Tyrants do ſometimes) but loves Juſtice; which Habit none but Vertuous Princes can put on: Who imitating the Free Bounty of the King of Kings, invites all diſtreſſed People to come unto him; not permitting Gehazi to take Talents of Silver, or Changes of Garments. In ſome Princes, my Gracious Soveraign Lord, it is Enough that they be not Evil; but from your Majeſty we look for an Admirable Goodneſs, and particular Redreſs: So ſtrange an Expectation forming your Majeſtie's Coming, hath inveſted the Minds of Good Men with Comfort, of Bad with Fear. And ſee how bounteous Heaven hath aſſigned four Kingdoms for your Majeſty's four Kingly Vertues. Scotland hath tried your Prudence, in reducing thoſe things to Order in the Church and Commonwealth, which the Tumultuous times of your Majeſty's Infancy had there put out of Square. Ireland ſhall require your Juſtice, which the Miniſters, I dare not ſay that the Policies of Civil Wars, have there defaced: France ſhall prove your Fortitude, when neceſſary Reaſons of State ſhall bend your Majeſty's Counſels to that Enterprize: But let England be the

School

*School wherein Your Majesty will practice your Temperance and Moderation: For Flattery will essay to undermine or force Your Majesty's Strongest Constancy and Integrity: Base Ostenation, the Bane of Vertuous Princes, which like* Lazarus's *Dogs, licks even the Princes Sores; a Vice made so familiar to this Age by long use, that even Pulpits are not free from this kind of Treason; a Treason I may justly call it, most capable to poyson the Fountain of Wisdom and Justice, whereat so many Kingdoms must be refreshed: Nor can I be justly blamed to lay open to a most Skilful and Faithful Physician our true Grief, nay, it may be to the Comfort of my Life to have spoken the Truth to my Lord the King; and with a heart as true to Your Majesty as Your own, to make known to an uncorrupted King, the hopes and desires of his best Subjects: Who, as if Your Majesty were sent down from Heaven to renew the Golden Age, have now assured themselves that this Island, now united to Your Majesties Obedience, shall never fear the Mischiefs and Miss-Governments which other Countreys and other Times have felt: Oppression shall not be here the Badge of Authority, nor Insolence the Mark of Greatness. The People shall sit every one under his own Olive-Tree, and anoint themselves with the Fat thereof: his Face not grinded with Extorted Suits, nor his Marrow suck'd out with most odious and unjust Monopolies: Unconscionable Lawyers, and greedy Officers shall no longer spin out the poor Mans Cause in length to his undoing, and the delay of Justice: No more shall Bribes blind the Eyes of the Wise; nor Gold be reputed the common measure of Mens Worthiness; Adulterate Gold! Which can gild a rotten Post, make* Balaam *a Bishop, and* Issachar *be worthy of a Judicial Chair, where he may wickedly sell that Justice which he corruptly bought. The Money-Changers and Sellers of Doves, I mean those which traffick with the Livings of simple and religious Pastors, shall Your Majesty whip out of the Temple and Commonwealth: For no more shall Church-Livings be par'd to the quick, forcing Ambitious Churchmen to Enter in at the Windows by Simony, and Corruption, which they must afterwards repay with Usury, and make up with Pluralities. The Ports and Havens of this Kingdom, which have long been barred, yet now open the Mouths of their Rivers and the Arms of their Seas, to the gentle Amity, and just Traffick of all Nations, washing away our Reproach of Universal Pirates and Sea-Wolves; and deriving, by the Exchange of Home-bred Commodities with Foreign, into the Veins of this Land, that wholesome Blood and well-got Treasure, which shall strengthen the Sinews of Your Majestie's Kingdoms. The neglected and almost worn-out Nobility shall now as bright Diamonds and burning Carbuncles, adorn Your Kingly Diadem. The too much contemned Clergy shall hang as a precious Earing at Your Princely Ear; Your Majesty still Listening to their holy Counsels. The wearied Commons shall be worn as a rich Ring on Your Royal Finger, which Your Majesty with a watchful Eye will still graciously look upon. For we have now a King that will hear with his own Ears, and be ever jealous of any Trust, which being afterwards become necessary, may be abused to an Unlimited Power. They mean*

*to ſell the King to his Subjects at their own Price, and abuſe the Authority of His Majeſty to their own Gain and Greatneſs, who perſwade him, That to ſhut himſelf up from the Acceſs of his People, is the way to augment his Eſtate.*

*Let me neither be thought tedious nor preſumptuous, my Gracious Soveraign; for I Counſel not: But whilſt your Majeſty hath been perhaps wearied with Complaints and inſinuations of a particular and private reſpect, let it be lawful, my Liege, for a heart free from fear, in hope to ſhew your ſelf the Agues which keep low this great Body; whereof your Majeſty is the Sound Head. Nor are we fed with hopes of Redreſs, by Imagination, as hungry Men are with a painted Banquet, but by aſſurance, on a certain Knowledge, drawn both out of the Obſervation of your Majeſties fore-paſt Actions, and from ſome Books now freſh in every Mans hand; being (to uſe your Majeſties own Words) the* Vive Ideas, or Repreſentations of the Mind: *Whoſe Excellent wholeſome Rules your Majeſty will never tranſgreſs, having bound your Princely Son by ſuch heavy Penalties, to obſerve them after you. Nor doth any Man wiſh, or good Man deſire, that your Majeſty ſhould follow any other Counſels or Examples than your own, by which your Majeſty is ſo nearly bound.*

*To conclude therefore, What great Cauſe have we to welcome to the Territories of Our Cities, Your moſt Excellent Majeſty, who to make us the glorious and happy Head of this Iſland, have by your firſt Entrance brought us the Addition of another Kingdom, which War cou'd never ſubdue: And not only ſo, but your Majeſtie's upright Government makes us Partakers of that Felicity which Divine* Plato *apprehended, but never ſaw (a Kingdom whoſe King is a* Philoſopher) *a* Philoſopher *being our King. Receive then, moſt gracious Soveraign, the Loyal Welcome which our City ſendeth out to meet your Majeſty: Our City, which for the long Trial of her Loyalty, Obedience, and faithful Readineſs upon all Occaſions, Your Majeſty's Royal Progenitors have intitled with the Title of* Their Chamber: *Whoſe faithful Citizens with true and well-approved Hearts, humbly lay at your Royal Feet their Goods and Lives; which they will Sacrifice for your Majeſties Service and Defence; with longing Eyes, deſiring to behold your Majeſty, and to receive you within their Walls, whom they have long ſince lodged in their Hearts: Imploring Heaven that your Majeſty's Perſon may be free from all ill Practices, Your Soul ſafe from Flattery; Your Life Extended to the poſſibility of Nature; and that if not Your Natural Life, yet Your Royal Line may have one period with the World: Your Princely Off-ſpring ſitting upon the Throne of their Fathers for evermore. And we your Majeſty's faithful Servants ſurrendering into Your Majeſty's hands that Authority which we hold from You: Wiſhing from our Hearts, That all* Plagues *may purſue his Poſterity that but Conſpires Your Majeſty's Danger.*

There

There are many things insinuated to King *James* in this Speech, as proper for him to do; which, as if it had been *Hebrew*, His Majesty read backward, and practic'd the Perfect Reverse of: But there is so much fulsome flattery, and daubing in it also, that it is no wonder that an honest plain *Scotsman*, (that had not been us'd to such flattering Expressions and loud Acclamations as he was all along the Country in his Passage from *Scotland*) should prophetically say, *This People will spoil a gude King.*

After the Speech was Ended, the King was Attended with general Applause and treated with Royal Entertainment at his Enterance into the *Charter-House* in *London*: Yet ominously attended with a great Plague, of three thousand dying in a Week in the City. This Union gave a grand Expectation of Tranquility to both Kingdoms: But it proved otherways. For after the Kings Accession to the Crown, *England* insensibly abated in its Reputation and Power Abroad. The King making no other use of the Riches of this Nation, than to supply the wants of his needy Country-Men; who like so many Horse-Leaches suck'd the Exchequer dry: And then Honour and Offices were set to Sale, to fill the *Scots* Purses, and Empty the Kingdom's Treasure: And this was the occasion of that By-word then so common amongst us, *That the* English *Exchequer reach'd from* London *to* Edinburgh. But this was not sufficient to gorge their insatiable Wembs, and satisfie their Importunate Cravings; but many Monopolies likewise were Erected: Insomuch that Sir *Edward Payton* affirms, that he himself reported Thirty two Patents in *Decimo Octavo Jacobi.*

But to Survey this Reign a little more Methodically: The Reigns of *Edward* and *Richard* the Second, were call'd the Reigns of Favourites, but certainly that of *James* the First, might have been call'd so with much more reason: Those Princes had indeed Two or Three a-piece, (and both they and the Nation found enough of them) but King *James* had a Succession of Favourites throughout his whole Reign; Those Princes were constant to theirs, but King *James* soon grew weary of his, one Favorite daily justling out another. The first of this sort was Sir *George Hewm*, a *Scots-man*; a kind of Favourite; tho' far short of those that came afterward with young Faces, and smooth Chins; but one that for his Wisdom and Gravity had been in some Secret Counsels with his Master, which created that dearness between them; and the chief of those Secrets was that of *Gowries* Conspiracy, tho' that Nation gave little Credit to the Story, but would speak both slightly and despitefully of it; and those some of the wisest of that Nation too: Yet there was a weekly Commemoration of it by the *Tuesdays* Sermons, and an Anniversary Feast, as great as possible, on the Fifth of *August*, for the preservation. Upon which Day, as Sir *John Rumsey*, after Earl of *Holderness*, for his good Service in that Preservation, was the Principal Guest, so did the King grant

him any Boon he would ask that Day; but had ſuch limitations ſet to his asking, as made his Suit as unprofitable to him, as that which he ask'd it for, was unſerviceable to the King; and indeed, did make the *Engliſh* as little believe the Story as the *Scots* themſelves did: And yet, to ſpeak the Truth, the good Gentleman did in that, as a Lyar often doth, by telling a Lye often, he believes it to be a very Truth: If the thing was true, King *James* was Ingrateful, and did too little for him; if it was not true, he was Profuſe, and did too much; for being an Earl, he was in very little eſteem, either with his Maſter, or with the better ſort of Courtiers. This Sir *George Hewms*, (the Favourite I was ſpeaking of) being the only Man that was the Guider of the King, and his Affairs, all the wiſer *Engliſh*, at the Kings firſt Entrance, made their Addreſſes unto him; among whom, one of the earlieſt was Sir *Robert Cecil*, a very wiſe Man, but hated in *England*, by reaſon of the freſh Bleeding of that Univerſally beloved Favourite of the People, the Earl of *Eſſex*; and for that was clouded alſo in the Kings Favour. He came to *York*, but lay cloſe, and was unſeen, or ſcarce known to be in the City, until he knew what Entertainment he ſhould have from the King; for he was in all Mens Opinion, ſo under the Hatches, as not ever to appear above-board again: (Nor did any of the Counter-Faction to *Eſſex*, beſides himſelf, ever attain to the Kings Favour) but thoſe Friends raiſed by his Wit and Purſe, did ſo co-operate, (of which Sir *Roger Aſton*, that plain Man, was Principal, for which he loſt not his Labour) that Sir *George Hewms* and Sir *Robert Cecil*, had many Secret Meetings, and did ſo comply, that Sir *Robert Cecil*, to the Admiration of all, did publickly appear, and came out of his Chamber, like a Giant, to run his Race, for the Prize of Honour and Fortune; So that who in ſuch Dearneſs and Privacy with the King, as Sir *Robert Cecil*? As if he had been his faithful Servant many Years before. And indeed, if ſome have gueſt right, there was a Correſpondence (tho' very privately carry'd on) between *Cecil* and the Court at *Edinburgh*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time: For he once took occaſion in the Queen's Preſence, to glance at the King of *Scots* as her Succeſſor; which made her break into a Paſſion, ſaying, *Was this imputed to* Eſſex *for a Crime, and is it leſs in you?* Nay, he was once like to be trapt in his Correſpondencies: For the Queen taking the Air upon *Black-Heath*, by *Greenwich*, a Poſt Summon'd her to enquire from what Quarter his Buſineſs came; and hearing from *Scotland*, She ſtaid Her Coach to receive the Packet: But Sir *Robert Cecil*, (then Secretary) and in the Coach with her, being fearful that ſome of his Conveyances might be diſcovered, having an active Wit, calls for a Knife ſuddenly to open it, leſt put offs and delays might beget ſuſpition; and when he came to open it, he told the Queen it look'd and ſmelt very ill-favour'dly; coming out of many Nafty Budgets, and was fit to be open'd and air'd before ſhe ſaw it; which

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reaſon meeting with her diſaffection to ill ſcents, hinder'd her ſmelling out his underhand Contrivances. And therefore his Friends, Wit, or Wealth, did not raiſe him ſo much, as the ill Offices done by him to this Nation; in diſcovering to the King how to raiſe his Prerogative ſo above the Laws, that he might inſlave the Nation; which has been ſince of very dangerous Conſequence; for he not only caus'd a whole Cart-load of Parliament Preſidents, that were Evidences of the Subjects Liberty, to be burnt; but put him into a way of raiſing Two hundred thouſand Pounds, for making Two hundred Baronets; telling the King he ſhou'd find His *Engliſh* Subjects like Aſſes, on whom he might lay any Burthen; and ſhould need neither Bit nor Bridle, but their Aſſes Ears; and when the King ſaid, It wou'd diſcontent the generality of the Gentry; *Tuſh Sir*, reply'd he, *You want the Money, that will do you good; the Honour will do them very little*: And by theſe courſes he rais'd himſelf, Friends, and Family, to Offices, Honours, and great Poſſeſſions; yet as a juſt Puniſhment, he liv'd long enough to have loſt all, had not Death prevented him between the *Bath* and *London*; for the Duke of *Burgoyn* being then there, about the Overture of that unfortunate Match between the Palſgrave and the Lady *Elizabeth*, had ſo done his Errand, and diſcover'd his Jugling, it is moſt certain he had been ſtript of all at his Return; which he underſtanding, it is thought, from his Friends at Court, did Expedite his End; but he died opportunely to leave his Honour and his Eſtate, for his Poſterity; Tho' to leave a Mark of Ignominy of himſelf by that *Herodian* Diſeaſe, that for all his great Honours, Poſſeſſions, and ſtately Houſes, he found no Place but the top of a Mole-hill near *Marleborough*, to End his Miſerable Life; ſo that it may be ſaid of him, and truly, he died of a moſt loathſome Diſeaſe; without Houſe, without Pity, and without the favour of that Maſter that had rais'd him to ſo high an Eſtate. And yet he muſt have that right done him, That there hath not been any ſince his time, that equall'd him; to fulfil the Proverb, *Seldom comes a Better.* He had great Parts, was very wiſe, full of Honour and Bounty; and a great Lover and Rewarder of Vertue and Able Parts in others, ſo they did not Aſpire too high in Places, or look too Narrowly into his Actions.

The next that came in Favour on the Publick Theater, was *Henry Howard*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*; the one afterward Earl of *Northampton*, the other Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord *Chamberlain*, and after Lord *Treaſurer*; who by *Salisbury*'s Greatneſs with that Family, rather than by any Merit or Wiſdom in themſelves, raiſed many great Families of his Children. *Northampton*, tho' a great Clerk, yet not a wiſe Man, but the groſſeſt Flatterer in the World; and as *Salisbury* by his Wit, ſo this by his Flattery raiſed himſelf: Yet one great Motive to the raiſing of that

Name of *Howards*, was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ſuffering for the Queen of *Scots*, the Kings Mother: Yet did *Suffolk* ſo far get the *Start of Northampton*, that *Northampton* never after loved him but from the Teeth outwards; only he had ſo much Diſcretion as not to fall to actual Enmity, to the overthrow of both, and the weakning their Faction; *Suffolk* alſo uſing him with all Submiſſive reſpect, not for any love, but hope of gaining his great Eſtate, and ſharing it amongſt his Children; but *Northampton*'s diſtaſte was ſuch, by his Loſs of the Treaſurer's Place, which he had with ſuch Aſſurance promiſed to himſelf in his Thoughts, that except what he gave to Mr. *Henry Howard*, the reſt he gave to the Earl of *Arundel*; who by his Obſervance, but more eſpecially by giving *Northampton* all his Eſtate if he never return'd from Travel, had wrought himſelf ſo far into his Affection, that he doted on him.

And now the Reader muſt obſerve that *Salisbury* having been advanc'd as has been already mention'd, ſhook off all that were great with him, and of his Faction in Queen *Eliz beth*'s Days; as, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *George Carew*, the Lord *Grey*, and the Lord *Cobham*: The three firſt of theſe were as able Men as any the World had; the laſt but one degree from a Fool; yet ſerv'd their Turns better than a wiſer Man, by his greatneſs with the Queen; for they would put him on any thing, and make him tell any Lye with as great Confidence as a Truth: Three of theſe were utterly ruin'd, as we ſhall ſee by and by; the fourth, Sir *George Carew* being a very wiſe Man, contented himſelf with a mean place, that was worthy of a much greater; and altho very Active formerly, called to mind that known Saying, *Fœlix quem facient aliena pericula Cautum*; and therefore medled with no State Buſineſs; for he ſaw a better head-Piece than his own, Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s, ſit tottering, and afterwards fell off, which made Sir *George* think it was good ſleeping in a whole Skin: But becauſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* was condemn'd for Treaſon, with *Gray* and *Cobham*, &c. and yet none can tell what the Treaſon was; I will Endeavour (once for all,) to give the Reader the beſt Account of it I can.

This Conſpiracy was as great a Myſtery as that of *Gowry*'s in *Scotland*; made of ſo ſtrange a hodg-podg of Perſons of different Intereſts, that it is a wonder they ſhou'd ever agree in one Deſign: For ſome of them were Papiſts, as *Watſon* and *Clark*, who were Prieſts, and *Parham* a Gentleman; ſome Proteſtants, as the Lord *Cobham*, *George Brook* his Brother, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and one a *Puritan*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a very hopeful Gentleman: Theſe were certainly a ſtrange Medley to meet in one and the ſame Treaſon. The ground of the Deſign was ſaid to be to ſet up the Lady *Arabella*, (a Branch Sprung from the ſame Stem by another Line) and to alter Religion and Government:

(But

(But why ſhould the Proteſtants go about to alter Religion?) Diſpoſing already to themſelves the Principal Places of Honour and Profit: The Lord *Grey* was to get leave to tranſport 2000 Men into *Holland*, with whom he was to ſeize upon the King and the Prince: Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to treat with Count *Aremberg* for procuring Moneys, and *Cobham* was to go to the Arch Duke, and the King of *Spain*, to procure their Aſſiſtance: Which is all a very unlikely piece of Buſineſs.

The truth is, moſt of theſe were diſcontented to ſee *Salisbury*, their old Friend, ſo high, and now to trample on thoſe that had been his chief Supporters (and being ever of his Faction) now neglected and condemned: It was therefore moſt likely to be a Trick of State, to overthrow ſome, and diſable others, knowing their ſtrong Abilities might otherwiſe live to overthrow *Salisbury*; for they were intimate in all his Secret Counſels for the ruine of *Eſſex*; eſpecially *Raleigh*, *Gray* and *Cobham*: For tho' the latter was little better than a fool, yet he had been very uſeful to them (as the Tool in the hand of the Workman.) To have ſingled out theſe, without ſome Prieſts, which were Traytors by the Law, had ſmelt too rank, and been too plain a Trick of State. Now *Salisbury* in this had a double Benefit; Firſt, in getting rid of ſuch as he feared wou'd have been Thorns in his ſides; and ſecondly, by endearing himſelf to the King, by ſhewing his Diligence and Vigilancy for his Safety; ſo that it might be ſaid of him, as of *Cæſar* in another Caſe, (*Inveniam aut faciam*) I will either find out a Treaſon, or make one. And this might have paſt for a piece of Court-Policy, and done well enough, had the Deſign been only to Diſgrace; but when it reach'd to the taking away of Life, the Jeſt was carried on too far; and how ſuch a Piece of Court-Policy cou'd ſtand with Religion, I am afraid *Cecil* has too well underſtood long ago. And this Plot (as near as I can tell you,) and I have made it my Buſineſs to ſearch into the botom of it, and I dare ſay, from the Private Manuſcripts and other Papers that I have Examin'd, that I have as thorow an underſtanding of it as ever any Man had) was, That all theſe in a diſcontented humour, had by *Watſon* and *Clark*, being Confeſſors, dealt with Count *Aremberg*, the Arch-Dukes Ambaſſador, to negotiate with the Arch-Duke, to raiſe an Army, and invade *England*, and they wou'd raiſe another of Papiſts and Male-Contents to joyn 'em: For you muſt underſtand that the King was believed to be an Errant Puritan (*cujus contrarium verum eſt*, as the *Hampton-Court* Conference ſufficiently manifeſted.) Now how likely this Plot was, let the World judge: That the King of *Spain*, who had bought Peace at ſo dear a rate, and found it ſo advantagious to him, by the lamentable Experience

he had formerly in the Wars with this formidable Nation, ſhould ſeek to break it ſo ſoon: And the truth is, had it been a real Treaſon, the State had been bound to have rewarded theſe Traitors, as the beſt piece of Service done in *England*, all this Kings Reign: For it was indeed thoſe that made the Peace, not thoſe that Endeavour'd to break it, that were the Traytors, and are to be curſed by all Poſterity. Yet this fooliſh Plot ſerv'd well enough to take ſome Blocks out of the way, that might otherwiſe afterwards have made ſome of them ſtumble, to the breaking of their own Necks.

They were all arraigned of Treaſon at *Wincheſter*, whither the King ſent ſome Secretly to obſerve all Paſſages; upon whoſe true and faithful Relations of the Innocency of the Perſons Arraigned, and the ſlight Proofs upon which they were condemned, the King would not be drawn to ſign any Warrant for the Execution of *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*; and very hardly for any of the reſt, the two Prieſts excepted. For *Raleigh*'s Defence, it was ſo brave and juſt, that (had he not wilfully caſt himſelf, out of very wearineſs, as unwilling to detain the Company longer) no Jury could ever have caſt him: All the Evidence brought againſt him, was *Cobham*'s Accuſation; which he only deſir'd might appear (*Viva Voce*) and he would yield, without further Defence; but they knew well enough that *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him: having been tamper'd with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisbury*'s great Creature, *Wade* deſir'd it under his hand, but that he alſo refuſed; at laſt *Wade* got a Trick by his Cunning to over-reach *Cobham*, who was but a weak Man; for *Wade* getting *Cobham* to write his Name on a Blank Paper, *Wade* took it up, and no queſtion writ the Accuſation above it, as in the Sequel will further appear. For *Salisbury* urging *Raleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accuſed him under his hand, would he then yield? *Raleigh* reply'd he knew *Cobham* weak of Judgment, and did not know how that Weakneſs might be wrought upon; but was confident that he wou'd not to his Face accuſe him, and therefore wou'd not put his Fortune and all on that; on which Fence he ſtood till Nine at Night. At laſt his Fate carry'd it againſt his Reaſon, and he yielded upon the Producing of his hand, which was inſtantly pull'd out, and was indeed his hand, but not his Act nor Deed: So at that preſent was *George Brook*, *Watſon* and *Clark*, Executed; *Parham* quitted, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* executed many years after for the ſame Treaſon; as much againſt all reaſon, as all or any Precedent; yea, after he had been a General by the Kings Commiſſion; and had by that Power of the Lives of many others; utterly againſt the Civil Law; which ſaith, He that hath Power of the Lives of others, ought

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to be Maſter of his own. But the *Spaniard* was ſo powerful at that time in the *Engliſh* Court, as that Faction could command the Life of any Man that might prove dangerous to their Deſigns. *Grey* and *Cobham* died in their Reſtraint, the one much pitied, the other ſcorned; and his Death as baſe, for he died louſie for want of Apparel and Linnen; and had ſtarved, had not a Trencher-ſcraper, ſometime his Servant in Court, relieved him with ſcraps, in whoſe Houſe he died; being ſo poor a Houſe, as he was forc'd to creep up a Ladder into a little Hole, to his Chamber; which was a ſtrange Judgment, and unpreſidented, that a Man of Seven thouſand pound *per annum*, and of a Perſonal Eſtate of Thirty Thouſand pounds (of all which the King was cheated of what ſhould have Eſcheated to him) that he could not give him any Maintenance, as in all Caſes the King doth, unleſs out of his own Revenue of the Crown, which was the occaſion of this Lord's Want.

And now, before I leave this matter, I will demonſtrate to the Reader that the Great Sir *Walter Raleigh* had his Life taken ſurreptitiouſly away, by the following true Story.

Queen *Anne* being in a deſperate Diſeaſe, and as was believed incurable, the Phyſitians having proceeded ſo far, that they were come to a *Ne plus ultra*. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being by his long Study an Admirable *Chymiſt*, undertook and performed the Cure; for which he would receive no other Reward, but that her Majeſty wou'd procure that certain Lords might be ſent to Examine *Cobham*, whether he had accuſed Sir *Walter Raleigh* of Treaſon, at any time under his hand? The King at the Queens Requeſt (and in Juſtice he cou'd do no leſs) ſends ſix of the Council, which as I take it, were the Duke of *Lenox*, *Salisbury*, *Worceſter*, *Suffolk*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir, *Julius Cæſar*; to demand of *Cobham*, whether he had not under his hand accuſed Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon that Treaſon he was Arraigned for? *Cobham* did proteſt never, nor cou'd he: But, ſaid he, That Villian *Wade* did often ſolicit me; and not prevailing, got me by a Trick, to write my Name upon a piece of White Paper, which I thinking nothing, did; ſo that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villain *Wade*, by writing ſomething above my hand, without my Conſent or Knowledge. Theſe ſix Lords returning to the King, made *Salisbury* their Spokeſman; who ſaid, Sir, My Lord *Cobham* hath made good all that ever he wrote, or ſaid; and ſo came off by an Equivocation; for it was true, he made good whatever he writ, but he never writ any thing to accuſe *Raleigh*: By which the Reader may ſee the Baſeneſs of theſe Lords; the Credulity of the King; and the Ruine of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. I appeal now to all the World, Whether thoſe Six Lords were not his Immediate

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Murtherers? And no question but they have been called to a Sad Account for it. And thus I have given a true Relation of the Treason and Traytors, with all the Windings and Turnings in it, and all Passages appertaining to it: By which may be seen the Slavery these great Men were kept in by *Salisbury*; that none durst testifie such a Truth; the not testifying whereof, 'tis to be fear'd, has consign'd 'em to Eternal Ruine.

Having thus shew'd you how Sir *Walter Raleigh* was cheated out of his Life by the Artifice of *Salisbury*, I will now relate that which was made the occation of his Death, than which, nothing cou'd be more barbarously done of the King; to whom it was that the Miscarriage of his West-India Enterprize was principally Owing. Sir *Walter*, after fourteen years Imprisonment, during which time he had oblig'd the World with one of the best Histories that was ever written, obtain'd his Liberty: And was sent with an Ample Commission (which was judg'd by our best Lawyers Equivalent to a Pardon) to discover and take possession of New Countries and Mines in in *America*: One Captain *Kemish* an old Seaman and Servant of his, having shewed him a piece of Oar in the Tower of a golden Complexion (which was a glittering Temptation to begin that Work) assuring him he cou'd bring him to a Mine in *Guiana* of the same Metal: Which gave rise to this Enterprize.

But whilst he was getting ready his Ships for this Voyage, the King commanded him to give him a Plan of his Design, and of the Place he was to Land at; and to set down under his hand besides, the Number of his Men, the Burthen of his Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried: This prov'd the Ruine of his Enterprize: For before he cou'd get ready to sail from *England*, the Court at *Madrid* had a Copy of it; which Sir *Walter Raleigh* found, to his sad Experience, was gotten to *America* before him, and had thereby Enabled the *Spaniard* to baffle the Attempt. Therefore that of the Poet was good Counsel:

> (*Close in thy Brest Safe lock up thy intents;*
> *For he that knows thy purpose, best prevents.*)

And cou'd Sir *Walter* have follow'd it, we had had a better Account of the Mines in *Guiana*; but *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, had got such a mighty Ascendant over King *James*, that he cou'd keep nothing from him. But that the King shou'd betray his Design by giving his Enemies an Account of it; and then at his coming home put him to Death for not Succeeeding in it, is such a Piece of Treachery and Baseness, that no King before was ever guilty of, nor no other Age could ever parallel. Sir *Walter* upon the Miscarriage of the Design coming home again, and putting in at *Plimouth*,

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was no ſooner aſhore, but he had private Intimation given him of what wou'd be the iſſue of his Voyage; and therefore attempted an Eſcape from thence in a Bark of *Rochel*; but being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukely* his Kinſman, (ſo unnatural and Servile was his Spirit) he was brought to *London*, and re-committed to the Tower.

*Gondemar* made loud Complaints againſt him to the King, for what he had done in *America*; and look'd upon Sir *Walter Raleigh* as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Animoſity enough to do his Maſter Miſchief (being one of thoſe Scourges which that old Virago (as he us'd to call Queen *Elizabeth*) uſed to Chaſtiſe the *Spaniards* with) and having now gotten him into the Trap, laid his Baits about the King. There is a ſtrange Virtue in this Spirit of *Sol!* The Intenſeneſs makes Men firm, the Ductileneſs brings them to be active: *French Luidores* were not then ſo pure nor ſo piercing as *Spaniſh* Piſtoles: *Auri Sacra Fames! quid non mortalia Pectora cogis.* The King that lov'd his Peace, was incens'd by them that lov'd their Profit: And Sir *Walter* muſt lay down the Price of his Life upon the old Reckoning. He was not inſenſible of his own Danger, after his re-commitment, and therefore that he might obviate the Cries of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſet things in a true Light, and clear his own Innocence, he writ the following Letter to the King, which I have tranſcrib'd from an Original Manuſcript; and which wou'd have ſatisfy'd any one but ſuch a Puſillanimous King as King *James*; who hated a Man that was Learned, becauſe he look'd upon him as an Encroacher upon what he wou'd be thought to have monopoliz'd himſelf; and a Man of Valour, becauſe he thought ſuch a one reproach'd his own Cowardice.

## Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Letter to King *JAMES*, at His Return from *Guiana*.

*MAY it Pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty: If in my Journey outwards bound, I had my Men Murthered at the* Iſland, *and yet ſpared to take Revenge; if I did diſcharge ſome* Spaniſh *Barks taken, without Spoil; if I forbore all Parts of the* Spaniſh *Indies, wherein I might have taken Twenty of their Towns on the Sea Coaſts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for* Guiana, *where without any directions from me, a* Spaniſh *Village was burnt, which was new ſet up within Three miles of the Mine. By Your Majeſties Favour, I find no Reaſon Why the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador ſhould complain of me. If it were lawful for the* Spaniards *to murther Twenty Six* Engliſh *Men, Tying them Back to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had Traded with them a whole Month, and came to them, on the Land, without ſo much as one Sword, and that it may not be Lawful for Your Majeſtys Sub*

*jects*

*jects being charged first by them, to repel force with force, we may then justly say,* O Miserable England!

*If* Parker *and* Metham *took* Compeach *and other Places in the* Hondura's, *Seated in the heart of the* Spanish *Indies, burnt Towns, and killed the* Spaniards, *and had nothing said unto them at their Return, and my Self forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not offend, I may as justly say,* O Miserable Walter Raleigh! *If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, Suffered by Sickness and otherwise, a World of Miseries; If I have resisted; with the manifest hazar'd of my Life the Robberies and the Spoiles with which my Companions would have made me Rich; if when I was powerful, I would have made my self Rich; If when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and Nature it self, do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might else-where have Sail'd my Ships and Goods and put 5 or 6000 l. in my Purse, and yet brought them into* England; *I do beseech Your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said unto Your Majesty, That Your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man whose End was but the recovery of his Liberty, and who had betray'd Your Majesty's Trust. My Mutineers told me that if I returned for* England, *I should be Undone: But I believed in Your Majesty's Goodness, more than in all their Arguments. Sure I am, that I am the first that being free and able to enrich my Self, yet hath imbraced Poverty and Peril; and as sure I am that my Example shall make me the last. But Your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,*

Your MAJESY's
*Most Humble Vassal,*

Walter Raleigh.

Tho' this Letter contains solid Reasoning, and is both very Pathetical and Affecting; yet King *James* was like the deaf Adder, who would not hear the Voice of the Charmer, tho he charm'd never so wisely. And therefore in *Michaelmas* Term, 1618. he was brought to the Kings Bench Bar, at *Westminster*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were opened, and he demanded why Execution should not be done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounced against him? To which in way of Answer, he began to justifie himself in the Proceedings of the late Voyage. But the Lord chief Justice wish'd him to spare that Trouble; for there was no other matter in question but the former Judgment; which the King would have Executed upon him, for some Reasons best known to himself, unless he could shew good Cause to the Contrary. Sir *Walter* answer'd, That he was told by his Counsel, that Judgment was Void, by the Commission

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His Majesty was pleased to give him since under the Great Seal of *England*, for his last Employment, which did give him a New Vigour and Life for that Service. The Lord Chief Justice reply'd, That he was deceiv'd, and that the Opinion of the Court was to the Contrary. Sir *Walter* said his Commission was directed, *Dilecto & Fideli meo Waltero Raleigh, Militi*; and that he could not be a Traytor, and the Kings Beloved and Faithful Servant, at one and the same time. But the Court answer'd, That Treason could not be pardon'd by Implication, but by express Words. Sir *Walter* seeing all his Pleas over-rul'd, and that the King was resolv'd he shou'd dye, only desir'd that some reasonable time might be allowed him to prepare for death: But it was answer'd, that the time appointed was the next Morning; and it was not to be doubted but he had prepar'd himself for Death long since. Sir *Walter* finding, that in this respect also the matter was determin'd, acquiesc'd in the Pleasure of the Court, and so was convey'd to the *Gate-house*; and the next Morning, being brought upon the Scaffold, (erected for that Purpose in the Pallace-Yard) and having a Fit of the Ague upon him, he felt upon the Ax, and said smiling, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it will infallibly cure me of all Diseases*; and so it did, being beheaded while the Ague-Fit was upon him. He had in the Outward Man a good Presence, in a handsome and well-compacted Person; a strong Natural Wit, and a better Judgment; for he had a general Learning, which by *Diligence* and *Experience*, (those two great Tutors) being now Threescore Years of Age, was augmented to a great Perfection, by being an indefatigable Reader, and having a very retentive Memory. And at the last Scene of his Life, when Death was most immediately presented to his View, he look'd upon it without Affrightment; striving to vindicate his Actions by taking off that Veil which false Reports had cast upon them, (especially the Imputation of his glorying and rejoycing in the Death of the late Earl of *Essex*, which had stuck so many Years in his Breast; and this new Miscarriage of *Kemish*'s, of a later Date, imputed to him.) For having prepared himself privately for Heaven, clearing his Accounts with GOD, before he came to the Scaffold; he publickly at last reckon'd with Man, being to quit all Scores, and so made an end. The Night before he dy'd, he sent the following Letter to his Wife, by which the Reader may see the Temper of his Spirit.

## Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Last Letter to his Wife.

*YOU shall receive my Dear Wife, my last Words in these last Lines: My Love, I send you, that you may keep when I am Dead; my Counsel, that you may Remember when I am no more: I would not with my Will present you Sorrows,* (*Dear* Bess,) *let them*

them go to the Grave with me, and be buried in the Duſt; and ſeeing that it is not the Will of GOD, that I ſhall ſee you any more; bear my Deſtruction patiently, and with an Heart like your Self. Firſt, I ſend you all the thanks which my Heart can conceive, or any words expreſs, for your many Travels and Cares for me; which though they have not taken effect as you wiſhed; yet my Debt to you is not the leaſt; but pay it I never ſhall in this World. Secondly, I beſeech you for the Love you bore me living, that you do not hide your ſelf many days, but by your Travels ſeek to help the miſerable Fortune, and the Right of your poor Child: Your mourning cannot avail me that am but Duſt. Thirdly, you ſhall underſtand, that my Lands were conveyed (bona fide) to my Child; the Writings were drawn at Midſomer was Twelve Months, as divers can witneſs; and I truſt, my Blood will quench their Malice who deſire my Slaughter; and that they will not ſeek alſo to kill you and yours with extream Poverty: To what Friend to direct you, I know not; for all mine have left me in the true time of Trial; moſt ſorry am I, that being thus ſurpriſed by Death, I can leave you no better Eſtate; GOD hath prevented all my Determinations. That Great GOD, which worketh All in All; and if you can live free from want, care for no more; for the reſt is but Vanity; Love GOD, and begin betimes; in him, you ſhall find True, Everlaſting, and Endleſs Comfort: When you have travelled and wearied your ſelf with all ſorts of worldly Cogitations, you ſhall ſit down by ſorrow in the End. Teach my Son alſo to ſerve and fear GOD whilſt he is young, that the fear of GOD may grow up in him. Then will GOD be an Husband to you, and a Father to him, and a Husband and a Father that can never be taken from you. Bale oweth me 1000 l. and Arian 600 l. In Jerſey alſo I have much owing me. Dear Wife, I beſeech you for my Souls ſake, Pay all Poor Men when I am Dead, no doubt you ſhall be much ſought unto, for the World thinks I was very Rich. Have a care of the fair pretences of Men, for no greater Miſery can befall you in this Life, than to become a prey unto the World, and after to be deſpiſed. I ſpeak (GOD knows) not to diſſwade you from Mariage, for it will be beſt for you both in reſpect of GOD and the World. As for me, I am no more Yours, nor you Mine; Death hath cut us in ſunder, and GOD hath divided me from the World, and you from me. Remember your poor Child, for his Fathers ſake, who loved you in his happieſt Eſtate. I ſued for my Life; But (GOD knows) it was for you and yours, that I deſired it. For know it, (my Dear Wife) your Son is the Child of a True Man, who (in his own reſpect) deſpiſeth Death, and his miſhapen and ugly Fortunes. I cannot write much, GOD knowes how hardly I ſteal this time when all ſleep. And it is alſo time to ſeparate my thoughts from the World. Beg my Dead Body, which living was denied you; and either lay it in Sherbourn, or in Exeter Church, by my Father and Mother: I can ſay no more, Time and Death call me away. The Everlaſting GOD, Powerful, Infinite, and Inſcrutable, GOD Almighty, who is Goodneſs it ſelf; the True Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me, and forgive

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*my Prosecutors and false Accusers, and send us to meet in His Glorious Kingdom. My Dear Wife farewel. Bless my Boy, pray for me, and let my True* GOD *hold you both in his Arms.*

## Walter Raleigh.

That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was beheaded upon the Judgment pass'd upon him at *Winchester*, has been sufficiently declar'd already: But if the Reader will know the True and Secret Cause of his Death, the following Passage will plainly inform him; which I have transcribed out of a Letter written by a great Minister of State to Mr. *Cottington*, his Majesty's Agent then in *Spain*. It seems there had been some Sulpicions, that the *Spaniards* were not sincere in the Business of the Match; this Letter therefore is to instruct *Cottington* how to carry himself, so as to press the Business forward. It begins thus:

" Good Mr. *Cottington*, *I doubt not but before these come to* " *your Hands, you will have heard of the Receipt of all your former* " *Letters: These are in Answer of your last, of the Eighth of* " October, *wherein you advertise of the Arrival of the* Conde " Gundomar *at* Lerma, *and of his Entertainment by that Duke:* " *It seemeth unto us here in* England, *that he hath gone but very* " *slowly in his Journey; and divers (seeing how long time he hath* " *spent in the way) do make Conjecture that it proceedeth from the* " *small Affection that he judgeth to be there, towards the effecting* " *of the main Business; saying*, If the Ambassador were assured " that his Master did so really desire the speedy effecting " thereof, as is pretended, he would have made more Haste " Homeward; and that it hath not been sincerely intended, " but meerly used by that State, as an Amuzement to entertain and busie his Majesty withal, and for the gaining of " Time for their own Ends: *And this is muttered here by very* " *many. But I hope we shall e're long receive such an Account from* " *thence, of their Proceedings, as will give sufficient Satisfaction.* " *For my own part, I must confess, I am not yet well perswaded of* " *their Intentions: For, if there be either Honour, Religion, or* " *Moral Honesty in them, the Protestations and Professions which I* " *have so often heard them make, and you likewise, daily advertise* " *hither, are sufficient to perswade a Man that will not judge* " *them worse than Infidels, to expect sincere Dealing in the Business:* " *And whensoever I shall perceive that they go about to do otherways, I must confess my self to have been deceiv'd, as I shall* " *ever be on the like Terms, where I deal with the utmost Care;* " *but withal, I shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious* " *People of the World; and the more, for that His Majesty hath* " *given them so many Testimonies of his sincere Intentions towards* " *them, which he daily continueth*; as now of late, by the causing Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be put to Death, chiefly for the

living

" giving them Satisfaction; *whereof His Majesty commanded m*
" *to advertise you*; *and concerning whom*, *you shall by the next re-*
" *ceive a Declaration*, *shewing the Motives which induced His*
" *Majesty to recall his Mercy*, *through which he had lived this many*
" *Years a condemn'd Man. In the mean time*, *I think it fit*, *that*
" *to the Duke of* Lerma, *the Confessor*, *and the Secretary of State*,
" *you do represent His Majesty's real manner of Proceedings with*
" *that King and State*; *and how* for the advancing of the great
" Business, *he hath Endeavour'd to satisfie them in all things*;
" *letting them see how in many Actions of late*, *of that nature*, *his*
" *Majesty hath strained upon the Affections of his People*; *and E-*
" *specially in this last*, *concerning Sir* Walter Raleigh, *who died*
" *with a great deal of Courage and Constancy*; *and at his Death*,
" *moved the common sort of People to much remorse*, *who all attribu-*
" *ted his Death to the desire His Majesty had to satisfy* Spain. *Fur-*
" *ther*, *you may let 'em know how able a Man Sir* Walter Raleigh
" *was*, *if he should have been pleased to imploy him*; yet to give
" them content, he hath not spared him; *when by preserving*
" *him he might have given great Satisfaction to His Subjects*, *and*
" *had at Command upon all occasions as useful a Man as served any*
" *Prince in Christendom.*

This Letter to *Cottington* sets *Raleigh*'s Death in a true Light; and shews at the same time that they were not ignorant of his Worth and Abilities; which the Court of *Spain* must also have been equally sensible of; or otherwise they would never have thought his Death such a piece of Service to 'em; as to have been urg'd by *Cottington* a Motive for *the Advancing of the great Business*. Which great Business was the making a Match between the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and Prince *Charles*; which yet never came to any thing, as shall be shewn hereafter.

Having done with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I shall now look back, and take a View of some of King *James* his Favourites; and of these, Mr. *Robert Carr* was one of the most Eminent, both for his Rise and Fall, the first as Undeserved, as the last was Just.

This Mr. *Carr* was a Man of mean Parentage, inhabiting in a Village near *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, and there through the Favour of Friends, was perferred to be one of his Majesty's Pages; for he kept Twelve so long as he was in *Scotland*, according to the Custom of the *French*: Afterwards, at his coming into *England*, the Council thought it much more honourable, to have so many Foot-men to run with his Majesty, as Queen *Elizabeth* had before him. Whereupon these Youths had Cloaths put to their Backs, according to their Places, and Fifty Pound a piece put in their Purses, and so were dismissed the Court. This Youth amongst the rest, having thus lost his Fortunes, to repair them again, makes haste into *France*, and there continued till he had spent all his Money. So that now being bare, in a strange Countrey, with-

without Friends, or hopes to obtain his Expectations, returns back for *England*, bringing nothing with him but a few *French* Fashions, and the Language. In this Condition, by the help of some of his Countrey-men and old Acquaintance, he was preferr'd to be a Page to my Lord *Hayes*, a *Scotch-man*, and a Favourite of the Kings. Not long after, his Lord (amongst many other) was appointed to perform a Tilting; who bearing an Affection for *Carr*, as being not only his Country-Man, but one of a bold Disposition, and a very smooth-fac'd handsom young Man, having a Courtly presence, he prefers him to carry his Device to the King, according to the Customs used in those Pastimes: But as he was going to alight from his Horse, to perform his Office, his Horse starts Back, throws him down, and breaks his Leg. This Accident being no less strange than sudden, caused the King to demand who it was? And being told his Name was *Carr*, and remembring that he had such a Page, he caus'd him to be had into the the Court, and taken particular Care of; and the Triumph was no sooner ended, but the King went instantly to Visit him; and by his daily visiting him, mourning over him; and taking all the Care imaginable for his speedy Recovery, the Day-break of his Glory began to appear, and every Courtier now concluded him actually a Favourite. Which was no sooner discern'd, but the great Men flock'd to see him, and to offer to his Shrine in such abundance, that the King was forc'd to lay a Restraint, lest it might retard his Recovery, by spending his Spirits; to facilitate the Cure, care was taken for a Choice Diet for himself and Chyrurgions, with his Attendants; and he was no sooner recovered but a Proclaimed Favourite: And no Suit, no Grant, no Petition, no Letter, but Mr. *Carr* must have a hand in it: So that great Rewards are bestow'd upon him by Suitors, and large Sums of Money by his Majesty; by which means his Wealth increas'd with his Favour, and with both, Honour: For he was not only Knighted, but made Gentleman of the Bedchamber.

About this time *Cecil* fell into a dangerous Sickness, and through the Extremity of the Malady dies; not without suspicion of Poyson; others say of a secret Disease; some naturally; and others, not without the Privity of our New Favourite Sir *Robert Carr*; for which they assign this Reason: The King having given Sir *Robert Carr* 20000 *l.* to be paid by the Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert* was denied it; upon which denial there grew some difference between 'em: The King being made privy to it after this manner: *Salisbury* having told out 5000 *l.* laid it in a passage in the Gallery in several heaps; and then invites the King to Breakfast, bringing him through the Gallery; The King demands whose that Money was? Answer was made by the Lord Treasurer, That it was the fourth part of that which his Majesty had given Sir *Robert Carr*: The King admiring at so great a Sum as that fourth part was, re-

ply'd, *By my Saul, but if it be so much, a fourth part shall e'en serve his turn, and pray let him have no more; for this is a great Gift.* Sir *Robert* being thus cross'd in his Expectations, cou'd never afterwards abide the Treasurer; from whence the aforesaid suspicion arose.

Upon *Cecil*'s Death, one Mr. *Overbury* (sometimes a Student of the Law in the middle Temple) was newly arriv'd out of *France*, and was Entertain'd into the favour of Sir *Robert Carr*, whether this proceeded from any Love towards him, or to the intent to make use of him, is uncertain; but certain it is he put him in trust with his most secret Employment, in which he behav'd himself honestly and discreetly; and by his prudent managment purchas'd the good Affection and Favour of Sir *Robert* to a very great degree; and not only of Sir *Robert*, but of others also. This Favour procures, Profit, and Profit Honour; and Honour gave large Employments, and in him better Execution. So that *Overbury* was Knighted: Who still went on to perform *Carr*'s Expectations, and accomplish'd more than less according to his Wishes. And taking notice of his diligence, he gives him an Extraordinary Countenance, uniting him into Friendship with himself, to shew to all the World the Bond was indissoluble: Neither cou'd there be more Friendship used, since there was nothing so secret, nor any matter so private, but *Carr* imparted it to *Overbury*.

And now *Suffolk* and *Northampton* made their Courts to this New Favourite; and finding *Overbury* was his chief Friend, his *Pythias* and one without whose Councel and Advice he wou'd do nothing, they both strove who should Engross him, and make him their Monopoly; each presenting, profering, and accumulating Favours upon *Overbury*'s Kindred; the Father made a Judge in *Wales*, and himself offer'd an Office: But *Overbury*, who was naturally of an insolent Spirit, which was elevated by being so intimate with a Favourite, and wholly having ingrossed that Commodity which could not be retailed but by him and his Favour; with a kind of Scorn neglected their Friendship, yet made use of both. And as *Carr*'s Honours encreas'd, so did *Overbury*'s Pride. But *Northampton* finding himself neglected by so mean a Fellow, cast about another way; and following *Balaam*'s Counsel, by sending a *Midianitish* Woman to him, which was a Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*'s, married to the Earl of *Essex*, the Train took, and their first Private Meetings were at one *Coppinger*'s House, himself being Bawd to their Lust. This Privacy in their stol'n Pleasures, made *Coppinger* a Friend to *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, tho' but a Servant to Viscount *Rochester*; for so now was *Carr* dignify'd: And now had they link'd him so close, as there was no breaking from them. *Overbury* was the *John Baptist* that reproved *Rochester* for the Sin of using the Countess, and abusing the young Earl of *Essex*; for which he would call her Strumpet, her Mother and Brother Bawds, and

used

uſed them with ſo much Scorn, as made *Rocheſter* very uneaſie, and to withdraw his Affection from *Overbury*. And yet to ſatisfie *Overbury*, and blot out the Name of Sin, his Love led him into a more deſperate way, by taking a Reſolution to marry her. But Sir *Thomas* oppos'd this more loudly than the other, as the ready way to ruine him; and ſhew'd himſelf ſo warm in the Matter, as betray'd more Zeal than Diſcretion. For had he been more moderate in his Reproofs, and not have ſo openly reproach'd 'em, he might have perhaps preſerv'd both his own Life, and their Honours and Fortunes. Whereas, by reaſon of his inſolent Behaviour towards them, the Devil put them upon taking Counſel to put him to Death.

To effect this, they firſt plot to have him ſent a Liedger Ambaſſador into *France*; which by obeying, they ſhould be rid of ſo great an Eye-ſore: by diſobeying, he incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of his Prince; a Contempt he cou'd not expect leſs than Impriſonment for, and by that means be ſequeſter'd from his Friends: And thus far undoubtedly the Earl of *Somerſet* (for ſo he was now created) was conſenting: This Stratagem took; for *Overbury* was nominated by the Council as a fit Man to be ſent Ambaſſador into the *Low-Countries*, to the Arch-Duke. *Overbury* being acquainted herewith, and knowing the Earl of *Northampton* to be his Enemy, and growing jealous of loſing the Favour of his Maſter *Somerſet*, by whom he expected a readier way to Preferment, he ſtands in doubt whether he ſhould accept of this Employment, or no; at laſt conſults *Somerſet* about it, who finding him at an uncertainty, it utterly diſſwades him from undertaking it: *For* (ſaid he) *your Preferment, and your Expectations lie not among Foreign Nations; you are now in Credit at Home, and have already made Trial of the Dangers of Travel: Why then ſhould you hazard all upon Uncertainties, being in Poſſeſſion* (*as a Man might ſay*) *of all that you may expect by theſe Means already?* Theſe Words, together with the Truſt he put in the Earl, confirm'd him in his Opinion of refuſing the offer'd Employment: But yet told the Earl, it was no ſmall thing to oppoſe the Determination of the Council, and to contradict the King's Employment; for in either of theſe, he muſt expect the Diſpleaſure of both. But *Somerſet* with great Proteſtations lets him know, That he had ſo much Experience of his Worth, and had found him ſo faithful and diligent in his Employment, that he could as well miſs his right hand, as miſs him; and that in caſe any ſuch danger ſhould happen to him; yet nevertheleſs, if either his Word, Letter, Credit, or Favour, cou'd either mittigate releaſe, or relieve him, it ſhould not be wanting. Sir *Thomas* being led on with theſe hopes, abſolutely reſolv'd not to go on the Ambaſſage to which he was appointed; and *Somerſet*, to Confirm him in his Reſolution, ſhews him much more favour than he had done of late.

The time being come that Sir *Thomas* ſhould give in his Anſwer what he ſhould do, with reſpect to the Ambaſſage: He anſwer'd that he acknowledg'd himſelf much bound to his Majeſty for many Favours that he had beſtowed upon him; as to prefer him to ſo great an Honour; yet knowing himſelf to be unworthy of ſuch a Place, unexperienc'd how to Execute it, and beſides tied to many Domeſtick Buſineſes, he deſired to be Excuſed. This ſeeming ſtrange and harſh, that Sir *Thomas* ſhould withſtand his own Advancement, and by this means to incur the Diſpleaſure of the King, and loſe his Expectations; made his Friends wonder, and ſtand as men amaz'd: The iſſue of which was, That he was Committed to the Tower for his Contempt, but not to be kept Cloſe Priſoner; but my Lord *Northampon* and *Somerſet* being both of the Privy Council, and in great Favour and Court, ſent to the Lieutenant that he ſhould keep him Cloſe Priſoner. And ſoon after received Verbal Order from them by Sir *Thomas Monſon*, that he ſhould not ſuffer any Letters, Tokens, or other things to be delivered to him.

Thus far their Deſign went on Well; Sir *Thomas Overbury* is in the Tower, a Cloſe Priſoner; Sir *Jervis Yelvis* the Lieutenant of the Tower, is *Northampton*'s and *Somerſet*'s Creature; and one whom they can Command in any thing; but there muſt be a truſty Perſon to wait upon *Overbury* in the Tower; and it being deſigned by the Counteſs, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Somerſet*, to have him Poyſoned, a proper Perſon to mix the Poyſon, that ſo it may not be diſcovered, muſt be found out; and Mrs. *Turner*, the Counteſſes great Agent in this matter, names one *Weſton*, who had been ſomtimes Servant to Dr. *Turner*, and thereby learned ſome Experience; *Weſton* was therefore ſent for, and for two hundred pounds undertakes it. The next thing is to get *Weſton* into *Overbury*'s Service to wait on him in the Tower. To effect this, Mrs. *Turner*, by the inſtigation of the Counteſs, becomes a great Suiter to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, to have his Letter to prefer *Weſton* to Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Service; he hearing of the Name of the Counteſs, and underſtanding of the great Affection between her and *Somerſet*, condeſcended, and ſent him with his Letter to Sir *Jervis* in the Tower; who ſhewed it to Sir *Thomas Overbury*; who being willing to do any thing that might Endear him in *Somerſet*'s Favour, with the more readineſs Entertains him; and at the ſame time harbours in his Boſom his own Deſtruction.

There wants now but one thing more, and that is, a fit and Skilful Man to mix the Poyſon; for tho' *Weſton* is the Man to adminiſter it, yet he had not Skill enough to mix it: For this purpoſe therefore they Employ one *Franklin*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, thought to be a Witch, but very dextrous at the mixing of Poyſons, the ſtrength whereof he cou'd either mittigate or increaſe, ſo that ſometimes the Poyſon ſhou'd be a Month before it wou'd work: This was a fitting Tool for ſuch

 Deſign. All

All things being thus got ready, it was now time to proceed: And the Counteſs, to make a Beginning, gets a Glaſs of Blew Water, and ſends it by *Weſton*'s Son to his Father in the Tower, and order'd him to give it according to his Directions: *Weſton* believing that the Lieutenant, Sir *Jervis Telvis*, was made acquainted with the whole matter, ask'd him, If he ſhou'd do it now? *Telvis* asked him, What? *Weſton* at that, being at a ſtand, Sir *Jervis* perceiv'd it, and preſently ſaid, No, not yet: For he did believe by *Weſton*'s Words, there was ſomething to be done, more than he yet knew; he therefore inſtantly haſted away, into his Study, and there ſent for *Weſton* to come to him, Examining him about the meaning of that Queſtion which he ask'd him; and by fair means and threatning togethe̊r, got out the Truth: Sir *Jervis* then laid before *Weſton* the horridneſs of the Fact, the Torments of Hell, and the ſmall Aſſurance he had of Enjoying any either Reward or Favour, after the Fact was done; but that it muſt follow ſo many Perſonages of Honour would never Cabinet ſuch a Secret in his Breſt, that might ruine them. And at laſt made him ſo ſenſible of his Danger in this Life, but more of his Torments in the other, that *Weſton* falling on his Knees, ſaid, *O Lord, how good and gracious art thou, and thy mercy is above all thy works! For this Day is Salvation come to my Soul*; *and I would not for all the World have had ſuch a Sin upon me*: Giving the Lieutenant humble thanks, that had been the Inſtrument of ſaving his Soul, by putting him off from ſo foul Intentions. The Lieutenant having thus, (as he ſuppoſed) renewed Grace in him, and made him, as he thought, a New Man, ſaid, Thou and I have a dangerous part to act; yet be honeſt and true to me, and I doubt not but that we ſhall perform it well, both before GOD and the World; which *Weſton* faithfully promiſed him, and for a long time as faithfully performed with him; the Lieutenant willed him to bring all ſuch things as were ſent him to give *Overbury*, unto him; which he accordingly did; and the Lieutenant always gave them to Cats and Dogs which he ever had by him, ready in his Study, for that purpoſe: Some died preſently, ſome lay lingering, a longer time; all which, with the Jellies and Tarts ſent to *Overbury*, he caſt into his Privy, they diſtaining the very Diſhes.

This continued long, the Earl ever now and then ſending to viſit *Overbury*, aſſuring him he did not forget his Releaſe, which ſhould not be long deferred; and perhaps he really meant what he ſaid, tho' in another ſenſe than what he wou'd have believ'd. But all the Poyſons that had been ſent, not yet working the deſired Effect; the Counteſs began to ſuſpect that *Weſton* did not deal honeſtly with her, tho' he did with *Overbury*; and therefore ſends for him, calling him Treacherous Villain; for had he given thoſe things that were ſent, he had not been

now alive; and vowed she wou'd be revenged on him: Upon the very fear whereof, he afterwards gave those very Poysons sent, without acquainting the Lieutenant: Yet for all this Schooling of *VVeston*, and his Assurance given of his future Fidelity, the Countess would not trust him single any more; but put that other Villian *Franklin*, before-mentioned, to go along with him. These two Villians did now so ply Sir *Thomas* with Poyson, that his Salt, Sauce, Meat, Drink, and whatsoever he eat, was mingled with Poyson; by means whereof he began to grow extream sickly, (having been heretofore accustomed to very good health) insomuch that he cou'd scarce stand or go; what with the pain of his Body, and the heat: Yet nevertheless being a strong Man, he stood it out along time; till at length he began to grow jealous of his Man *VVeston*, for his Malady increased or diminished as he pleas'd; and therefore desir'd some Physick: And at last, not without much Importunity, and a gratuity besides, one *Paul de la Bell* an Apothecary, by the Advice of Dr. *Mervin*, brought a Bath to cool his Body; with Advice to be spare of his Diet; for that he suspected that his Meat was not wholesome: And this did him much good, and preserved his Life longer than was expected; insomuch that they doubted some Fallacy or Fraud still; and therefore new Letters were sent the Lieutenant to have a special care that none but such as they appointed, might be suffered to see or speak with him.

These Suspicions of *Somerset* and the Countess caused these two Villains, *Franklin* and *VVeston*, to come into *Overburies* Chamber, where they found him in very great Torment, there being a strong Contention between the strength of Nature and the working of the Poyson; and it being very like Nature had gotten the better in that Contention, by the thrusting out of Boils, Botches, and Blains; and they fearing it might come to Light, upon the Judgment of Physicians, that foul Play had been offered him: they consented together to Stifle him with the Bedcloaths, which accordingly was performed; and so they Ended his miserable Life; the Conspirators being assured by them, that he died by Poison; none thinking otherwise but these two Murtherers.

His cruel and Bloody Enemies that had thus taken away his Life, were not therewith contented, without Murthering his Reputation too; and therefore it was given out that Sir *Thomas* lived a loose kind of Life in the Tower, and not according to that Strictness that became a Prisoner, but being suffered to have too much Liberty, he ran into Excess of Lasciviousness, so that thereby he got the Pox, and thereof Died. This report went for Current amongst some, especially of the more ignorant sort; but those that narrowly search'd into the matter, found it far otherwise. For *De-la Bel*, the Apothecary before spoken of, having Relation to him,

him, a little before his Death, reported his Complexion was changed, his Body consumed away, and full of Yellow Blisters ugly to look upon. And it appeared by a Letter that the Earl of *Northampton* writ unto *Somerset* to pick Thanks, that there was found upon his Arm a Blister, and upon his Belly twelve Kernels raised, not like to break, each as broad as Threepence, or as big as a small Button, and one Issue upon his Back, whereupon was a Plaister, and from his Shoulders downwards of a dark tawney Colour, ugly to behold; and he stunk so intollerably as was not to be born withal; glad to be thrown in a loose Sheet into the Coffin, and buried without the knowledge or Privity of his Friends, upon the Tower-Hill.

Thus we see that good Men, as well as Bad, come oftentimes to miserable Ends; and those that are Vertuous do soonest suffer Disgrace and Contempt. Sir *Thomas Overbury* before he came to Court, was brought up in Gentleman-like Qualities; in his Youth at *Cambridge*, after in the Middle-Temple, and there instructed in those Qualities that became a Gentleman; by the Intreaty of the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, preferred to Court, where he found Favour Extraordinarily, yet hinder'd in his Expectation by some of his Enemies; and to shift off Discontents was forced to Travel; and therein spent not his Time as most do, to loss; furnish'd himself with things fitting a Statesman, by Experience in Foreign Governments, knowledge of the Languages, passages of Employments, External Courtship, and good Behaviour; things not common to every Man. Notwithstanding such was the Iniquity of the Times, that he was brought into Ignominy and Contempt, and all those good Qualities obscured by the Disgraceful Reproaches of a Dissolute Woman.

And now all, as they believed, was quiet, and in the depth of Security, and the Earl and Countess began to carry their Loves more openly and impudently; for now Sir *Thomas Overbury* cou'd give 'em no more disturbance; tho' the World began to talk very loudly and broadly of this adulterous Meeting; so that it must from that ground proceed to an adulterous Marriage; as well to the wronging a young Nobleman, as to the Dishonour and shame of themselves: *But they must needs go, whom the Devil drives.* Yet they knew not how handsomly to Effect this, but by making the King a Party in this Bawdy Business, which was no hard matter to Effect; for the Kings Eye began to wander after a New Favourite; for *Somerset* was so much taken up with the Countess, that the King began to have enough of him; and therefore for the Bringing this Couple to a Marriage, the Bishops must be Principal Actors, (for in what bad Action wou'd they be meerly Lookers on? ) And the Bishop of *Winchester*, an Excellent *Civillian*, and a very great Schollar, must be

the Principal; for which his Son got a Knighthood, and Title of Sir *Nullity Bilſon*, to Boot.

For it ſeems by a *Nullity* of the firſt Marriage, the Second was to take place. Many Meetings there were, of the Biſhops and the prime *Civillians*, in which there wanted no Bribes from the Lord and Lady, and their Friends, to have this *Nullity* brought to paſs; wherein the Diſcourſe would have better befitted the Mouths of Bawds and Ruffians, than of grave Divines; and among them Biſhop *Neal*, the Biſhop of *Rochester*, a Creature and Favourite to the Houſe of *Suffolk*, took up a Learned Diſcourſe in the Science of Bawdry, ſhewing how many degrees in that Science muſt produce a *Nullity*; wherein were ſo many beaſtly Expreſſions, as for Modeſty-ſake, I will not receite, being offenſive to my very Thoughts and Memory: *Ariſtotles* Problems was a very modeſt Diſcourſe, to his; and he appeared to be better ſtudied in that, than in Divinity: And to wind up his Learned Diſcourſe, concluded all thoſe met in this Lord and Lady.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, to his everlaſting Fame, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all the Proceedings, and proteſted againſt them; for which he ever after lived in diſgrace, Excluded from the Council-Table; and died in the Diſgrace of his King on Earth, tho' in Favour with the King of Heaven.

But before this Bawdy-Buſineſs was Compleated, and to Juſtifie Biſhop *Neal*'s Diſcourſe, that all things in the former Marriage conduc'd to a Nullity, a Search muſt be made, whether there had been a Penetration; and a Jury of grave Matrons were found fit for that purpoſe, who with their Spectacles ground to leſſen, and not to make the Letter larger; after their Inſpection they gave a Verdict that ſhe was *intacta Virgo*; which was thought very ſtrange; for the World took notice that her way was very near beaten ſo plain, as if *Regia Via*; and in truth was a Common way, before *Somerſet* did ever Travel it: Beſides, the World took notice that they two had long liv'd in Adultery. Yet had old *Kettle* a Trick for that alſo: For the Counteſs, for Modeſty-ſake, makes humble Suit to the Reverend Bawdy Biſhops, (who were alſo Plotters in this Stratagem) that ſhe might not appear bare-fac'd, for bluſhing; but deſired to be vailed, with a Taffaty over her Face; this was thought ſo reaſonable for a pretty Modeſt Lady, that the Reverend Fathers, and thoſe pur-blind-Ladies, which had forgoten Modeſty themſelves, could not think it worthy the denial: This point being gain'd, one Mrs. *Fines*, a near Kinſwoman to old *Kettle*, was dreſs'd up in the Counteſſes Cloaths, and who was at that time, (tho' reſembling the Counteſs in Stature) too young to be other than *Virgo intacta*; tho' within two years after, had the old Ladies made their Inſpection, the Orifice would

not

not have appear'd ſo ſmall, to have deliver'd ſuch a Verdict as they did; and a juſt one upon their View, tho' to ſome of their knowledge, it was not that Lady they were to give their Verdict upon. If any queſtion the truth of this Cunning Conveyance, I had it *verbatim* from the Knight, (a Gentleman otherwiſe of much honour) which uſher'd the Lady into the place of Inſpection; and has told it often to his Friends in mirth.

And the Nullity being pronounced, her Marriage with *Somerſet* was ſoon after ſolemniz'd; ſo that now they are authoriz'd by Law to commit Adultry: But the whole Family of *Suffolk*, as much as they were for this Marriage, paid dear afterwards, and had ſowr Sauce for that ſweet Meat of their great Son-in law. And even *Somerſet* himſelf was the moſt unfortunate Man living in that Marriage; for it was the *Devil of a Wife* that brought all his After-Unhappineſs upon him: She it was that put him upon *Overbury*'s Murder; of which *Overbury* himſelf (for they were married while he was living) was ſo certain, that he told the Meſſenger that brought him the News of *Somerſet*'s being married to the Counteſs, He had as good have told him that to morrow he muſt die; for he was ſure now not to live long: And from that time look'd upon himſelf as a loſt Man; and the Event ſhew'd he was in the right; at the ſame time lamenting the unhappineſs of the Earl of *Somerſet*, as well as of himſelf. And it is obſervable that in all the time of this mans Favour before this Marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State; or any baſe thing for his private gain. But whether this was from his own natural Diſpoſition, that curb'd him; or from the Awe he ſtood in of Prince *Henry*, who was then living, it is hard to determine: Becauſe after this Marriage, and the Prince's death, he did many ill things.

It was now two years ſince *Overbury*'s Death, and in this time, there began to appear the glimmering of a new Favourite; one Mr. *George Villers*, a younger Son by a ſecond Venter of an Ancient Knight in *Leiceſterſhire*; his Father of an Ancient Family, his Mother but of a mean, being but a Waiting Gentlewoman whom the old Man fell in Love with, and married, by whom he had three Sons, all raiſed to Nobility, by reaſon of their Brother Favourite. This Gentleman was come alſo but newly from Travel, and did believe it a great Fortune to marry a Daughter of Sir *Roger Aſton*'s; and indeed it was the height of his Ambition, and for that only End was a hanger on upon the Court; the Gentlewoman loved him ſo well, as could all his Friends have made her, for her great Fortune, but an hundred Marks for her Joynture, ſhe had married him preſently, in deſpite of all her Friends; and no queſtion would have had him without any Joynture at all. But before the cloſing up

of

of this Match, the King caſt a glancing Eye towards him; which was ſoon ſeen by ſuch as obſerv'd their Princes Humour; and then the Match was laid aſide; ſome aſſuring him a greater Fortune was coming to him: Then one gave him his place of Cup-bearer, that he might be in the Kings Eye; another ſent to his Mercer and Taylor, to put good Cloaths on him; a third to his Sempſtreſs, for Curious Linnen; and all as Incomes to obtain Offices upon his Future Riſe: Others take upon them to be his Bravo's, to undertake his Quarrels, upon Affronts put upon him by *Somerſet*'s Faction: So that all hands help'd to the piecing up this New Favourite.

But the bringing in of this New Favourite, made *Somerſet* fret; and yet carried himſelf more proudly; as ſcorning that any ſhou'd pretend to more Intereſt in the King than himſelf. But finding *Villers* Countenanc'd by the King, he had ſome fore-boding thoughts of his own Ruine. And the Pulſe of his Conſcience being always beating at Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Door, *Somerſet* thought he had beſt to do ſomething to preſerve himſelf in time. And therefore finding himſelf ſhaking, (tho' there was nothing yet laid to his Charge but the Embezzeling ſome of the Crown Jewels) he throws himſelf at the Kings Feet, acknowledging the great Truſt His Majeſty had repoſed in him, and the weight of Buſineſs lying on him, might cauſe him to fall into ſome Miſcarriages, thro' Youth and Ignorance; he therefore humbly beſought His Majeſty to grant him a general Pardon for what was paſt; that he might not be Expoſed to the Malice of thoſe that wou'd wreſt all his Actions to the worſt meaning.

The King, that was not willing wholly to diſcard *Somerſet*, and ſo Expoſe himſelf to the Cenſure of being thought Changeable, gave order for the drawing up a general Pardon, wherein the King was made to declare, *That of his own Motion and ſpecial Favour, he did Pardon all, and all manner of Treaſons, Miſpriſons of Treaſons, Murders, Felonies and Outrages whatſoever, which by the Earl of* Somerſet *had been Committed, or hereafter ſhould be Committed.* And this the King ſigned, and ſent to the Great Seal. But the Queen having notice of it, uſed her Power with the Lord Chancellor, and gave a ſtop to the Seal till the Kings Coming to Town, (who was then in his Progreſs in the Weſt: And in the mean time, the Poyſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury* broke out: For the Apothecaries Boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the Gliſter, fell ſick at *Fluſhing*, and revealed the whole matter; which Sir *Ralph Wynwood* by his Correſpondents had a full Relation of; which Correſpondent was *Thrumbal* the Agent at *Bruſſels*: And it is ſaid that he diſcovered not the Buſineſs to *Winwood*, but only wrot to him that he had Buſineſs of Conſequence to diſcover, but would not ſend it, therefore deſired Licenſe to come over; the

King

King would not yield to his Return, but only willed him to ſend an Expreſs; which *Thrumbal* utterly refuſed, and I think very wiſely, not letting any thing appear under his hand, leſt the Boy ſhould die, or run away; and then himſelf be made the Author of that, which the Courteſie of another muſt have juſtified.

The King being of a longing diſpoſition, rather than not know, admitted *Thrumbal* to Return: And now had they good Teſtimony by the Apothecary, who revealed *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Franklin*, to be Principal Agents: But this being near the time of Progreſs, was not ſtirred till about *Michaelmas*; and had hardly been ſtirr'd in at all, had not there been ſuch a Claſhing between the Kings Riſing, and his Declining Favourite; which the King by all means deſir'd to reconcile; and therefore Employ'd Sir *Humphry May*, with ſome Inſtructions to *Somerſet*, as if it came from himſelf; and *Villers* had Orders preſently after Sir *Humphry May*'s Return, to preſent himſelf and Service to *Somerſet*. Sir *Humphry* accordingly goes to *Somerſet*, and tells him, My Lord, Sir *George Villers* will come to you to offer his Service, and deſire to be your Creature; and therefore refuſe him not; Embrace him, and your Lordſhip ſhall ſtill ſtand a great Man, tho' not the ſole Favourite: *Somerſet* ſeeming averſe to it, Sir *Humphry* told him in plain terms, that he was ſent by the King to adviſe it; and that *Villers* wou'd come to him, to caſt himſelf into his Protection, and to take his Riſe under the ſhadow of his Wings. Sir *Humphry May* was not parted from my Lord half an hour, but in comes Sir *George Villers*, and uſed theſe very words, *My Lord, I deſire to be your Servant, and your Creature, and ſhall deſire to take my Court-Preferment under your Favour; and your Lordſhip ſhall find me as faithful a Servant to you, as ever ſerv'd you.* To which *Somerſet* return'd this quick and ſhort Anſwer, *I will have none of your Service, and you ſhall have none of my Favour: I will, if I can, break your Neck, and of that be confident.* This was certainly a very harſh Complement, aud had not *Somerſet* been infatuated, he would never have given it: for after that time, breaking each others Neck was their Aim. For it is verily believed, had *Somerſet* Comply'd with *Villers*, *Overbury*'s Death had ſtill lain rak'd up in his own Aſhes. But there was an over-ruling hand of Providence in it, that would not ſuffer Murder to go unpuniſh'd.

The King, in order to begin his Winter Journey, went from *White-Hall* to *Theobalds*, and ſo to *Royſton*: But before he went to *Royſton*, he ſent for all the Judges, and kneeling down in the midſt of them, he uſed theſe Words.

*My Lords the Judges, It is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in Examination a Buſineſs of Poyſoning: Lord, in what a muſt miſerable Condition ſhall this Kingdom be! (the only famous Nation for Hoſpitality in the World) if our Table*

*ſhall*

*shall become such a Snare, as none could eat without danger of Life; and that* Italian *Custom should be introduced amongst us! Therefore my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment, that you Examine it strictly, without Favour, Affection, or Partiality: And if you shall spare any guilty of this Crime, GOD's Curse light on you and your Posterity; and if I spare any that are found guilty, GOD's Curse light on me and my Posterity for Ever.* But how the King perform'd his Word, I shall shew anon: And how severely this dire Imprecation fell upon his Posterity, let the Fate of both the *Charles*'s, his Daughter *Elizabeth*, and his Grandson *James* the Second, be a Witness.

The King having given this Charge, leaves *London* for a time, and was accompanied with *Somerset* to *Royston*, where he had no sooner brought him, but *Somerset* took his leave of him, little imagining what a Snake there lay in the Grass. Nor must I forget, on this Occasion, to let my Reader know how perfect the King was in the Art of Dissimulation; or, (as he us'd to call it) *King-Craft*; The Earl of *Somerset* never parted from him before with more seeming (Excess of) Affection than at this time, when he knew *Somerset* should never see him more: So that scarce any that had seen their parting, and was not well acquainted with the Kings Dissembling Tricks, but wou'd have thought he was rather in his growing Favour, than declining Fortune. For when the Earl kissed his hand, the King hung about his Neck, Slabbering his Cheeks with Kisses; saying, *For GOD's sake, when shall I see thee again? O my Soul, I shall neither Eat nor Sleep, till I see thee come again.* The Earl told him on *Monday*, (this being *Friday*) *For GOD's sake, let me*, said the King: *Shall I? Shall I?* Then lolled about his Neck: Then, *For GOD's sake, give thy Lady this Kiss for me*; said the King: Carressing him in the same manner at the Stairs Foot: And yet for all this, the Earl was scarce got into his Coach, when the King said with a Smile, *Now the Deel go with thee, I shall never see thy Face more.* I will now appeal to my Reader, whether his *Motto* of, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, was not as well perform'd at this parting, as his *Beati Pacifici*, in the whole Course of his Life: And yet his love to the Latter, made him be beaten at his own Weapon, in the Former, by all Princes and States that had to do with him.

Before *Somerset* came to *London*: his Countess was apprehended; and at his Arrival, himself; and the King being that Night at Supper, said to Sir *Thomas Monson*, *My Lord Chief Justice hath sent for you*, Sir *Thomas* asked the King *when he should wait on him again?* The King replied, *You may come when you can.*

And here I cannot omit one Story which was a kind of presage to Sir *Thomas Monson* of what should befal him: Sir

*Thomas*

*Thomas* was the Kings Maſter Faulconer; and ſuch an Artiſt at it, perhaps no Prince in Chriſtendom cou'd boaſt of the like: For what Flights other Princes had, he would Excel them for his Maſter; in which one was the Kite: The *French* King ſent over his Faulconers to ſhew that Sport, his Maſter Faulconer lay long here, but could not kill one Kite, our Kites, it ſeems being more magnanimous than thoſe of the *French*: Sir *Thomas Monſon* deſir'd to have that Flight in all Exquiſiteneſs; and to that End was at 1000 *l.* Charge in Goſ-Faulcons for that flight; and yet in all that Charge he never had but one Caſt wou'd perform it; and thoſe had kill'd Nine Kites, and never miſs'd one. The Earl of *Pembrook*, with all the Lords deſir'd the King but to walk out of *Royſton* Town's End, to ſee that flight; which it was one of the moſt Stately Flights in the World, for the high *Mountee*: The King went forth, tho' unwillingly, and the Flight was ſhewed; but the Kite went ſuch a *Mountee*, as all the Field loſt ſight of Kite, and Hawk, and all; and neither Kite nor Hawk were never either ſeen or heard of more: Which made all the Court conjecture it a very ill Omen. But to proceed.

It appears by the Kings words to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, That the Plot was ſo well laid, that all the Perſons Concern'd were within the Toyl at one inſtant, not knowing of Each other: So that there were now in hold, the Earl, his Counteſs, Sir *Thomas Monſon*, Mrs. *Turner*, (a very lewd and infamous Woman) *Weſton* and *Franklin*; beſides ſome others of Leſſor Note; of which, one *Simon*, a Servant of Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s, who was Imploy'd in carrying Jellies and Tarts to the Tower, who upon his Examination, for his Pleaſant Anſwer was inſtantly diſmiſs'd: For the Judge ſaying to him, *Simon, You have had a hand in this Poyſoning Buſineſs! No, my good Lord*, ſaid he, *I had but one Finger in it, which almoſt coſt me my Life; and at the beſt coſt me all my hair and nails*: For the Truth was, *Simon* was ſomewhat liquoriſh, and finding the Syrup ſwim from the Top of a Tart which he carried, he did with his Finger Skim it off; and it was to be believed, that had he known what it had been, he would not have been his Taſter at ſo dear a rate.

And now ſtrick Juſtice Expects a Retribution, and requires Blood for Blood; *Weſton*, began the Tragedy; Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next, the Day of her Death being better than that of her Birth; for tho' ſhe had been a very wicked Woman, ſhe died very penitently, and ſhewed much Modeſty in the laſt Act of her Life.

Sir *Jervis Elvis*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third; who ſuffered on Tower-Hill: A Man much pitied, being drawn in by the Allurements of *Northampton*, to be a Spectator, rather than an Actor, in this Bloody Tragedy; but his Connivance coſt him his Life. And being a Ma full of Sorrow

for

for his Offence, he left two *Memento's* or Pillars behind him at his Death, for Watch-Towers to all that pass by, in this Bark of frail Mortality, to prevent Shipwarck. One was, *Not to Vow any thing to GOD, but to perform it.* The other was, *Not to take a pride in any Parts, tho' never so Excellent*: For the first, he said he was a great Gamester and loved it; and having lost one time much Money, he seriously and advisedly, between GOD and his own Soul, clapping his hand on his Breast, spake thus: (as it were to GOD) *If ever I play again, then let me be hanged. And breaking my Vow*, said he, *now GOD hath paid my Imprecation home.* The Second was, *He took a great delight in his Pen.* And that Pen (to use his own Words) which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead; and, like *Absalom's* Hair, hath hanged me: For there dropt a Word or two from my Pen in a Letter to the Earl of *Northampton*, which upon my *Salvation* I am not able to answer: At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for my Life, and protested mine Innocency; but when my own Pen came against me, I was not able to speak for my self, but stood as one amazed, or that had no Tongue. Such Damps doth Guiltiness cast upon the Spirit!

The next was *Franklin*, a Fellow as fordid in his Death, as pernicious in his Life; who at his Arraignment confessed that *Overbury* was smothered to Death, and not Poysoned to Death, tho' he had Poyson given him. And here *Cook* the Chief Justice was a little put to it how to come fairly off; for Mrs. *Turner* and *Weston* were already hang'd for killing *Overbury* with Poyson; but he being the very Quintessence of Law, presently inform'd the Jury, That if a Man be done to Death with Pistols, Poniards, Swords, Halter, Poyson, *&c.* So he be done to Death, the Indictment is good, if but indicted for any of those ways; but the good Lawyers of those Times were not of that Opinion; but did believe Mrs. *Turner* was as directly Murthered by my Lord *Cooks* Law, as *Overbury* was without any Law.

In the next place came the Countess to her Trial, at whose Arraignment, as also at Mrs. *Turners* before, were shewed many Pictures and Puppits, with some Exorcisms and Magick Spells, which made them appear more odious, as being known to Converse with Witches and Wizzards; and among the Trinkets *Foremans* Books were shewed; This *Foreman* was a Fellow that dwelt in *Lambeth*; who, tho' a very silly fellow, yet had Wit enough to cheat the Ladies and other Women, by pretending Skill in telling their Fortunes; as, whether they should Enjoy their Loves, or whether Maids should get Husbands, or Enjoy their Servants to themselves without Corrivals; as also whether they should bury their Husbands, and what second Husbands they should have: But before he would tell any thing, they must write their Names to his Alphabetical Book, with their own hand-Writing; by which Trick he

kept

kept them in awe, if they ſhould complain of his abuſing them, as indeed he did nothing elſe: Beſides, it was believ'd that ſome Aſſignations were appointed at his Houſe, and that the Art of Bawd was more beneficial to him than that of a Conjurer; and that he was a better Artiſt in the one, than the other. And that a man may judge of his Skill, it was affirmed by ſome that pretended to know very well, that he was himſelf a Cuckold, having a very pretty Wench to his Wife, which would ſay ſhe did it to try his Skill; but it fared with him as with Aſtrologers, who pretend to tell others, yet cannot foreſee their own deſtiny. This *Foremans* Book made a great deal of Mirth in the Court, for it is ſaid that in the firſt leaf my Lord *Cook* look'd over, he found his own Wife's Name.

The next that was Arraign'd for this Murther, was Sir *Thomas Monſon*; but it happened luckily for him, that the Night before he was to come to his Tryal, the King being at the Game of Maw, ſaid, *To morrow comes* Tom. Monſon *to his Tryal: Yes*, ſaid the Kings Card-holder (Sir *S. H.*) *where if he does not play his Maſters prize, Your Majeſty ſhall never truſt me.* Theſe words ſo run in the Kings Mind (for a guilty Conſcience is always afraid, and needs no Accuſer) that the next Game he ſaid he was ſleepy, and would play out Set the next night: The Gentleman departed to his Lodging, but was no ſooner gone, but the King ſent for him: I will not pretend to ſay what Communication paſs'd between 'em, but this is certain, that that Gentleman was the means of ſaving *Monſon's* Life; for the King ſent a Poſt preſently to *London*, to let the Lord Chief Juſtice know, he would ſee *Monſons* Examination and Confeſſion, to ſee if it were worthy to touch his Life for ſo ſmall a matter: *Monſon* was too wiſe to ſet any thing but fair in his Confeſſion; what he would have ſtabb'd with, ſhould have been (*Viva Voce*) at his Arraignment. But the King ſent word he ſaw nothing worthy of Death or Bonds in his Accuſation, or Examination: *Cook* was ſo mad, he cou'd not have his Will of *Monſon*, that he ſaid, *Take him away, we have other matters againſt him of a higher Nature*; at which words, out iſſued about a dozen Warders of the Tower, and took him from the Bar. and ſuch was *Cook's* Malice againſt him, that tho' it rain'd extreamly, and *Monſon* not well, he made him go a foot from Guild-Hall to the Tower, which almoſt coſt him his Life; where he lay a cloſe Cloſe Priſoner above three Months. I will end what I have to ſay of *Monſon*, with obſerving the Skill of the Lord *Loreskeine*, a *Scotchman*, who having long before ſeen Sir *Thomas Monſon*, told Sir *George Marſhal*, That he ſaw by his Phyſiognomy, that Sir *Thomas Monſon* wou'd Eſcape Hanging nearer than ever any Man did; which was true; for he was twice brought to his Tryal, put himſelf both times upon his Country, yet was only indicted, never tried; and yet had he harder meaſure than ever any man had, for he

loſt

loſt his Office, being but indicted, and not Condemned; which is without any Precedent.

But here I muſt not forget to inform the Reader, that at Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s Arraignment, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* in his Rhetorical Flouriſhes vented ſome Expreſſions, which, tho' a wiſe Man, had better have been kept in; for in the midſt of his Speech, falling as it were into a Rapture, he ſaid, *GOD knows what became of that ſweet Babe, Prince* Henry. *But I know ſomewhat:* Intimating (tho' not plainly) that Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s untimely remove, had ſomething in it, of Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the ſame Crime againſt Prince *Henry*; and as if the making away of Sir *Thomas Overbury* wou'd be an acceptable Service to the King. And it is not improbable, but that, in ſearching the Cabinets, he lighted on ſome Papers which ſpake plainly of that which had been always whiſpered; and which had he gone on in a gentle way, would have fallen in of themſelves, not to have been prevented: But it is to be fear'd that this ſlip of his Tongue prevented the full Diſcovery of that ſo foul a Murder: Which tho' he did not deſign; yet did he fly ſo high, that he was taken down by a Court-Lure; Sir *Thomas Monſon*'s Trial (as has been already ſhew'd) laid aſide, and Sir *Thomas* ſoon after ſet at Liberty, and the Lord Chief Juſtices Wings clip'd for ever after. And it was rumour'd that the King (heightned to ſo much Paſſion by this Eruption of Sir *Edward Cook*'s) went to the Council-Table, and kneeling down there, deſired GOD to lay a Curſe upon him and his Poſterity for ever, if he were conſenting to *Overbury*'s Death. But whether this were ſo or no, certain it is, that the ſudden ſtopping of *Monſon*'s Tryal, put ſtrange Imaginations into mens Heads; and thoſe ſeconded by Reports too high for private Diſcovery; their Operation only falling under the Common Notion. But the Lord Chief Juſtice, as I ſaid, was blamed by the more Judicious ſort, for flying out of his way; and that having enough to proſecute the Buſineſs, he would graſp after more, till he loſt all. For this Poyſoning Buſineſs was thought ſecond to none but the Gunpowder-Plot; that indeed would have blown up all at a Blow, and ſo may be call'd *a merciful Cruelty*; and this would have done the ſame by degrees, a lingering, but as ſure a way: For one by one might have been call'd out, till all Oppoſers were removed.

And now for the laſt Act, Enters *Somerſet* himſelf, on the Stage. Who being told, as the manner is, by the Lieutenant, that he muſt provide to go the next day to Tryal abſolutely refus'd it, and ſaid *they ſhou'd carry him in his Bed; that the King had aſſur'd him that he ſhould not come to any Tryal; neither Durſt the King to bring him to a Tryal,* This was in a high ſtrain indeed, and in a Language not well underſtood by *George Moore* Lieutenant in *Elways* room; ſo that it made *Moore* quiver and

and ſhake; and tho'he was counted a wiſe Man, yet he was near at his Wits End.

Away goes *Moore* to *Greenwich*, (tho' it was then Twelve a Clock at Night) and bouncing at the Back-Stairs, almoſt like one mad, *Jo. Loveſton*, one of the Grooms, riſes out of his Bed, and enquires the reaſon of that Noiſe at ſo late a Seaſon: *Moore* tells him he muſt ſpeak with the King: *Loveſton* replies he is quiet; which in the *Scots* Dialect, is faſt aſleep: *Moore* told him he muſt awake him; which he does, and is called in; and the Chamber being left to the King and *Moore*; he tells the King thoſe Paſſages, and deſires to be directed by him; for he was gone beyond his own reaſon, to hear ſuch bold and undutiful Expreſſions from a faulty Subject, againſt a juſt Soveraign. The King falls into a great Paſſion of Tears: *On my Soul, Moore*, ſaid the King, *I wot not what to do; thou art a wiſe Man, help me in this great ſtrait, and thou ſhalt find thou do'ſt it for a thankful Maſter*; With other ſad Expreſſions. *Moore* leaves the King in that paſſion; but aſſur'd him he wou'd do the utmoſt that he cou'd to ſerve his Majeſty.

Sir *George Moore* returns to *Somerſet* about three the next Morning (which was the Day he was to come to his Tryal) Enters his Chamber, and tells him he had been with the King, and found him a moſt affectionate Maſter to him, and full of Grace in his Intentions towards him. But, ſaid he, to Satisfie Juſtice, you muſt appear, altho' return inſtantly again, without any further proceeding; only you ſhall know your Enemies, and their Malice, though they ſhall have no Power over you. By this means *Moore* allay'd *Somerſets* Fury, and got him quietly about Eight in the Morning to the Hall; yet fear'd his former bold Language might revert again; and being brought by this Trick into the Toyle, might have more enraged him to fly out into ſome ſtrange Diſcovery; which to prevent, he plac'd two Servants on each ſide of him, with a Cloak on their Arms; giving them a peremptory Order, that if *Somerſet* did any way fly out on the King, they ſhould inſtantly hood-wink him with that Cloak, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; for which he would ſecure them from any Danger, and they ſhould not want alſo a bountiful Reward: But the Earl finding himſelf over-reach'd, recollected a better Temper, and went on calmly in his Trial, where he held the Company until Seven at Night. But they that ſaw the Kings reſtleſs motion all that day, and the great Uneaſineſs he ſeem'd to be in, ſending to every Boat he ſaw Landing at the Bridge, and Curſing all that came without Tidings, could not but judge all was not right; and that there had been ſome grounds for *Somerſets* boldneſs. But at laſt, *Moore* bringing the King word that *Somerſet* was Condemn'd, and of all the Paſſages, and how he manag'd things; all was quiet: And the King really rewarded him with a Suit

worth 1500 *l.* And for the truth of this Secret Passage, I can assure the Reader that it came from *Moore*'s own Mouth, who told it to two worthy Gentlemen; who yet never spake of it again till after the Kings Death.

But there were other strong Inducement, to believe *Somerset* knew that by the King, which he desired no other in the World should be partaker of; and that all was not Peace within, in the Peace-maker himself. For he ever courted *Somerset* to his Dying Day, and gave him 4000 *l. per annum* after he was condemned. Many believed *Somerset* guilty of *Overbury*'s Death; and many others thought him guilty only of a Breach of Friendship, and that in a high Point, by Suffering his Imprisonment: But to set things in a true light, I have here inserted the Speech of Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Kings Attorney General, at *Somerset*'s Arraignment; wherein all the Footsteps taken in the Prosecution of that Murder, are set forth at large.

## Sir *Francis Bacon*'s SPEECH, at the Arraignment of the Earl of *SOMERSET*.

'IT may please your *Grace*, my Lord *High Steward* of *England*, and you my Lords the Peers, you have here before you *Robert* Earl of *Somerset* to be tried for his Life, concerning the procuring and consenting to the Poysoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, then the King's Prisoner in the *Tower* of *London*, as an Accessary before the Fact.

'I know your Honours cannot behold this noble Man, but you must remember the great Favours which the King hath conferred on him, and must be sensible, that he is yet a Member of your Body, and a Peer, as you are, so that you cannot cut him off from your Body, but with grief, and therefore you will expect from us, that give in the King's Evidence, sound and sufficient matter of proof to satisfie your Honours Consciences.

'As for the manner of the Evidence, the King our Master, who (amongst other his Vertues, excelleth in that Vertue of the Imperial Throne, which is Justice) hath given us command, that we should not expatiate nor make invectives, but materially pursue the Evidence, as it conduceth to the point in question.

'A Matter, that (though we are glad of so good a Warrant) yet we should have done our selves: For far be it from us by any strains of Wit or Arts, to seek to play Prizes or to blazon our Names in Blood, or to carry the day otherwise than upon sure grounds; we shall carry the Lanthorn of Justice (which is the Evidence) before your Eyes upright, and so be able to save it from being put out with any grounds of evasion or vain defence, not doubting at all, but

'that

'that the Evidence it ſelf will carry that force, as it ſhall need 'no advantage or aggravation.

'Firſt, my Lords, The courſe that I will hold in delivering 'of that which I ſhall ſay (for I love order) is this:

'Firſt, I will ſpeak ſomewhat of the Nature and Greatneſs 'of the Offence, which is now to be tried, not to weigh down 'my Lord with the Greatneſs of it, but rather contrarywiſe 'to ſhew, that a great Offence needs a good Proof. And that 'the King, howſoever he might eſteem this Gentleman hereto-'fore as the Signet upon his Finger (to uſe the Scripture-'phraſe) yet in ſuch a caſe as this, he was to put it off.

'Secondly, I will uſe ſome few words touching the Nature of 'the Proofs, which, in ſuch a caſe are competent.

'Thirdly, I will ſtate the Proofs.

'And laſtly, I will produce the Proofs, either out of Exa-'mination, and Matters of writing, or Witneſſes *Viva Voce*.

'For the Offence it ſelf, It is of Crimes, next unto High-'Treaſon, the greateſt; it is the fouleſt of Felonies: It hath 'three degrees. Firſt, It is Murther by Impoyſon-'ment, Secondly, It is Murther committed upon the 'King's Priſoner in the *Tower*. Thirdly, I might ſay, that it 'is Murther under the colour of Friendſhip, but that it is a 'Circumſtance moral, and therefore I leave that to the Evi-'dence it ſelf.

'For Murther, my Lords, the firſt Record of Juſtice which was 'in the World, was judgment upon a Murtherer, in the Perſon 'of *Adam*'s firſt-born *Cain*, and though it was not puniſhed by 'Death, but Baniſhment, and marks of Ignominy, in reſpect 'of the Primogenitors, or the Population of the World, yet 'there was a ſevere charge given, that it ſhould not go un-'puniſhed.

'So it appeareth likewiſe in Scripture, that the Murther 'of *Abner* by *Joab*, though it were by *David* reſpited in re-'ſpect of great Services paſt, or reaſon of State, yet it was not 'forgotten. But of this I will ſay no more, becauſe I will 'not diſcourſe, it was ever admitted and ranked in God's own 'Tables, that Murther is of offence between Man and Man, 'next unto High-Treaſon, and diſobedience to Authority, 'which ſometimes have been referred to the firſt Table, be-'cauſe of the Lieutenancy of GOD in Princes, the greateſt.

'For Impoyſonment, I am ſorry it ſhould be heard of in our 'Kingdom; it is not *noſtri generis*, *nec ſanguinis peccatum*; it 'is an *Italian Comfit* for the Court of *Rome*, where that Perſon 'that intoxicateth the *Kings of the Earth*, is many times really 'intoxicated and poyſoned himſelf. But it hath three Cir-'cumſtances, which makes it grievous, beyond other matters.

'The firſt is, That it takes a Man away in full *Peace*, in 'GOD's and the King's *Peace*, that thinks no harm, but is 'comforting of Nature with refection and food, ſo that as the 'Scriptures ſaith, his *Table is made a Snare*.

'The ſecond is, That it is eaſily commited, and eaſily con-
'cealed; and on the other ſide hardly prevented, and hardly
'diſcovered: For Murther by violence, Princes have Guards,
'and private Men have Houſes, Attendants and Arms, neither
'can ſuch Murther be committed, but *cum ſonitu*, with ſome
'overt and apparent acts, that may diſcover and trace the
'Offenders; but for *Poyſon*, the Cup it ſelf of *Princes* will
'ſcarce ſerve, in regard of many *Poyſons* that neither diſcolour
'nor diſtaſte; it comes upon a Man when he is careleſs, and
'without ſuſpicion, and every day a Man is within the Gates of
'Death.

'And the laſt is, becauſe it concerneth not only the Deſtru-
'ction of the maliced Man but of every Man, *quis modo tutus*
'*erit?* For many times the *Poyſon* is prepared for one, and is
'taken by another, ſo that Men die other Mens deaths, *Conci-*
'*die infelix alieno vulnere*, and it is as the *Pſalmiſt* calleth it, *Sa-*
'*gitta nocte volans*, The Arrow that flieth by Night, that hath
'no aim nor certainty. And therefore if any Man ſhall ſay
'to himſelf, Here is great talk of Impoyſonment, but I am ſure
'I am ſafe, for I have no Enemies, neither have I any thing
'another Man ſhould long for; Why? that is all one, he may
'ſit next him at the Table, that is meant to be impoyſoned,
'and pledge him of his Cup: As we may ſee in the Example
'of 21. *Hen.* 8. that where the purpoſe was to poyſon one
'Man, there was poyſon put into Barm or Yeaſt, and with that
'Barm Portage or Grewel was made, whereby ſixteen of the
'Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Servants were poyſoned; nay, it went
'into the Alms-basket likewiſe, and the Poor at the Gate
'were poyſoned. And therefore with great Judgment did
'the Statute made that year, touching this accident, make
'Impoyſonment High-Treaſon, becauſe it tends to the diſſolv-
'ing of humane Society, for whatſoever offence doth ſo, is in
'the nature thereof High-Treaſon.

'Now for the third Degree of this particular Offence,
'which is, that it is committed upon the *King*'s Priſoner, who
'was out of his own defence, and meerly in the King's Pro-
'tection, and for whom the King and the State were a kind of
'reſpondent; it is a thing that aggravates the Fault much,
'for certainly (my Lord of *Somerſet*) let me tell you this,
'that Sir *Thomas Overbury* is the firſt Man that was Murther-
'ed in the *Tower* of *London*, ſave the Murther of the two young
'Princes, by the appointment of *Richard* the Third.

'Thus much of the Offence, now to the Proofs.

'For the matter of Proofs, you may conſider that impoy-
'ſonment, of all Offences is moſt ſecret, even ſo ſecret, that
'if in all caſes of Impoyſonment, you ſhould require teſtimo-
'ny, you ſhould as good proclaim impunity.

'Who could have impeached *Livia* by teſtimony, for
'the poyſoning of her Figs upon the Tree, which her Hus-
'band was wont to gather with his own Hands? Who could
'have impeached *Paraſetis*, for the poyſoning of the one ſide

'of

'of the Knife she carried with her, and keeping the other 'side clean, so that her self did eat of the same piece of Meat 'that they did, whom she did impoyson?

'These cases are infinite, and need not to be spoken of the 'secrecy of impoysonment: But Wisemen must take upon them 'in these secret Cases, *Solomon*'s Spirit, that when there could 'be no Witnesses, collected the Act by the Affection: But yet 'we are not at our cause, for that which your Lordships are to 'try, is not the Act of Impoysonment, for that is done to your 'hands; all the World by Law is concluded to say, that '*Overbury* was poysoned by *Weston*, but the Question before 'you is, of the Procurement only, and as the Law termeth it, 'as accessary before the Fact, which abbetting is no more, 'but to do or use any act or means which may aid, or conduct 'to the Impoysonment.

'So that it is not the buying, nor the making of the Poyson, 'nor the preparing, nor confecting, nor commixing of it, 'nor the giving or sending, or laying of the Poyson, that are 'the only Acts that do amount unto the abbetment; but if 'there be any other act or means done, or used, to give op-'portunity of impoysonment, or to facilitate the execution of 'it, or to stop or divert any impediments that might hin-'der it, and that it be with an intention to accomplish and 'atchieve the impoysonment; all these are abbetments and 'accessaries before the Fact. As for example, if there be any 'Conspiracy to Murther a Man, as he journieth on the way by 'Invitation, or by colour of some Business, and another taketh 'upon him to disswade some Friend of his Company, that 'he is not strong enough to make his defence; and another 'hath a part to hold him in talk till the first blow be given; 'all these, my Lords, without scruple, are accessaries to the 'Murther, although none of them give the blow, nor assist to 'give the blow.

'My *Lords*, He is not the Hunter alone, that lets slip the 'Dog upon the Deer, but he that lodgeth him, and hunts 'him out, or sets a train or trap for him, that he cannot 'escape, or the like. But this, my *Lords*, little needeth in 'this case, for such a chain of acts of Impoysonment as 'this, I think, was never heard nor seen. And this much of 'the Nature of the Proofs.

'To descend to the Proofs themselves, I shall keep this 'course.

'First, I will make a Narration of the Fact it self.

'Secondly, I will break and distribute the Proofs, as they 'concern the Prisoner. And

'Thirdly, According to the distribution, I will produce 'them, and read them, to use them. So that there is nothing 'that I shall say, but your Lordship shall have three thoughts 'or cogitations to answer it.

'First, When I open it, you may take your aim,

'Secondly, When I distribute it, you may prevent your answers without confusion. And

'Lastly, When I produce the Witnesses, or the Examinations themselves, you may again ruminate, and re-advise to make your defence.

'And this I do, because your memory and understanding may not be oppressed or overloaden with length of Evidence, or with confusion of order; nay more, when your *Lordship* shall make your answer in your time, I will put you in mind, where cause shall be, of your omission.

'First therefore, Sir *Thomas Overbury* for a time was known to have great interest and strait friendship with my Lord of *Somerset*, both in his meaner Fortunes, and after, in so much that he was a kind of Oracle of Direction unto him, and if you will believe his own vaunt (being indeed of an insolent and Thrasonical Disposition) he took upon him that the Fortunes, Reputation and Understanding of this Gentleman (who is well known to have an able Teacher) proceeded from his Company and Counsel, and this Friendship rested not only in conversation, and business at Court, but likewise in communication of Secrets of *State*, for my Lord of *Somerset*, exercising at that time by His Majesty's special favour and trust, the Office of *Secretary*, did not forbear to acquaint *Overbury* with the King's Packquets and Dispatches from all parts of *Spain*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*; and this not by glimpses, or now and then rounding in the Ear for a Favour, but in a setled manner, Packquets were sent, sometimes opened by my Lord, sometimes unbroken, unto *Overbury*; who perused them, copied them, registred them, made table-talk of them, as they thought good. So I will undertake the time was, when *Overbury* knew more of the *Secrets* of *State*, then the *Council-Table* did; nay, they were grown to such inwardness, as they made a Play of all the World besides themselves, so as they had *Cyphers* and *Furgons* for the *King* and *Queen*, and great Men of the *Realm*, things seldom used, but either by *Princes* and their *Confederates*, or at the least by such as practice and work against, or at the least, upon Princes.

'But understand me, my *Lord*, I shall not charge you with disloyalty at this day, only I lay this for a Foundation, that there was great communication of Secrets between you and Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and that it had relation to matters of *State*, and the great causes of this Kingdom.

'But my *Lords*, as it is a Principle in Nature, that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest Wine maketh the soureſt Vinegar; so it fell out with them, that this excess, as I may say, of Friendship, ended in mortal hatred on my *Lord* of *Somerset*'s part.

'I have heard my Lord *Steward* say sometimes in the Chancery, that *Frost and Fraud end foul*; and I may add a third, and that is, the friendship of ill Men, which is truly said to

'be

'be conſpiracy, and not friendſhip. For it fell out ſome twelve 'months or more before *Overbury* his Impriſonment in the '*Tower*, that the Earl of *Somerſet* fell into an unlawful love to-'wards that unfortunate Lady, the *Counteſs* of *Eſſex*, and to 'proceed to a Marriage with her: This Marriage and purpoſe 'did *Overbury*, mainly impugne, under pretence to do the true 'Part of a Friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy 'Woman. But the Truth was, *Overbury*, who (to ſpeak 'plainly) had little that was ſolid for *Religion*, or moral 'Vertue, but was wholly poſſeſt with ambition, and vain-'glory, was loth to have any Partners in the favour of my 'Lord of *Somerſet*, and eſpecially not any of the Houſe of the '*Howards*, againſt whom he had always profeſſed hatred and 'oppoſition.

'And, my *Lords*, that this is no ſiniſter conſtruction, will 'appear to you, when you ſhall hear that *Overbury* made his 'brags, that he had won him the Love of the Lady, by his 'Letters and Induſtry; ſo far was he from caſes of Con-'ſcience in this point.

'And certainly, my *Lords*, howſoever the tragical miſery 'of this poor Gentleman, *Overbury*, might ſomewhat obliterate 'his Faults, yet becauſe we are not upon point of civility, 'but to diſcover the face of Truth, before the face of Ju-'ſtice, for that it is material to the true Underſtanding of the 'ſtate of this Cauſe, *Overbury* was naught and corrupt; the 'Ballads muſt be mended for that point.

'But to proceed, When *Overbury* ſaw that he was like to be no 'more poſſeſſor of my Lord's Grace, which he had poſſeſſed ſo 'long, and by whoſe greatneſs he had promiſed himſelf to do 'wonders, and being a Man of an unbounded and impudent 'ſpirit, he began not only to diſſwade, but to deter him from 'the Love of that Lady; and finding him fixed, thought to 'find a ſtrong Remedy, and ſuppoſing that he had my Lord's 'Head under his Girdle, in reſpect of communication of Se-'crets of State, or as he calls them himſelf, Secrets of Nature; 'and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him deſiſt 'with menaces of diſcovery, and the like: Hereupon grew 'two ſtreams of hatred upon *Overbury*, the one from the La-'dy, in reſpect that he croſſed her love, and abuſed her name '(which are furies in Women) the other of a more deep 'Nature, from my Lord of *Somerſet* himſelf, who was afraid 'of *Overbury* Nature, and if he did break from him and fly 'out, he would wind into him and trouble his whole Fortunes; 'I might add a third Stream of the Earl of *Northampton*'s Am-'bition, who deſires to be firſt in favour with my Lord of '*Somerſet*, and knowing *Overbury*'s Malice to himſelf, and to 'his Houſe, thought that Man muſt be removed and cut off, 'ſo as certainly it was reſolved, and decreed, that *Overbury* 'muſt die.

'That was too weak, and they were ſo far from giving

'way to it, as they croſſed it; there reſted but two ways of 'quarrel, Aſſault and Poyſon. For that of Aſſault, after 'ſome propoſition and attempt, they paſſed from it, as a 'thing too open and ſubject to more variety of ſhame; that 'of Poyſon likewiſe was an hazardous thing, and ſubject to 'many preventions and caution, eſpecially to ſuch a working 'and jealous Brain as *Overbury* had, except he was firſt faſt in 'their hands: Therefore the way was firſt to get him into a 'Trap, and lay him up, and they could not miſs the Mark: 'And therefore in execution of this Plot, it concluded that he 'ſhould be deſigned to ſome Honourable Imployment in Fo-'reign Parts, and ſhould underhand by my Lord of *Somerſet*, 'be encouraged to refuſe it; and ſo upon contempt he ſhould 'be laid Priſoner in the *Tower*, and then they thought he 'ſhould be cloſe enough, and Death ſhould be his Bail: Yet 'were they not at their end, for they conſidered, that if 'there were not a fit Lieutenant of the *Tower* for this pur-'poſe, and likewiſe a fit Underkeeper of *Overbury*: Firſt, 'they ſhould meet with many impediments in the giving and 'exhibiting of the Poyſon. Secondly, they ſhould be expoſed 'to note and obſervation, that might diſcover them: And 'thirdly, *Overbury* in the mean time might write clamorous 'and furious Letters to his Friends, and ſo all might be diſ-'appointed. And therefore the next Link of the Chain 'was to diſplace the then *Lieutenant Wade*, and to place *Telvis*, 'a principal Abbettor in the Impoiſonment, to diſplace *Cary* 'that was Underkeeper in *Wades* time, and to place *Weſton*, 'that was the Actor in the Impoyſonment. And this was 'done in ſuch a while, that it may appear to be done as it 'were in a Breath.

Then when they had this poor Gentleman in the *Tower*, 'cloſe *Priſoner*, where he could not eſcape, nor ſtir, where he 'could not feed, but by their hands, where he could not 'ſpeak or write, but through their Trunks, then was the 'time to act the laſt Part of his Tragedy.

'Then muſt *Franklin*, the Purveyor of the *Poyſons*, pro-'cure five, ſix, ſeven ſeveral Poyſons, to be ſure to hit his 'complexion: Then muſt Mrs. *Turner*, the Lay-Miſtreſs of 'the *Poyſons*, adviſe what works at preſent, and what at di-'ſtance: Then muſt *Weſton* be the Tormentor, and chaſe him 'with Poyſon after Poyſon, *Poyſon* in Salt meats, *Poyſon* in 'Sweet-meats, *Poyſon* in Medicines and Vomits, until at laſt 'his Body was almoſt come by uſe of Poyſons, to the 'State of *Mithridates* by the uſe Treacle, and *Preſerva-'tives*, that the force of the *Poyſons* was blunted upon him; '*Weſton* confeſſing, when he was chid for not diſpatching him, 'that he had given him enough to poyſon twenty Men.

'And laſtly, Becauſe all this asked time, courſes were ta-'ken by *Somerſet*, both to divert all the true means of *Over-'bury*'s delivery, and to entertain him with continual Letters,

'partly

'partly with hopes and proteſtations for his delivery, and partly with other Fables and Negotiations, ſomewhat like ſome 'kind of Perſons which keep in a Tale of Fortune-telling, 'when they have a felonious Intent to pick their *Pockets* 'and *Purſes*. And this is the true Narration of this act, 'which I have ſummarily recited.

'Now for the Diſtribution of the *Proofs*, there are four 'heads to prove you guilty, whereof two are precedent to 'the Impoyſonment, the third is preſent, and the fourth is following or ſubſequent; for it is in *Proofs*, as it is in lights, there 'is a direct light, and there is a reflection of light, and a 'double light.

'The firſt head or proof is, That there was a root of 'Bitterneſs, a mortal Malice or hatred mixed with a deep and 'bottomleſs Miſchief, that you had to Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

'The ſecond is, That you were the principal Actor, and 'had your hand in all thoſe acts, which did conduce to the 'Impoyſonment, and gave opportunity to effect it, without 'which the Impoyſonment could never have been, and which 'could ſeem to tend to no other end, but to the Impoyſonment.

'The third is, That your hand was in the very Impoyſonment it ſelf, that you did direct *Poyſon*, and that you 'did deliver *Poyſon*, and that you did continually hearken to 'the Succeſs of the Impoyſonment, and that you ſpurred it 'on, and called for diſpatch, when you thought it lingered.

'And laſtly, That you did all things after the Impoyſonment which may detect a guilty Conſcience for the ſmothering of it, and the avoiding of puniſhment for it, which 'can be but of three kinds.

'That you ſuppreſſed, as much as in you was, teſtimony; 'that you did deface, deſtroy, clip and miſdate all Writings 'that might give light to the Impoyſonment; and you 'did flye to the *Altar* of guiltineſs, which is a Pardon of 'Murther, and a Pardon for your ſelf, and not for your 'ſelf.

'In this, my Lord, I convert my Speech unto you, be'cauſe I would have you alter the Points of your Charge, 'and ſo make your defence the better. And two of theſe 'Heads I have taken to my ſelf, and left the other to the 'King's two Serjeants.

'For the firſt main part, which is the mortal Malice coupled with fear, that was in you, to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, although you did palliate it with a great deal Hypocriſie and 'Diſſimulation, even to the very End, I will prove it, my 'Lord *Steward*, the root of this Hate, was that which coſt 'many a Man's Life, that is, fear of diſcovering Secrets, 'I ſay, of Secrets of a dangerous and high Nature; where'in the Courſe that I will hold, ſhall be this.

'I

'I will ſhew that a Breach and Malice was betwixt my 'my *Lord* and *Overbury*, and that it burſt forth into violent 'threats and menaces, on both ſides.

'Secondly, That theſe *Secrets* were not of a light, but of 'an high nature, I will give you the Elevation of the *Pole*, 'they were ſuch, as my Lord of *Somerſet* had made a Vow, 'that *Overbury* ſhould neither live in Court, nor Country; 'that he had likewiſe opened himſelf ſo far, that *either he or 'himſelf muſt dye for it*: and of *Overbury*'s part he had threat-'ned my Lord, that *whether he did live or die, my* Lord's *ſhame 'ſhould never die*, but that *he would leave him the moſt odious 'Man in the World*: And further, that my *Lord* was like enough 'to repent, where *Overbury* wrote, which was in the *Tower* of '*London*; he was a *Prophet* in that, ſo there is the higheſt of 'the Secret.

'Thirdly, I will ſhew you that all the King's buſineſs was 'by my Lord, put into *Overbury*'s Hands, ſo as there is work 'enough for Secrets whatſoever; they writ them, and like 'Princes they had confederates, their *Cyphers* and their *Fur-'gons*.

'And Laſtly, I will ſhew you that it was but a Toy, to 'ſay the Malice was only in reſpect he ſpake diſhonourably 'of the Lady, or for doubt of breaking the Marriage, for 'that *Overbury* was Coadjutor to that love, and the *Lord* of '*Somerſet* was as deep in ſpeaking ill of the *Lady* as *Overbury*; 'and again, it was too late for that Matter, for the bargin 'of the Match was then made, and paſt; and if it had been 'no more than to remove *Overbury* for diſturbing the Match, 'it had been an eaſie matter to have landed over *Overbury*, 'for which they had a fair way, but that would not ſerve.

'And Laſtly, *Periculum periculo vincitur*, to go ſo far as an 'Impoyſonment, muſt have a deeper malice then flaſhes, for 'the Cauſe muſt have a Proportion to the Effect.

'For the next general Head or Proof, which conſiſts in the 'Acts preparatory or middle Acts, they are in eight ſeveral 'points of the Compaſs, as I may term them.

'Firſt, There were divers devices and projects to ſet '*Overbury*'s Head on work, to diſpatch him, and overthrow 'him, plotted between the *Counteſs* of *Eſſex*, and the *Earl* 'of *Somerſet*, and the *Earl* of *Northampton*, before they fell 'upon the Impoyſonment, for always before Men fix upon 'a courſe of Miſchief, there will be ſome rejection; but dye 'he muſt, one way or other.

'Secondly, That my Lord of *Somerſet* was principal Pra-'ctiſer, I muſt ſpeak it, in a moſt perfidious Manner; to ſet 'a Trap and Train for *Overbury*, to get him into the Tower, 'without which they durſt not attempt the Impoyſonment.

'Thirdly, That the placing of the Lieutenant *Yelvis*, one 'of the Impoyſoners, was done by my Lord of *Somer-'ſet*.

'Fourth-

'Fourthly, That the placing of *Weſton* the Underkeeper, 'who was the principal Impoyſoner, and the diſplacing of '*Cary*, and the doing all this within the ſpace of fifteen days 'after *Overbury*'s commitment, was by the means and countenance of my Lord of *Somerſet*: And theſe were the active 'Inſtruments of the Impoyſonment, and this was a Buſineſs 'the *Ladies* power could not reach unto.

'Fifthly, That becauſe there muſt be a cauſe of this Tragedy to be act, and chiefly, becauſe they would not have 'the *Poyſons* work upon the ſudden, and for that the ſtrength 'of *Overbury*'s Nature, on the very cuſtom of receiving the '*Poyſons* into his Body, did overcome the *Poyſons* that they 'wrought not ſo faſt; therefore *Overbury* muſt be held in 'the *Tower*, as well as he was laid in; and as my Lord of '*Somerſet* got him into the Trap, ſo he keeps him in, and 'abuſeth him with continual hope of liberty, but diverted all 'the true and effectual means of his liberty, and makes light 'of his ſickneſs and extremities.

'Sixthly, That not only the Plot of getting *Overbury* into 'the *Tower*, and the Devices to hold and keep him there, 'but the ſtrange manner of the cloſe keeping of him, being in but for a Contempt, was by the device and means 'of my Lord of *Somerſet*, who denied his Father to ſee him, 'denied his Servants that offered to be ſhut up cloſe Priſoners 'with him, and in effect handled it ſo, that he made him cloſe 'Priſoner to all his Friends, and expoſed to all his Enemies.

'Seventhly, That all the Advertiſements the *Lady* received 'from time to time, from the *Lieutenant* or *Weſton* touching '*Overbury*'s ſtate of Body and Health, were ever ſent nigh 'to the Court, though it were in progreſs, and that from 'my Lady, ſuch a thirſt and liſtening he had to hear that 'he was diſpatched.

'Laſtly, That there was a continual Negotiation to ſet '*Overbury*'s Head on work, that he ſhould make ſome to 'clear the Honour of the Lady, and that he ſhould be a 'good Inſtrument towards her, and her Friends, all which 'was but Entertainment: For your Lordſhips ſhall ſee divers 'of my Lord of *Northampton*'s Letters (whoſe Hand was deep 'in this Buſineſs) written, I muſt ſay in dark words and 'clauſes, that there was one thing pretended; and another 'thing intended. That there was a real Charge, and ſomewhat not real, a main drift and diſſimulation: Nay, further, there be ſome paſſages which the Peers in their wiſdoms will diſcern, to point directly at the Poyſonment.

After this ſpeech of Sir *Francis Bacon*'s, *Somerſets* Tryal proceeded, in which things appear'd ſo foul, that he was found guilty by his Peers; and received Sentence of Death: After which, notwithſtanding, that ſevere Imprecation of the

the Kings before-mentioned, ( wiſhing, *That if he ſpar'd any that were found guilty, That the Curſe of GOD might light on him and his Poſterity for ever* ) yet both the Earl and his Counteſs ( after having been found guilty ) found the Kings Mercy ; and were ( after ſome time of Impriſonment in the the Tower ) ſet at Liberty, holding their Lives by a Leaſe of the Kings Will ; living in a private and almoſt obſcure Condition : Being for many years a Living Example, That no Happineſs can be truly Eſtabliſh'd but on the Foundation of Juſtice. For that Love that made them break through all oppoſitions, either by her declining to ſome New Object ( as was the common Rumour ) on his inclining to Reluctancy for the old ) grew ſo weak, that it pined away, and they lived long after ( tho' in one Houſe ) as Strangers one to another. (For the Earl lived Twenty Four years after, and ſaw his Daughter Married to the late Duke of *Bedford*, who was the Mother of many worthy Children ; whereof the Great Lord *Ruſſel*, the Father of the preſent Duke of *Bedford*, who was beheaded in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, was one.) The Counteſs died before the Earl. And her Death was as Infamous as her Life : His was without Fame ; the obſcurity of the reſt of his Life, darkning the Splendor of it. And tho' ſhe died as it were in a corner, yet the loathſomeneſs of it made it as Conſpicuous as on the Houſe-top : For that part of her Body which had been the receptacle of her Sin, grew rotten ; and, tho' ſhe never had but one Child, yet the Ligaments failing, it fell down, and was caſt away in flakes, with a moſt Nauſeous and putrid Savour ; which to augment, ſhe would roul her ſelf in her own Ordure, in her Bed, and took delight in it. Thus her Affections varied : For nothing could be found ſweet enough to augment her Beauties at firſt, and nothing ſtinking enough to decipher her Loathſomeneſs at laſt. Let none think the Expreſſions are too ſharp, for they are to illuſtrate the Glory of Divine Juſtice, who in his Juſt Ballances often makes our Puniſhments of Equal weight with our Sins.

As to the Earl, with repect to his Perſon, he was rather well-compacted than tall ; his Features and Favour comely and handſome, rather than Beautiful ; the hair of his Head flaxen, that of his Face tinctur'd with Yellow, of the Sycambrian Collour : In his own nature of a gentle Mind, and affable Diſpoſition ; having Publick Affections till they were all ſwallowed up in this Gulph of Beauty, which did precipitate him into theſe dangerous Contrivances : For that which made his Friendſhip falſe, diverted his Publick Affections to his Private Intereſt ; and when he found himſelf guilty of what he thought might ruine him, he grew covetous to heap that together which he thought might preſerve him. So that at one breach that our Corruptions make, many Miſchiefs follow in the Crowd. And if he had not met with ſuch a

Woman,

Woman, he might have been a good Man. But Trials and ſtrong Temptations Enhance the Price of Vertue; and the ſtronger the Oppoſition, the more Noble the Combat: But to be overcome, debaſeth a Man the more, by how much his Fall is the greater.—But we are call'd to attend the next New Favourite; for enough has been ſaid of *Somerſet*.

*Somerſet*'s Fall, made way for the New Favourites riſe: For now Sir *George Villers* reigns with any Controul, riſing in Honour, as well as ſwelling in Pride: Breaking out of thoſe modeſt Bounds that formerly had impaled him, into the high-way of Pride and Scorn, turning out, and putting in, all he pleaſed: Made firſt Earl, and then Marqueſs, and afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, as great in Title as in Favour: And lying thus in the Kings Boſom, Every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles: For *Worceſter* was bought off to make him Maſter of the Horſe, and *Nottingham*, that famous Admiral againſt the *Spaniſh* Invaſion in Eighty Eight, was bought off to make him Admiral: And what may not this Man have, who is not only Maſter of his Horſe and of his Ships, but of his Heart alſo? His Mother is created a Counteſs by Patent; her Eldeſt Son firſt made Sir *John Villers*, after *Viſcount Purbeck*, married to the Daughter and Heir of the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton*, by Sir *Edward Cook*; a Lady of Tranſcending Beauty, but accus'd for wantonneſs. *Purbeck* not well able to look down from theſe great Heights, got a dizzineſs in his head, which confin'd him to a dark Room, it being given out that he was mad; but the matter was, That he had more Wit and Honeſty than all the Kindred beſide, and kept his Brother within ſome Bounds of Honeſty and Modeſty, while he liv'd about him, and would ſpeak plain *Engliſh* to him when he ſaw there was occaſion: For which Plainneſs, when they had no Colour to put him from his Brother, they practiſed to make him mad. And thought that the beſt way to bring that wicked *Stratagem* to effect, was by Countenancing his Wife againſt him, in her lewd way of Living. And when *Purbeck* on a pretence of Madneſs was thus put from Court, none are admitted to be great with *Buckingham* but Bawds and Paraſites, and ſuch as humour'd him in his unchaſte Pleaſures; ſo that ſince his firſt being a pretty harmleſs affable Gentleman, he grew inſolent, cruel, and a Monſter not to be Endur'd. His other Brother, was alſo firſt made Sir *Chriſtopher Villers*, and afterwards created Earl of *Angleſey*, whoſe Honour mix'd with a weak Brain, cou'd not buoy him up from ſinking into that diſtemper that drowns the beſt Wits. His Siſter alſo ſoon after ſhined in the ſame Sphere of Honour with his Mother, her Husband being from a Private Gentleman made Earl of *Denbigh*. And ſo ſure were all his Relations of Honour and Preferment, that happy was that Man that cou'd get a Kinſwoman; for it was the next way to ſome thriving Office, or ſome new ſwelling Title. So that the King, who never much

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cared for Women, ( he having other Recreations ) had his Court ſwarming with *Buckingham*'s Kindred; ſo that even the little ones would dance up and down the Privy Lodgings like Pharies; and to be ſure it was no ſmall Sap that could maintain all thoſe Sukers.

Take this further notable inſtance of the influence of *Buckingham* in all matters: Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Juſtice, laid down twenty thouſand pound for the Office of Lord Treaſurer, ( for now any thing might be had for money ) and yet notwithſtanding this great Sum, before the Year was out, it was conferr'd upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*; the Pretence for this was, that he having been a Citizen of *London* bred up in the Cuſtom-Houſe, and knowing the Secret Contrivances of thoſe Officers, was thought fitteſt to manage the Kings Revenue: But the true reaſon of his Advancement to this Office was, That he had married one of *Buckingham*'s Kinſwomen; which preſently after caus'd him to be made Earl of *Middleſex*. But the Reader will perhaps wonder what Satisfaction was made to the Lord Chief Juſtice for his twenty thouſand pounds; why as to that, he was for his Money made a *Precedent*, as ſome jeſted: The King finding him a Man intelligent in all the great Affairs of State, made him Lord Preſident of the Council, *Viſcount Mandevile*, and Earl of *Mancheſter*; and after the death of *Wocreſter*, was Lord Privy Seal.

But tho' *Buckingham* in appearance acted all theſe Removes and Advancements, yet his Mother the Counteſs was the Secret Spring that mov'd all; for her hand was in all Tranſactions both of Church and Sate; and ſhe muſt needs know the Diſpoſition of all things, when ſhe had a feeling of every Mans Pulſe: For moſt Addreſſes were made to her firſt, and by her convey'd to her Son, for he looked after his Pleaſure more than his Profit; which made *Gondemar* write Joakingly in his Diſpatches into *Spain*, That there was never more hope of *England*'s Converſion to *Rome*, than now; for there were more Prayers and Oblations offer'd here to the Mother than to the Son.

Nor was it without Reaſon, for the Marquis ( for he was not yet made a Duke ) had other Buſineſs to do; the Courting of Ladies was a great part of his Province; for as he was a Man of Excellent Symmetry and Proportion of Parts himſelf; ſo he affected Beauty where he found it; but yet look'd upon the whole Race of Women as inferiour things; and uſed them as if the Sex were one, beſt pleas'd with all. And if his Eye cull'd out a wanton Beauty, he had his Setters that cou'd ſpread his Nets, and point a Meeting at ſome Ladies Houſe, where he ſhould come as by accident, and find Acceſs, while all his Train attended at the Door, as if it were an honourable Viſit. Nay, the King himſelf wou'd be ſerviceable to him in his lewd Amours; and

that

that the Reader may not ſpeak without Book, I will inſtance in two Examples: Firſt, The King entertain'd Sir *John Crafts* and his Daughter, a Beautiful Laſs, at *New Market*, cauſing them to ſit at Table with the King; which he did that *Buckingham* might have the better opportunity to Vitiate her. The Second Inſtance is Mrs. *Dorothy Gawdy*, a rare Creature indeed; King *James* carried *Buckingham* to *Culford*, that he might have his Will on that Beauty: But Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Sons, convey'd her out of a Window into a Private Chamber, over the Leads, and ſo diſappointed the Duke of his wicked purpoſe. In which cleanly Conveyance, Sir *Edward Peyton* aſſiſted, from whom I had the Story.

The Earl of *Rutland*, of a Noble Family, had but one Daughter to be the Heireſs of his great Fortune, and he tempts her, carries her to his Lodgings in *White-Hall*, keeps her there for ſome time, and then returns her back again to her Father. Upon which, the Stout Old Earl ſent him a threatning Meſſage, That he had too much of a Gentleman to ſuffer ſuch an Indignity; and if he did not marry his Daughter, to repair her Honour, no Greatneſs ſhould protect him from his Juſtice. *Buckingham*, that perhaps made it his Deſign to get the Fathers good Will this way, (being the greateſt Match in the Kingdom) had no reaſon to miſlike the Union; therefore he quickly ſalved up the Wound, before it grew to a Quarrel: And if this Marriage cou'd have ſtopt the Current of his Sins of this kind, he had had the leſs to anſwer for. But many other Adventures of this Nature ſhewed the contrary. Yet let us leave him a while to purſue his Pleaſures; of which Dancing was one, he being an Excellent Dancer, which perhaps was one of his Chief Accompliſhments; and which, by his frequent uſe of it, he brought ſo much in Faſhion, that the King allow'd of it as a *Sabbath-Day* Exerciſe.

For ſome of the Biſhops, pretending Recreations and Liberty to Servants, and the Common People, (of which they were always ready to carve themſelves too much) procured the King to put out a Proclamation to permit Dancing about May-poles, Church-Ales, and ſuch debauched Exerciſes upon the *Sabbath Day* after Evening Prayer, (being a ſpecious way to make the King and them acceptable to the Mobb) which Book or Proclamation came out with a Command Enjoyning all Miniſters to read it to their Pariſhioners, and to approve of it; and thoſe that did not, were brought into the High-Commiſſion, impriſoned, and ſuſpended: It being indeed no other than a Trap to catch Conſcientious Men, which they could no otherwiſe, with all their Cunning, inſnare. For they would preach the Goſpel in a *Fool's Coat*, (as ſome of them Expreſs'd it) rather than be ſilenc'd for a Surplis; neither cou'd the Signing with the Croſs in Baptiſm, or the Circle of the Ring in Marriage, make a well compoſed Reaſon

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and a ſound Conſcience ſtart at it. But when ſo *frightful an Apparition* as the *Dancing-Book* appeared, many of the moſt ſober and Orthodox Miniſters left their Benefices rather than comply therewith. It was theſe and ſuch-like Machinations of the Biſhops, to maintain their Temporal Greatneſs, Eaſe and Plenty, that made the very Stones in the Walls of their Palaces, and Beams in the Timber, afterwards cry out, molder away, and come to nothing: Whereas if thoſe in moſt Authority had not been ſo Pragmatical, but holy, prudent, and pious Men, (as *ſome* of them *then* were, and as *moſt* of them *now* are) their Light had not then gone out as it did, offenſive to the Noſtrils even of the Rubbiſh of the People.

And now as the King by his Book of Sports had recommended the Prophaning of the Sabbath to the People, ſo he put it in Practice himſelf, for if the Court were to remove on Munday, the Kings Carriages muſt go out on the Lord's Day before it; all times being now alike. This is matter of Fact; for the Court being to remove to *Theobalds* the next Day, the Carriages went through the City of *London* on the Sabbath, with a great deal of Clatter and Noiſe in the time of Divine Service. The Lord Mayor hearing of it, commanded them to be ſtopt: Upon which, the Officers of the Carriages went with a great deal of Violence, and loud Complaints to the Court; and the matter being preſented to the King with as much Aſperity as Men in Authority (croſſed in their Humours) cou'd expreſs it; It put the King into a great Rage, *Swearing he thought there had been no more Kings in* England *but himſelf*; but after he was a little cooled, he ſent a Warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them paſs: Which the Lord Mayor obeyed with this Anſwer, *While it was in my Power, I did my Duty; but that being taken away by a higher Power, it is my Duty to obey.*

But our following the Kings Favourites ſo faſt, has caus'd us to make too much haſte; and omit the Relation of the Death of Prince *Henry*, which happened in the year 1612. A Prince as Eminent in Nobleneſs of Mind, as in Blood; having a Spirit too full of Life and Splendor, to be ſhrouded in a Cloud of Fleſh: If that which gave Life to his Life had been leſs, it might have happily continu'd longer: Not that there was too much Oyle, or that concurrent natural *Balſamum* in this fair and well-compoſed Lamp, to Extinguiſh it ſelf: But the Light that came from it might caſt ſo radiant a Luſtre, that (by *darkning* others) it came to loſe the benefit of its own glory. Jealouſie is like a Fire that burns all before it, and that fire is hot enough to diſſolve all Bonds that tends to the Diminution of a Crown. The Prince of *Spain* (his Contemporary) Son to *Philip* the Second, not long before this, like a young *Phaeton*, wiſh'd himſelf but one Day in his Fathers Throne, and he fell not long after into the hard hand of an Immature Fate, before he

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cou'd ſtep into the Chariot. So dangerous are the Paſs of Greatneſs, that the Tongue many times rouling aſide, makes Men tread awry. Strange Rumours were rais'd upon this ſudden Expiration of the Prince; a Prince that was the Darling of the People, and whom all Europe expected to be the Promoter of ſome great and Famous Action, becauſe his Inclination was bent to Military Affairs above his Years: He alſo ſhew'd a great Maturity of Judgment in matters of State, diſcourſing (above the rate of his Years) of the moſt Arduous Affairs, and making choice of the Ableſt Company, which he much delighted in, and of whom he would take Advice and Counſel. This Ripeneſs of Judgment, and Dexterity in Military Affairs, (being very expert in forming the Models of any ſort of Battles) ſtirr'd up the natural Fear of King *James*, and made him think he might be ready for the Crown before he was willing to part with it. Some that knew the Bickerings between the Prince and the then Viſcount *Rocheſter*, muttered out dark Sentences, that durſt not look into the Light; eſpecially Sir *James Elphington*, who (obſerving the Prince to be one day diſcontented with the Viſcount) offered to kill him; but the Prince reprov'd him with a Noble Spirit, ſaying, *If there were Cauſe, he wou'd do it himſelf*. However it was, the Phyſicians about the Prince, gave it under their hands, that he died of a Strong Malignant Feaver, (and ſuch are all violent Diſſolutions, where Nature hath power of Reſiſtance) that his Liver was pale and livid, dead-like, the Gall had no Gall, but was full of Wind, the Spleen was unnaturally black, and the Lungs in many places ſpotted with much Corruption, the Midriff or *Diaphragma* blackiſh, and the Head in ſome places full of Blood, and in ſome places full of clear Water. Thus was he Anatomized to amuze the World, and clear the ſuſpition of Poyſon, as if no Venoms cou'd produce theſe Effects. He died the Sixth of *November*, and was carried in a Hearſe (Triumphing even in Death) to *Weſtminſter*, the ſeventh of *December* following; the Pomp of the Funeral being fully compleated with the People's Tears and Lamentations; who truly mourn'd for the Loſs of ſo brave a Prince. But tho' the People mourn'd, the Court went not into Mourning, the King commanding the Contrary; and he wou'd have it believ'd to proceed from the greatneſs of his Sorrow; which was ſo intenſe, that he wou'd have nothing in his Eye to bring ſo ſad a Meſſage to his Heart. But the ſecret and true reaſon was, That the Jollity, Feaſting and Magnificence of the Approaching *Chriſtmas* might not be laid aſide.

Soon after the Prince's Funeral, follow'd the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Wedding, who was married to the Prince *Elector Palatine* of the Rhine, with all the Pomp and Grandeur that the Court could Expreſs; tho' it proved to her but a very unfortunate Match: Of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more by and by.

In the year 1618. A blazing Comet appeared in *Libra*, whose bearded Beams covered the Virgin-Sign: It began the 18th of *November*, and dis-appear'd 16th of *December* following; making in 28 Days Motion its Circumgyration over most parts of the Known World; extending its radiant Locks (by the Observation of Astronomers) sometimes forty five degrees in length. What was presaged hereby, was variously conjectur'd; but certain it is they make not their Course in vain. And the common Lot of Mortality (Death) taking hold of Queen *Anne* soon after, the Common People, who naturally admire their Princes, and place them in a Region above ordinary Mortals, thought this great Light in Heaven was sent as a Flambeau to her Funeral; their dark Minds not discovering that while this Blaze was burning, the Fire of War broke out in *Bohemia*, wherein many Thousands perished. ——— As to Queen *Anne*, tho' she was none of the most Celebrated Vertues, yet some grains of Allowance ought to be given her: For tho' the King sometimes gave her a Visit; yet he never lodg'd a Night with her for many years, for his faculty lay another way, being more addicted to the love of Men than Women; so that even when his Favourites married, the heat of his Affections abated: Being therefore as it were left alone by the King, it is not to be wonder'd at that she Endeavour'd to give her self what content she could in her own House, with such Recreations as might while away the time, and not make it seem tedious to her. And considering her Station, she was not tempted from that height she stood on, to Embroil her Spirit with things below her: Nor carry on designs against the Interest of the Nation, as her Successor did. Instead of which, Queen *Anne* was more addicted to her Pleasures: But at last, laying aside all those Stately footings in Court-Dances which she had trod, her Beauty being faded, her strength failing, her Youth metamorphes'd to Age, and her Health to Sickness,

*Unto the Grave's dark House she did descend,*
*And all her Pristine Glories had an end.*

After her Death, the King was so good-natur'd, as to write the following Copy of Verses upon her, with his own hand, which I have inserted out of an Ancient Manuscript:

*Thee to invite, the Great GOD sent his Star;*
*Whose Friends and nearest Kin, good Princes are:*
*Who tho' they run the Race of Man, and dye,*
*Death serves but to refine their Majesty:*

So

*So did my Queen from hence her Court remove,*
*And left off Earth, to be Enthron'd Above:*
*She's chang'd, not Dead; for sure no good Prince dies;*
*But like the Sun, does only Set, to Rise.*

We have already made mention of the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Kings Daughter, and her being married to the Prince *Elector Palatine*; it will now be neceſſary to mention how that Prince, by relying on the Power and Aſſiſtance of his Father-in-Law, was ſhamefully ruin'd by the Cowardice of the King, to ſay no worſe. For the better underſtanding of which, 'tis neceſſary to acquaint the Reader with that which was the occaſion thereof; which I ſhall do with as much brevity as the matter will admit: For tho' theſe things were publickly tranſacted in the Face of the World, yet the Conſequences of them had a mighty influence into the Secret Hiſtory of this Reign.

The Houſe of *Auſtria* having a long time feather'd their Neſts with the Eagle's Plumes, grew formidable to the Princes and States of *Germany*: And becauſe the Popes had ſhrewdly plum'd ſome of their Predeceſſors, till they had wreſted moſt part of *Italy* from the Empire, they were content to maintain their Grandeur by the Popes Power, and to ingratiate themſelves the more with that *Pontiff*, became great Perſecutors of the Reformed Religion.

A little before this time, *Ferdinand*, (who was Uncle's Son to *Mathias* the Emperour) was crowned King of *Bohemia*, with this Reſervation, that he ſhould not Exerciſe the Power of a King, as long as the old Emperour lived. This kind of crowning of Kings one in the life of another, was the great Chain, that (Link by Link) held the Empire and the two Kingdoms of *Hungarie* and *Bohemia* together, in the *Auſtrian* Family; ſo that the States of either Kingdom could not, or durſt not exert their Strength to ſhake 'em aſunder. The Emperour kept his Court at *Vienna*, and King *Ferdinand* his Court at *Gretz* in *Stiria*; ſo that the Goverment of *Bohemia* reſted in ſuch Counſellors as the Emperous *Matthias* left there for the Managment of Publick Affairs.

But here it is to be noted that the *Bohemians* at this time, as well as their Anceſtors before, had ſhaken off the Popiſh Tyranny; with all the *Romiſh* Hereſies and Idolatries; ſo that *Ziſca*, the famous Captain of the Followers of *John Huſs* the Martyr, had about an hundred years before, in many Battels (in oppoſition to the *Popiſh* Tyranny) over-thrown the Emperour *Sigiſmond*. But King *Ferdinand* was a Zealous Maintainer of the *Popiſh* Supremacy and Uſurpations, in Religion, as well as Tyranny. So that at this time theſe Counſellors and Miniſters with the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, violently broke out, not only to demoliſh the Proteſtant Churches;

ches, (contrary to the Liberty of Conſcience, which was granted them by *Rodolph* in the year 1609.) but by the help of the Jeſuites, always the bitter Enemies of the Proteſtants, ſtrove to undermine their Religion it ſelf.

The Proteſtant States and Nobles of the Countrey, ſummoning an Aſſembly, to redreſs their Grievances, were oppoſed by ſome of the Emperour's Miniſters of State, the very day of their Meeting; which exaſperated them to ſuch a height of Paſſion, (being back'd with ſome Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slabata*, the Emperour's Chief Juſtice, *Smeſenſius*, one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius*, a Pragmatical Secretary, from a high Window in the Caſtle, down into the Court, though ſome of them took little hurt, but liv'd long after. This raſh Action the *Bohemians* ſtrove to palliate by Apologies to the Emperour, but at the ſame time, to prevent the worſt, ſtrengthened themſelves with new Levies both of Horſe and Foot, the better to ſecure their own Peace; baniſhing thoſe Firebrands the Jeſuites out of Prague, whoſe malicious and diſtemper'd Zeal firſt kindled the Flame. The Emperour hearing of theſe Miſchiefs, raiſes an Army under the Command of *Count Bucquoy*; and the Proteſtant States finding the Emperour Exaſperated, raiſe two Armies, one commanded by *Count Thurn*, the other by *Count Mansfeildt*; ſome Bickerings paſt between the Imperial Army and the *Bohemians*, and ſome Towns taken on both ſides; but in the heat of this Stir, the old Emperour dies.

*Ferdinand*, King of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of old *Mathias* the Emperour, meeting (after Summons) at *Frankford*, with the three Electors of *Mentz*, *Cologn*, and *Trevers*, and only with the Repreſentatives of the other three Electors, the Church carried it for him, and he was choſen King of the *Romans*. The States of *Bohemia* diſclaim'd the Election as invalid, becauſe he could not be an Elector himſelf, as King of *Bohemia*, he having never been actually in poſſeſſion of the Crown. And tho' their diſſent cou'd not leſſen *Ferdinand*'s Election to the Empire, yet they proteſted by Oath never to acknowledge him for their King. Theſe Eruptions made a Noiſe all over *Chriſtendom*; and the moſt Judicious Men look'd on this *heavenly Torch* (the late Comet we have before ſpoken of) as fit fewel to give fire to ſuch a Train.

King *James*, who cou'd not but fore-ſee that this *Clap* would fall heavy upon the *Proteſtant Party*, ſent the *Viſcount Doncaſter*, Extraordinary Ambaſſador, to mediate a *Reconciliation*, between the Emperour and the *Bohemians*, and *to Complement them into a Peace*; but the Aſperity and Bitterneſs was too great, to be allay'd by his Sweet and Candy'd Complements; thoſe being fitter for the *Boſom of Lovers*, than the *Breſts* of *Armed Men* in the midſt of *Uproars* and *Tumults*.

The

The *Bohemians* continu'd ſtill to oppoſe the Election o *Ferdinand* to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; and offer'd the Crown to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, tho' he was a *Popiſh* Prince, as having a better Title thereto than *Ferdinand*; his Mother being a younger Daughter of *Maximillian* the 2d. But he being prevail'd upon by the *Pope* and *Spaniſh* Councils, refuſed it, and ſo likewiſe did the Duke of *Saxony*. Whereupon they choſe *Frederick Count Palatine*, who had married King *James* his Daughter; hoping from him to receive great Aſſiſtance; but found themſelves exceedingly miſtaken. For tho' Archbiſhop *Abbot*, (upon the News of this Election) with a Zeal worthy of him, was Earneſt with the King to aſſiſt his Son-in law, and wrote a long perſwaſive Apology concerning that matter; yet neither was King *James*, nor the reſt of the Biſhops, of the Archbiſhops Mind; for the King would have it that the Election of his Son-in law was upon the Score of Religion, (for which King *James* had no ſuch Extraordinary Zeal) and not Right: And therefore he diſſwaded him from it: However, that he might be ſaid to do ſomething, he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Vienna*; and if that wou'd'nt do, truly it muſt be undone for him; for he had a greater kindneſs for his affected *Motto* of *Beati Pacifici*, than to loſe that for the gaining of his Children a Kingdom: and therefore if words would not Settle his Son-in-law, King *James* wou'd go no farther, and his Son-in-law muſt look to himſelf.

*Frederick* being thus forſaken by his Father-in law raiſed upon his own Account, Ten thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, and Entering into *Prague*, was there crowned King on the Fourth of *November* 1619. and was no ſooner Crown'd, but he laid the Foundation of his own Ruine: For *Ferdinand* having publiſh'd an Imperial Ban againſt *Frederick*, whereby he was proſcribed and his Dominions declared forfeited, the Duke of *Saxony* took the Field with an Army of twenty thouſand Men to Execute this Imperial Ban, and reduced moſt part of *Luſatia*. But before this, the Earls of *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* with a great Army ſtood the ſhock of the Imperial Power in ſeveral Aſſaults; but when the King was eſtabliſh'd in *Bohemia*, and his Counſels, manag'd by the Prince of *Anhalt* and the Earl of *Holoch*, then *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* were Eclips'd by the brightneſs of their Power; for *Anhalt* muſt be General, and *Holoch* Lieutenant General; and this diſguſting *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt*, produced unhappy Events.

But while they were thus grapling in *Bohemia*, the Marquis *Spinola* was forming an Army in *Flanders*; upon which the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, Confederates to the *Palatine*, (calling themſelves the Princes of the Union) raiſed Forces for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, and their own Intereſt, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Anſpach*.

But King *James*, tho' ſo nearly concern'd, both as to the Cauſe of Religion, and the Patrimony of his Children, wou'd make no Preparations at all; only ſent to his Ambaſſador at *Bruſſels*, commanding him to Enquire for what purpoſe *Spinola*'s Army was called together, the Truce continuing betwixt *Spain* and the Low Countries; but the Ambaſſador cou'd recive little Satisfaction, for the miſchief of it was, *Spinola*'s Commiſſion was Seal'd up; and ſo ſubtile were the *Spaniards*, that he had orders not to open it till the Army was ready to march. But might not any Man, of but an ordinary Underſtanding, apprehend that an Army of 26000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, with all Military Proviſions, were not to lie ſtill? And tho' the King was not willing to believe it, for all he had divers Arguments given him, plainly demonſtrating that *Spinola*'s Army was intended for the *Palatinate*, yet ſuch was the Trepedity of his Spirit, *that nothing cou'd move him to do any thing* (at leaſt till it was too late) *to preſerve his Childrens Patrimony*: So odious a thing did War appear to him, how honourable, juſt and neceſſary ſoever it was, to undertake it.

For in the diſguſted State the New King ſtood in with the *Bohemians*, he had with-drawn ſo great Forces out of the *Palatinate*, that he left it Expoſed to the Ravages of the *Spaniards*, who under the Command of *Ambroſe Count Spinola*, now made General of the *Spaniſh* Army under the *Archduke Albert* (King *James*'s *Renowned and Dear Brother*, as he call'd him in his Treaty of the ſecond year of his Reign) made terrible Wars in the *Palatinate*. By which we may ſee how unhappy King *James* was in the Peace or Truce he procured the King of *Spain* and the Archduke to make with the *Dutch*, Anno. 1609. for Twelve years: For in this Interval the *Dutch* did not only retrieve their Cautionary Towns out of the Kings Poſſeſſion; but, the Truce ſtill continuing, the Arch Duke had both an Opportunity to Aſſiſt the Emperour, and to ſend *Spinola* with an Army to invade the *Palatinate*. And the Emperour having by an Imperial Ban, (as has already been ſaid) proſcribed the Kings Son-in-law, as a Traitor and a Rebel to the Empire, and thereupon forfeited his Electoral Dignity and Eſtate; he gave it to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*; and committed the Execution of it to the Arch-Duke *Albert*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and Duke of *Bavaria*. And this was the Effect of King *James* his Ambaſſage to *Vienna*, and to the Propoſition he made there, That his Son ſhall poſſeſs the Crown of *Bohemia*; inſtead whereof, his Children's Patrimony is now like to be loſt. And yet that it might not be ſaid the King Sat ſtill, and took no further Care of it, he ſent another Ambaſſador to the Archduke, to *Bruſſels*, to expoſtulate the matter; and this was the utmoſt he was able to do; and to do even this, he was forc'd to ſtrain his Credit. But after all, he ſuffers his good Nature to be work'd upon,

and

and left this shou'd not do, consents ( tho' sore against his will; for he car'd as little for 'em, as any of his Sons ) to call another Parliament; and try their Good Will in this matter.

But here it will not be amiss to let the Reader know what made the King so unwilling to fall out with the *Spaniards*: Which in short was, he had some time ago, *viz.* in *Anno* 1617. sent to Sir *John Digby*, his Leidger Ambassador in *Spain*, to treat of a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* (*Charles*) and the *Infanta Maria*, Sister to that King. No Wife wou'd do for his Son, but a Princess; and no Princess but one that was a *Catholick*, which he he thought the *Catholick* King could best furnish him with. And so strangely was the Glory of this Match riveted in the Kings Breast, that if he can but get the *Infanta* of *Spain* for his Daughter-in law, he cares not what becomes of his own Daughter, and her Children. And therefore his Son in-law must not be assisted, nor the *Palatinate* protected from the Ravages of the Duke of *Bavaria*, to whom the Emperour had given it, lest the *Spaniards* should be offended, and the Match miscarry: For this was the Design his Heart was set upon. And though he did not absolutely renounce the Protestant Religion, and turn Papist, to effect it, yet he made such large Concessions in their Favour, as is almost enough to perswade one that he had a mind to it, and been over-perswaded by the Pope, who writ to him on purpose, and Complements him to that End: And to read the mutual Letters that past on both sides between the Pope and the Prince of *Wales*, one could not judge less than that That was the Design of it: Both being so Extraordinary, that our Secret History would not be compleat, should we omit to insert 'em. That from the Pope to the Prince, runs thus;

'Most Noble Prince, Health and Light of Divine Grace: 'Forasmuch as Great *Britain* hath always been fruitful in 'Vertues and Men of Merit, having filled the one and the 'other World, with the Glory of her Renown; she doth also very often attract the Thoughts of the Holy Apostolical Chair, to the Consideration of her Praises. And indeed the Church was but then in her Infancy, when the 'King of Kings did choose her for his Inheritance; and so 'affectionately, that it is thought the *Roman* Eagles prevailed not so much as the Banner of the Cross; besides 'that many of her Kings, instructed in the Knowledge of 'the true Salvation, have preferred the Cross before the 'Royal Scepter, and the Discipline of Religion before Covetousness; leaving Examples of Piety to other Nations, and 'to the Ages yet to come. So as having merited the Principal and chief Places of Blessedness in Heaven, they have 'obtained on Earth the Triumphant Ornaments of true 'Holiness. And tho' now the State of the *English* Church

'be alter'd, yet we ſee the Court of Great *Britain* adorned 'and furniſhed with Moral Vertues, which might ſerve to 'ſupport the Charity that we bear unto her, and be an Or-'nament to the Name of Chriſtanity; if withal ſhe could 'have for her Defence and Protection the *Orthodox* and *Catho-'lick* Truth: Wherefore by how much the Glory of your 'moſt Noble Father, and the Apprehenſion of your Royal 'Diſpoſition delights us, with ſo much more Zeal we de-'ſire that the Gates of the Heavenly Kingdom might be 'opened unto you; and that you might purchaſe to your 'ſelf the Love of the Univerſal Church. Moreover, it be-'ing certain that *Gregory* the Great of moſt bleſſed Memory, 'hath introduced to the *Engliſh* People, and taught their 'Kings the Law of the Goſpel, and the reſpect to Apoſtolical 'Authority; We, as inferiour to him, in Holineſs and Vertue, 'but Equal in Name and Degree of Dignity, it is very rea-'ſonable that We following his bleſſed Steps, ſhould endea-'vour the Salvation of thoſe Provinces; eſpecially at this 'time, when your Happy Deſign, moſt Noble Prince, Ele-'vates us to the hope of an Extraordinary Advantag. And 'as you have taken a Journey into *Spain*, to the Catholick 'King, with deſire to ally your ſelf to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, '*ſo we do commend your Deſign*; and indeed do teſtifie openly in 'this preſent Buſineſs, That *you are He that takes Principal Care of 'our Prelacy*: For ſeeing that you deſire to take in Marriage the 'Daughter of *Spain*, We may eaſily from thence conjecture that 'the Antient Seeds of Chriſtian Piety, which have ſo happily 'flouriſhed in the Hearts of the Kings of Great *Britain*, 'may (GOD proſpering them) revive again in your 'Soul. And indeed, *it is not to be believed that he that loves 'ſuch an Alliance, ſhould hate the Catholick Religion, and de-'light to oppreſs the holy Chair.* To that purpoſe we have 'commanded to make continually moſt humble Prayers to 'the Father of Lights, That he would be pleaſed to put 'you as a fair flower of Chriſtendom, and the only Hope of 'Great *Britain*, in poſſeſſion of that moſt Noble Heritage 'that your Anceſtors have purchaſed for you, *to defend the 'Authority of the Soveraign High Prieſt*, and to *fight againſt 'the Monſters of Hereſie*. Remember the Days of Old, En-'quire of your Fathers, and they will tell you the way that 'leads to Heaven, and what way Temporal Princes have 'taken, to gain an Eternal Kingdom. Behold the Gates of 'Heaven opened, the moſt holy Kings of *England* (who 'came from *England* to *Rome*, accompanied with Angels) 'did come to Honour and do Homage to the Lord of Lords, 'and to the Prince of the Apoſtles, in the Apoſtolical 'Chair: Their Actions and Examples being as ſo many 'Voices of GOD, ſpeaking and Exhorting you to follow 'the Courſe of the Lives of thoſe to whoſe Empire you 'ſhall one day attain.

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'Is it poſſible that you can ſuffer *Hereticks* ſhould hold 'them for impious, and condemn thoſe whom the Faith of 'the Church teſtifies to reign in Heaven with Jeſus Chriſt, 'and have Command and Authority over all Principali-'ties and Emperours of the Earth? Behold, how they tender 'you the hand of the *Catholick* King; And now deſire to 'bring you back again into the Boſom of the *Roman* Church: 'Beſeeching, with unſpeakable Sighs and Groans, the GOD, 'of all Mercy for your Salvation, and do ſtretch out to you, 'the Arms of the Apoſtolical Charity, to Embrace you with 'all Chriſtian Affection; even you that are her deſired Son, 'in ſhewing you the happy Hope of the Kingdom of Hea-'ven. And indeed you cannot give a greater Conſolation to 'all the People of the Chriſtian World, than to put the 'Apoſtles in the Poſſeſſion of your moſt Noble Iſland, whoſe 'Authority hath been held ſo long in the Kingdom of *Bri-'tain* for the Defence of Kingdoms, and for a Divine Ora-'cle; the which will eaſily arrive, and without Difficulty, 'if you open your heart to the Lord that knocks; upon 'which depends all the Happineſs of that Kingdom. It is 'from our great Charity, that we cheriſh the Praiſes of the 'Royal Name, and that which makes us deſire that you and 'your Royal Father might be Stiled with the Name of De-'liverers and Reſtorers of the Ancient and Paternal Religion 'of Great *Britain*. This is it we hope for, truſting in the 'Goodneſs of GOD, in whoſe hands are the hearts of 'Kings; and who cauſeth the People of the Earth to per-'ceive Healing; to whom we will always labour with all our 'Powers, to render you gracious and favourable. In the 'Interim take notice by theſe Letters of the Care of our 'Charity, which is no other than to procure your Happineſs; 'and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the 'reading of them ſtir but the leaſt Spark of Catholick Faith 'in the heart of ſo great a Prince, whom we wiſh to be filled 'with long continuance of Joy, and flouriſhing in the Glo-'ry of all Vertues. Given at *Rome*, in the Palace of St. '*Peter*, the 20th of *April*, 1623. in the third year of our 'Popedome.

In this Letter the Pope ſooths up the Prince of *Wales* to bring him to his Lure; and he thought he had ſome Reaſon for it; and that of himſelf he was coming towards him: For to ſpeak the truth, as he rightly ſays, *It is not to be believ'd that he that loves ſuch an Alliance, ſhould hate the* Roman Catholick *Religion.* But whether the Prince was inclining that way or not, his following Letter to the Pope, will further inform us.

'*Moſt*

' *Moſt Holy Father!*

' I Received the Diſpatch from your Holineſs with great Con-
' tent, and with that reſpect which the Piety and Care
' wherewith your Holineſs writes, doth require. It was an
' unſpeakable Pleaſure to me to read the Generous Exploits
' of the Kings my Predeceſſors, to whoſe Memory Poſterity hath
' not given thoſe Praiſes & Elogies of Honour that were due to
' them. I do believe that your Holineſs hath ſet their Examples
' before my Eyes, to the End that I might imitate them in
' all my Actions; for in truth they have often Expoſed their
' Eſtates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair:
' And the Courage with which they have aſſaulted the Ene-
' mies of the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, hath not been leſs
' than the Care and thought which I have; to the End that
' the Peace and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting
' in Chriſtendom, might be bound with a Bond of true Con-
' cord: For like as the Common Enemy of Peace watcheth
' always to put Hatred and Diſſention between Chriſtian
' Princes, ſo I believe that the Glory of GOD requires
' that we ſhould Endeavour to Unite them. And I do not
' eſteem it a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo great
' Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety.
' In which it helps me very much to have known the Mind
' and Will of our Thrice Honoured Lord and Father, and
' the holy Intentions of his Catholick Majeſty, to give a hap-
' py Concurrence to ſo laudable a Deſign: For it grieves
' him Extreamly to ſee the great Evil that grows from the
' Diviſion of Chriſtian Princes, which the Wiſdom of your
' Holineſs fore-ſaw, when it judged the Marriage which you
' pleaſed to deſign between the *Infanta* of *Spain* and my
' ſelf, to be neceſſary to procure ſo great a Good; For
' 'tis very certain that I ſhould never be ſo Extreamly af-
' fectionate to any thing in the World, as to Endeavour
' an Allyance with a Prince *that hath the ſame apprehenſion of*
' *the true Religion with my ſelf.* Therefore I intreat your Ho-
' lineſs to believe that *I have been always far from Encouraging*
' *Novelties*, or to be *a Partizan of any Faction againſt the* Ca-
' tholick Apoſtolick Roman *Religion.* But on the Contrary,
' I have ſought all occaſions to take away the ſuſpicion that
' might reſt upon me; and that I will Employ my ſelf for
' the time to come, to have but One Religion, and One
' Faith, ſeeing that we all believe in One Jeſus Chriſt.
' Having reſolved in my ſelf to ſpare nothing that I may
' have in the World, and to ſuffer all manner of Diſcom-
' modities, even to the hazarding of my Eſtate and Life, for a
' thing ſo pleaſing to GOD. It reſts only that I thank your
' Holineſs for the permiſſion that you have been pleas'd to
' afford me; and that I may pray GOD to give you a

' bleſſed

‘ bleſſed Health here, and his Glory, after ſo much travel
‘ which your Holineſs takes within his Church.

Signed

*CHARLES STUART.*

This Letter of the Prince leaves us no room to doubt of what he deſign'd; ſince he plainly tells the Pope, (whom with a profound Veneration he is pleas'd to ſtile MOST HOLY FATHER) that *he has been always far from Encouraging Novelties*; and if you wou'd know what he means by that, he tells you Expreſly, it was from *being a Partiſan of any Faction againſt the* Catholick Apoſtolick Roman *Religion*. And this it ſeems he was ſo reſolv'd upon, that to effect it he wou'd ſpare nothing he had in the World, and wou'd ſuffer all manner of Diſcommodities, even *to the hazarding of his Eſtate and Life*. And, now, Reader, I cannot but make this ſhort Reflection upon this Letter of the Prince to the Pope: Either he was in good Earneſt when he writ it, or in Jeſt: If he was in Earneſt, nothing can be more clear than that he was a Papiſt in his heart, and deſign'd to introduce the Publick Profeſſion of it as ſoon as he could; and then this gives us a clear Idea of what he drove at in his Conteſt with his Parliaments, and in the laſt Civil Wars; nor need we wonder at the Iſſue of it, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew more at large in his Reign. But if he was in Jeſt, and that he intended it only as a Complement to the Pope, I will only ſay, *It is ill Feſting with Edge Tools*; For it ſeems, however he intended it, Divine Juſtice took him at his Word; for he did indeed *ſuffer all Diſcommodities*, not only to the *hazard*, but alſo to the *loſs of his Life and Eſtate*, for the Promoting of that Intereſt. But enough of the Son at preſent. Let us now return to the Father, who for the ſake of this Match (which at laſt came to nothing) had quite forgot the Gunpowder Treaſon, and was willing, if it had been in his Power to have granted a free Toleration to Popery. And to ſhew you that I don't ſpeak without Book, I will ſhew you the Articles he was willing to agree to, for the Conſummation of the Match; which tho' it fail'd, was yet ſo near, as that the Pope (charm'd with the Prince's Letter, and his good Affection to the *Roman* See) thought fit to grant a Diſpenſation for it; tho' it had ſuch a Bob at the Tail of it, as ſufficiently ſhew'd what was aim'd at by it; which was, That the King of Great *Britain* and the Prince his Son, ſhould give Caution to perform what was ſtipulated between them and the King of *Spain*; Eſpecially in thoſe Articles which were in favour of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*, and other his Majeſty's Dominions; requiring at leaſt ſome Soveraign *Catholick* Prince ſhould Engage for them by Oath; and this

was

was to bind 'em faſter ſtill. But this made ſome little demur, for being ſent into *England*, the King anſwered, That he could give no other Caution but his own and the Princes Royal Words and Oaths, confirmed by his Council of State, and Exemplified under the great Seal of *England*. But this would not Satisfie. Therefore the King of *Spain* undertook it: And indeed it was thought a *Spaniſh* Device at firſt, that the *Spaniard*, by undertaking ſuch an Engagement, might not only Endear himſelf the more to the King of Great *Britain* thereby, and alſo to the Prince his Brother, but have a more Colourable pretext to make War againſt *England*, if the *Roman Catholicks* there had not full Satisfaction and Freedom according to the Articles; and the King of *Spain* knowing, or aſſuring himſelf, that no *Catholick* Prince wou'd take ſuch an Oath, offered himſelf to Satisfie the Pope: And a Committee of Eccleſiaſticks in *Spain*, were appointed to debate the Caſe, in relation to the Kings Conſcience, whether he might take ſuch an Oath for them? And they (having learn'd their Leſſon before-hand) conclude the matter in the Affirmative; and reſolved that if the King and Prince of Great *Britain* ſhould fail in the Performance of theſe Capitulations, the King of *Spain* might notwithſtanding ſave his Oath, by vindicating the Breach thereof upon them with his Sword. And this monſtrous Difficulty being thus overcome by the *Spaniſh* Bravery, at the very ſame time the Articles that King *James* and his Son Prince *Charles* had ſign'd, were ſent into *England* for the King and his Privy Council to ſwear to, ſo that now *England* was once more in a fair way to be over-run with Popery; which that the Reader may the better be ſatisfied in, I will here ſet down thoſe Articles that relate to the Toleration of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in *England*, as I have already promiſed.

The Fourth Article is, That as well the gracious *Infanta*, as all her Servants and Family, ſhall have the free uſe and publick Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholick* Religion,

The Fifth Article is, That ſhe ſhall have an Oratory and Decent Chappel in her Palace, where at the Pleaſure of the moſt gracious *Infanta*, *Maſſes* may be celebrated, and in like manner ſhe ſhall have in *London*, or whereſoever ſhe ſhall make her abode, a Publick and Capacious Church, near her Palace; wherein all Duties may be ſolemnly celebrated, and all other things neceſſary for the Publick Preaching of GOD's Word, the Celebration and Adminiſtration of all the Sacraments of the *Catholick Roman* Church, and for Burial of the Dead, and Baptizing of Children. That the ſaid Oratory, Chappel, and Church, ſhall be adorned with ſuch Decency as ſhall ſeem convenient to the moſt Gracious *Infanta*.

The Sixth Article is, That the Men Servants and Maid-Servants of the moſt Gracious *Infanta*, and their Servants, Children and Deſcendants, and all their Families, of what

ſort

ſort ſoever, ſerving her Highneſs, may be freely and Publickly *Catholicks.*

The Seventh Article relates to the Spaciouſneſs of her Chappel, that it ſhall be big enough to contain her ſelf and all her Servants, with a Publick Door for them, and a Private Door for her ſelf.

The Eighth Article provides that it ſhall be beautified with Altars, Images, *&c.* according to the Cuſtom of the Holy Church, *&c.*

The Ninth Provides that the Care and Cuſtody of this Church and Chappel, ſhall be committed to ſuch as the *Infanta* ſhall appoint.

The Tenth Article is, That to the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments and to ſerve in the Chappel and Church aforeſaid, there ſhall be four and twenty Prieſts and Aſſiſtants, *&c.*

The Eleventh, is, That there be one ſuperiour Miniſter or Biſhop, with neceſſary Authority upon all occaſions which ſhall happen belonging to Religion; and for want of a Biſhop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and Juriſdiction.

The Twelfth is, That the Biſhop or Superiour Miniſter may Correct and Chaſtiſe all *Roman Catholicks* who ſhall offend, *&c.*

The Fifteenth is, That the Laws which are or ſhall be in *England* againſt Religion, ſhall not take hold of the *Infanta*'s Servants; and only the foreſaid Superiour Eccleſiaſtical *Catholick* may proceed againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, as have been accuſtomed by *Catholicks.* And if any Secular Judge ſhall apprehend any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon for any Offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be deliver'd to the Superiour Eccleſiaſtick who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the Canon Law.

The Twentieth Article is, That the Sons and Daughters which ſhall be born of this Marriage, ſhall be brought up in the Company of the moſt Excellent *Infanta*, at leaſt till the Age of Ten years, and ſhall freely Enjoy the Right of Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *England.*

Theſe were ſome of the Publick Articles, wherein the Reader may obſerve, That the *Infanta* and her Servants were to have *the Publick Exerciſe of the* Roman Catholick *Religion*; and not only a Chappel for her ſelf in the Palace, but *a Publick and capacious Church in* London: And that not only the *Infanta* and her Servants, but alſo that their Servants, Children, and Deſcendants whatſoever, and all their Families of what ſort ſo ever, may be freely and publickly *Roman Catholicks*; and that for the ſupplying of theſe, ſhe ſhall have no leſs than *four and twenty Prieſts and Aſſiſtants.* And *a Biſhop beſides*, to Exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Juridiction over them. And that in order to provide us a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, the Sons and Daughters

ters that ſhall be born of this Marriage ſhall be *brought up in the Company of the* Infanta (that is, *in the* Popiſh *Religion*) until they be *at leaſt Ten years of Age*. But after all, theſe were but the Publick Articles, which were to be ſworn to by all the Privy Council, as well as by the King and Prince: But beſides theſe, there were private Articles alſo, which were the main Inducement of the *Spaniards* and the Court of *Rome* to the Match; and for the bringing theſe to bear, a longer time was to be allow'd; and what theſe were, I am now going to ſhew you:

## Private Articles Sworn to by the King in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*.

" *JAMES* by the Grace of GOD, of Great *Britain*, " King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all whom this " preſent Writing ſhall come, Greeting: Inaſmuch as a- " mong many other things which are contained within the " Treaty of Marriage, between our moſt dear Son, *Charles* " Prince of *Wales*, and the moſt Renowned Lady, *Donna Ma-* " *ria*, Siſter of the moſt Renowned Prince, and Our well- " beloved Brother, *Philip* the Fourth King of *Spain*, it is " agreed that We by Our Oath ſhall Approve the Articles " under-Expreſſed, to a word:

" I. That particular Laws made againſt *Roman Catholicks*, " under which other Vaſſals of our Realm, are not compre- " hended; and to whoſe Obſervation all generally are not " obliged; as likewiſe general Laws, under which all are " equally compriz'd, if ſo be they are ſuch which are re- " pugnant to the *Romiſh* Religion, ſhall not at any time here- " after, by any means or Chance whatſoever, be directly or " indirectly commanded to be put into Execution againſt the " ſaid *Roman Catholicks*: And we will Cauſe that our Council " ſhall take the ſame Oath, as far as it pertains to them, " and belongs to the Execution which by the hand of them " and their Miniſters is to be Exerciſed.

" II. That no other Laws ſhall hereafter be made new " againſt the ſaid *Roman Catholicks*; but that *there ſhall be a* " *perpetual Toleration of the* Roman Catholick *Religion*, with- " in private Houſes, throughout all our Realms and Domi- " nions; which we will have to be underſtood as well of " our Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*, which " ſhall be granted to them in manner and form as is Capitu- " lated, Decreed, and Granted in the Articles of the Treaty " concerning the Marriage.

" III. That neither by Us, nor any other interpoſed Perſon " whatſoever, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, " will we treat or attempt any thing with the moſt Renown- " ed Lady *Infanta*, *Donna Maria*, which ſhall be repugnant

" to

" to the *Roman Catholick* Religion: Neither will we by any means " perſwade her that ſhe ſhould ever renounce or relinquiſh " the ſame, in ſubſtance or form; or that ſhe ſhall do any " thing repugnant or contrary to thoſe things which are " contained in the Treaty of Matrimony.

" IV. That We and the Prince of *Wales* will interpoſe our " Authority, and will do as much as in us ſhall lie, that the " Parliament ſhall Approve, Confirm and Ratifie all and ſin- " gular Articles in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, capitulated " between the moſt Renowned Kings by reaſon of this Mar- " riage: And that the ſaid Parliament ſhall Revoke and Abro- " gate particular Laws, made againſt the ſaid *Roman Catholicks*, " to whoſe Obſervance alſo the reſt of our Subjects and " Vaſſals are not obliged: As likewiſe the general Laws un- " der which all are equally comprehended; to wit, as to " the *Roman Catholicks*; if they be ſuch as is foreſaid, which " are repugnant to the *Roman Catholick* Religion; and that " hereafter we will not conſent that the ſaid Parliament " ſhould ever at any time Enact or write any other new Laws " againſt *Roman Catholicks*.

By theſe Secret Articles King *James* promiſes as much as he is capable to do; and perhaps ſomething more; In the ſecond Article he is poſitive, not only *that no other Laws ſhall be made new againſt the* Roman *Catholicks*, but alſo that *there ſhall be a perpetual Toleration of the* Roman Catholick *Religion throughout all his Realms and Dominions*; and what any Man cou'd ſay, or they deſire more, I know not. And in the third Article he promiſes that neither he himſelf will Endeavour, nor ſuffer any one elſe, to perſwade the *Infanta* to relinquiſh the *Popiſh* Religion: Which how much it ſhews of Sincerity in a Proteſtant King, to the Religion he profeſſes, I will leave the Reader to judge; and Eſpecially how ill it muſt needs look in King *James* who had both written and diſputed againſt Popery, and told the World that it was *Superſtitious, Idolatrous, and Deteſtable*. But by what follows, you will ſee that the Son was as Zealous a Proteſtant as the Father.

*Moreover I* Charles *Prince of* Wales, *Engage my ſelf, (and promiſe that the moſt Illuſtrious King of* Great Britain, *my moſt honoured Lord and Father, ſhall do the ſame, both by word and writing) That all thoſe things that are contained in the foregoing Articles and concern as well the Suſpenſion as the Abrogation of all Laws againſt the* Roman Catholicks, *ſhall within three years* infallibly *take Effect, and ſooner, if it be poſſible; which we will have to lie upon our Conſcience and Royal Honour. That I will intercede with the moſt Illuſtrious King of* Great Britain *my Father, that the Ten years of the Education of the Children which ſhall be born of this Marriage, with the moſt Illuſtrious Lady* Infanta *their Mother, accorded in the* 20th *Article, (which term the Pope of* Rome *deſires*

*ſires to have prorogued to Twelve years ) may be lengthened to the ſaid term: And I promiſe freely, and of my own Accord, and ſwear, That if it ſo happen that the intire power of diſpoſing of this matter be devolved to me, I will alſo grant and approve the ſaid Term.*

*Furthermore, I Prince of* Wales *oblige my ſelf upon my Faith to the* Catholick *King, That as often as the moſt Illuſtrious Lady* Infanta *ſhall require, that I ſhould give Ear to Divines, or others whom her Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to Employ in matter of the* Roman Catholick *Religion, I will hearken to them Willingly without all difficulty, and laying aſide all Excuſe. And for further Caution, in point of the Free Exerciſe of the* Catholick *Religion, and the Suſpenſion of the Law above-named, I* Charles *Prince of* Wales, *promiſe and take upon me in the word of a King, that the things above Promiſed and Treated concerning theſe matters, ſhall take Effect, and be put in Execution as well in the Kingdoms of* Scotland *and* Ireland, *as of* England,

By this Proteſtation and Promiſe of the Prince, the Reader may ſee he was in Earneſt in what he writ to the Pope; and that he only wanted an Opportunity to declare himſelf: And ſeems ſo reſolv'd in his purpoſe, that he Engages to have the *Suſpenſion* and *Abrogation* of all the Laws *againſt Popery*, effectually and *infallibly* brought about *in three years time*. And tho' the Articles of Marriage mentions but *Ten years* for the Children of this Marriage to be under the Tuition of their Mother, yet the Prince, when it ſhall be in his Power, Promiſes to Enlarge it to *Twelve*, according to *the deſire of the Pope*: As believing that *by that time* they might be as *thorowly grounded in the* Popiſh *Religion*, as his late Son *James the Second* prov'd to be by his *Popiſh Mother, Mary* of *France*. And tho' the Father had promis'd that neither himſelf nor any one elſe ſhou'd Endeavour to bring the *Infanta* to relinquiſh the *Popiſh*, yet the Son willingly offers himſelf to be perverted from the *Proteſtant Religion*; and that he will *without all Difficulty*, and *laying aſide all Excuſe*, hearken to thoſe that ſhall do it. And what words can be more Expreſſive of a Mans deſires and Intentions, I know not. But ſure I am, theſe were no ſigns that he wou'd ever die a Martyr for the Proteſtant Religion. But to ſpeak a little more of this *Popiſh Spaniſh* Match.

Whilſt theſe things were in Motion in *Spain*, ( whither the Prince himſelf was gone, attended by *Buckingham*, to make up the Match ) they were very much regretted, and very ill reſented by the generality of the Nation; as tending only to the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and the introducing of Popery amongſt us: And therefore it was that the Spirit of the whole Nation was averſe to this Union; which made many vent their Paſſions by their Pens, as well as by their Tongues: Among whom, the honeſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Abbot*, ( tho he already ſtood tottering in the Kings Favour, and had

had the Badge of a *Puritan* clapt upon him) thought it better to discharge his Conscience, tho' he hazarded all, rather than be silent in a Cause where the Glory of GOD, and the Good of the Kingdom were so highly concern'd. And therefore he writ the following Letter to the King.

*May it please Your Majesty,*

"I Have been too long silent, and am afraid by my silence I have neglected the Duty of the Place. it hath pleased GOD to call me unto, and Your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave leave I may discharge my Duty towards GOD, and my Conscience to Your Majesty; And therefore I beseech Your Majesty give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let Your Majesty do with me what you please: Your Majesty hath propounded *a Toleration of Religion*; I beseech You, Sir, take into Your consideration what the Act is, next what the Consequence may be: By Your Act, Yon Labour to set up *that most Damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *the Whore of* Babylon. How hateful will it be to GOD, and grievous to Your Good Subjects, the true Professors of the Gospel, That Your Majesty, who had often disputed, and Learnedly written against those wicked Heresies, should now shew Your Self a Patron of those Doctrines, which Your Pen hath told the World, and Your Conscience tells Your Self, are *Superstitious*, *Idolatrous*, and *Detestable?* Add hereunto, what You have done in sending the Prince into *Spain*, without the Consent of Your Council, the Privity and Approbation of Your People. And tho' Sir, You have a large Intereſt in the Prince, as the Son of Your Flesh, Yet have the People a greater, as the Son of the Kingdom; upon whom, next after Your Majesty, their Eyes are fixed, and welfare depends. And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as believe it, Sir, however his Return may be Safe, yet the Drawers of him to that Action, so Dangerous to Himself, so Desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away Unquestion'd and Unpunish'd. Besides, this Toleration which You Endeavour to set up by Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless Your Majesty would let Your Subjects see, That You will take unto Your Self a Liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at Your Pleasure: And what dreadful Consequences these things may draw after them, I beseech Your Majesty to consider. And above all, lest by this Toleration, and Discontinuance of the Profession of the Gospel, whereby GOD hath Blessed Us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many Years Flouriſhed, Your Majesty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and Your Self in particular, GOD's heavy

" Wrath and Indignation. Thus in Discharge of my Duty " towards GOD, and Your Majesty, and the Place of my " Calling, I have taken humble Boldness to deliver my Con- " science. And now, Sir, do with me what You please.

Thus was the King warned by the good Archbishop; but to no purpose; for he was so resolutely bent upon this Match for his Son, that after the Pope had sent his Dispensation, and the King of *Spain* had offered his Engagement to the Pope by Oath, That he and the Prince his Son should keep the Articles Stipulated between them; he was so much affected therewith, that he thereupon invited the Ambassadors to a Royal Feast at *White-Hall*; and after Dinner retired into the Council Chamber, where he took a private Oath to observe the Secret Articles before mentioned, in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, for the free Exercise of their Religion in all his Dominions; protesting to do what in him lay, that the Parliament shou'd confirm the same. And then, being transported with an Assurance of the Match, he was heard to say, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it.* So secure was he of it in his own Opinion! But one that heard him, said to some others standing by, *That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were all gone into* Spain *to make up the Match.*

As soon as the Articles the King had sealed, and sworn to observe, were come to *Spain*, and the Prince had ratified and confirmed them there, the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain* shook hands to the Agreement; the *Infanta* took upon her the Title of, The Princess of *England*; and in fine, there seem'd to be such a Union between the two Crowns, that it might well be said, That *Philip* and *Jacob* made but one Holy-day.

But as near as this Union was, this Match was never made in Heaven, and therefore shall never be consummated on Earth: For whilst the *Spaniards* were willing to keep the *Infanta* there all the Winter, and the Prince was for returning home presently, Pope *Gregory* the 15th, ( that had granted the Dispensation ) dies; and thereupon the Dispensation was judg'd invalid; yet to keep up the Spirit of the Prince, it was promis'd it shou'd be no hinderance to the Match, for the New Pope wou'd instantly do it; if not, it shou'd be dispatch'd by the *Dean* of the *Cardinals*; and the King of *Spain* assured the Prince, that if he wou'd stay till *Christmas*, the Match should be really celebrated then. But these Delays made the Prince so impatient, that he began to abate in his fervour for the Match. To which the Trick put upon *Buckingham* by the *Conde Olivares*, contributed not a little. For *Buckingham*, to speak the truth, (both to the Shame of his Master, and of the *English* Nation) carried himself very lasciviously there; and thinking to put a Trick upon the *Conde Olivares*, by Debauching his Countess, which was a Lady of Extraordinary Beauty, the Lady and her Husband put a Trick upon *Buckingham*,

*ham*, by ſupplying the Lady's Place with that of a Notorious Stew; which did ſo pepper him with the Pox, that it coſt him all the Hair of his Head, and put him to the Diet: So that it was no wonder that after this, he became diſguſted with the *Spaniards*, and ſo very much inclin'd to the *French*.

And juſt in the Nick, when this Tetrical Humour had made *Buckingham* diſlike all the *Spaniſh* Proceedings, the Queen of *Bohemia*, by a private Meſſage, gave him ſome Intimation that ſhe and her Children were to be thought on; inviting him to be a Witneſs to the Chriſtening of one of them; which came fit to his Acceptation; not ſo much out of Affection to the one Party, as in Oppoſition to the Other: And what diſreliſhed with him, gave an ill ſavour to the King, who having cauſe enough to diſlike the *Spaniſh* Delays, and finding the hearts of the People bent againſt the Match, and having now ſome hopes of a Daughter of *France* left yet to give life to a Royal Race, his heat began to cool, and his Edge to be taken off; ſo that he writ to *Buckingham*, *That he could not Expect, after ſo long a ſtay in* Spain, *and ſo little done, that they had any Cordial Intention to perfect the Treaty; and therefore conjured him to bring his Son back with all Speed; but if his Sons Youthful Follies ſhould tie him to a long Expectation, he chargeth him by his Allegiance, to come away and leave him there.* This Letter the Duke ſhewed to the Prince, and it wrought ſo upon him, that he forthwith reſolved to return home.

But the *Spaniſh Grandees* were not at all pleas'd with this Reſolution of the Prince, who would have willingly detain'd him there all Winter, hoping thereby not only to have turn'd him to their Religion (to which he ſeem'd forward enough) but alſo to have marry'd him to the *Infanta*, that there might have been a Co-Union between them; and that ſhe being with Child before the Spring, they might have kept her there till ſhe had been delivered; that ſo the Child might have been bred up, and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard* both in Affection and Religion; which this ſudden Reſolution hindering, it ſomewhat ſtartled them. *Olivares* told *Buckingham*, that he had promis'd the Prince, ſhould admit of Communicaon with ſome *Jeſuites* of theirs, in matters of Religion. The Duke anſwer'd there had been ſome already with him, but the Prince was ſo well ſettled in Religion, that he was not to be further alter'd. But *Olivares* replied, You gave me ſome Aſſurance and hope, of the Princes turning *Catholick*; but the Duke told him it was falſe; which put the *Conde* in a great rage: And had like to have had ſo bad an Effect, not only upon the Duke, but the Prince too, that he begun to deſpair not only of Enjoying his Lady, but alſo of his Return: Which caus'd him to write a Letter to his Father, containing theſe Melancholy Expreſſions; *You muſt now, Sir, look upon my Siſter and her Children, forgetting you ever had ſuch a Son, and never thinking more of me.*

( And indeed, tho' the Prince's Entertainment was as great as that State cou'd possibly afford, yet were his Addresses to and with the Lady, such, as render'd him mean, and a private Person, rather than a Prince of that State that had formerly made *Spain* feel the weight of their Anger and Power; and was more like a Servant than a Suitor ; for he never was admitted but to stand bare-headed in her presence ; nor to talk with her, but in a full Audience, with much Company.) Now tho' King *James* had a peculiar Knack at Dissembling, and therefore shew'd much outward sorrow ; ( as he did for Prince *Henry*'s Death, ) yet something was discerned, which made his Court believe little grief came near his heart ; for that hatred he bore to *Buckingham*, as being satiated with him, and for his adoring the rising Sun, and not looking after the Sun setting, made the Word believe he would think it no ill Bargain, tho' he lost his Son, so as *Buckingham* might be lost also : For had he not been weary of *Buckingham*, he wou'd never have adventur'd him in such a Journey, as all his Courtiers knew very well. But for a further illustration of his Wearines of *Buckingham*, it appeared in the Parliament before, when the King gave so much way to his Ruine, that *Buckingham* Challeng'd the King that he sought his Ruine; and he was generally held a lost Man; but then the King to make it appear it was not so, and that he durst not avow his own Act, brought him off from that Parliament. But tho' the King brought him off, yet the apprehension that *Buckingham* had of his Danger, made him hate the King ever after.

And here let me tell the Reader, that I should do wrong to our Secret History, if I did not acquaint him with two things, both which are Court-Secrets; the one is, how the King came first to have a hatred against *Buckingham*, and the other, what the ground of *Buckingham*'s hatred to the King was ; for what has been already mention'd, were but accidental things that afterwards fell out, and increas'd the Original hatred on both sides.

For the first, The Reader must know, that there was one *Inoiosa*, a *Spanish* Ambassador Extraordinary here, who being an old Soldier, and a brave Fellow, thought *Buckingham* did'nt give that respect to him, which was due to his own Person, or the Person of so great a King as he whom he represented ; for which reason *Inoiosa* did as much slight *Buckingham* and the Prince, whom he found wholly govern'd by *Buckingham* ; For when *Buckingham* had found by several Passages the King's Desire to be rid of him, he made Court to the Prince, and so wrought himself into his Affection, that *Damon* and *Pythias* were never more dear to each other ; which the old King cou'd by no means away with ; nor indeed did any other like or approve of the Prince's poor Spirit, fearing it foretold his future Inclination, that could ever endure any Familiarity with such an one as had put such foul Scorns

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and Affronts upon him, in his time of greatneſs with the Father; eſpecially calling to mind the Bravery of his Brother, who hated the whole Family for their general Baſeneſs, altho' none of 'em had ever offended him in particular; as this Man had done the Prince at two ſeveral times, before a numerous Concourſe, by bidding him in plain terms Kiſs his A—ſe once, and a ſecond time offering to ſtrike him; ſaying, in moſt undutiful terms, *By G—d it ſhall not be ſo, nor you ſhall not have it*; lifting up his hand over his Head with a Ballon-Braſſer; that the Prince ſaid, *What, my Lord, I think you intend to ſtrike me!* The firſt of theſe was at *Royſton*, the ſecond at *Greenwich*, before about Four hundred People. Theſe Affronts were not to be endur'd by a private Perſon; but by a Prince from a private Perſon, ſhew'd certainly a much leſs ſpirit than ſhou'd have been inherent to a Prince; and after this, to be ſo dear with him, as to be govern'd by him all his Life-time, more than his Father was in the prime of his Affection, I can give it no Title mean enough. It had been indeed worthy the Noble Mind of a Prince, to have forgotten ſuch Injuries, ſo as never to have revenged them when he had been King; but never to have ſuffered him to come near his Court, to upbraid him with the ſight of ſo much ſcorn; and that publickly offer'd him before. But from that meanneſs of ſpirit in the Prince, there were ſome Court-Criticks that gave too great a gueſs at his future Deſtiny. But, to return again to *Inoioſa*, who being a brave daring Gentleman, uſed ſome ſpeeches in the derogation both of the Prince and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King. Nay, *Inoioſa* ſent one *Padro Maceſtria*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, and a great State-man, to King *James*, to let him know, that he, under Confeſſion, had found the King was to be kill'd, either by *Buckingham*, or by his Procurement; but whether by Poyſon, Piſtol, Dagger, *&c.* that he could not tell.

The King, after hearing of this, was extream Melancholy, and in that Paſſion was found by *Buckingham* at his Return to him: The King, as ſoon as ever he eſpy'd him, ſaid, *Ah Stenny, Stenny*, (for ſo he ever call'd him, in familiarity) *Wilt thou kill me?* At which the Duke ſtarted, and ſaid, *Who, Sir, hath ſo abus'd you?* At which the King ſat ſilent. Out went *Buckingham*, fretting and fuming, and ask'd who had been with the King in his Abſence? It was told him *Padro Meceſtria*. Then, ſaid he, Who brought him to the King? It was reply'd, the Earl of *Kelly*. Then he goes to *Kelly*, and ask'd him, How he durſt bring any one to the King in his Abſence, and without his Licenſe? But *Kelly* ſtood up cloſe to him; (for you muſt know, *Kelly* was the trueſt Alarm, to give warning of the downfal of a Favourite, of any in the Court) and knew his Power cou'd do him no hurt with the King in Preſent; altho' it utterly caſt him out of all Favour from the King that ſucceeded *in futuro*. Then *Buckingham* queſtion'd *Padro Meceſtria*; which Quarrel

*Inoiosa* undertook, and told him he wou'd maintain him a Traytor, and tho his Master's Person were not on him, yet he was a Chevalier, and better than himself, and he would make it good upon him with his Sword. Then was the Prince, by *Buckingham*, made to write a Letter of Complaint to the King of *Spain*, for *Inoiosa*'s abusing him and *Buckingham*. But the King of *Spain* return'd the Letter in a kind of Scorn to *Inoiosa*, not as blaming him, but rather commending him: And *Inoiosa* in Scorn sent it to the Prince; as if he should say, There is your Letter, to wipe ——, which is all it is fit for. But this Story of *Padre Macestria*'s to the King, working upon his fearful Nature, made him both fear and hate the Duke of *Buckingham* ever after, tho' he durst never Publickly avow it.

Having thus shew'd why the King hated *Buckingham*, I am next to shew the reason of *Buckingham*'s Extream hatred to the King, which was strongly believ'd to be the Cause of his speedy Exit from this Stage of Mortality. *Yelverton*, a faithful Servant to the King, and his Attorney-General, had shewed himself no less affectionate to *Somerset*, being formerly raised by him, without any seeking of his, or so much as within his thought; insomuch as to Express his Love to *Somerset*, he desired to lay down that great Place, rather than aggravate, as his place required, against him. This Man, as well out of his Faithfulness, as Affection to *Somerset*, was made choice of to work the downfall of *Buckingham*, in which he apparently shewed himself. But *Buckingham*, as I told you before, (out of the Kings fear, that durst not maintain his own Design, but left his Instruments to the mercy of *Buckingham*'s Tyranny,) being once gotten out of this Toil, like a chafed Boar, foamed and bit at all that came near him; and amongst them, first fastened on *Yelverton*, put him out of his Place, and committed him close Prisoner to the Tower; *Yelverton* having shew'd himself so faithful to his Master, and his Master so unfaithful to him, to leave him to undergo the whole Burden of *Buckingham*'s Fury, flew out into some passion before *Balfore*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Buckingham*'s great Creature. And *Balfore* telling the Duke of *Yelverton* had said in his Passion, the Duke one Night about twelve a Clock, came in a Disguise, and with the Lieutenant only Entered *Yelverton*'s Lodging: *Yelverton* at first sight started, verily believing he came in that manner to Murther him; yet at last recollected himself, and said, *My Lord, have you the Kings hand for this?* The Duke Answer'd, *No*: Then said *Yelverton*, *How dare you Enter a close Prisoner's Lodging? 'tis as much as your Life is worth: And assure your self, Mr. Lieutenant, the King shall know of this, and you must answer it.* To which the Duke reply'd, *I come to you as a Friend, tho' formerly I confess, upon just cause, your* Mortal Enemy; *and now I would only ask you two Questions, which if you*

*will resolve me, I vow to be a greater Friend to you, than ever I was an Enemy; and can and will restore you fourfold.* Then *Yelverton* told him, If they were such as he might, he would. The first he ask'd was, What wrong he had ever done him, that he so greedily thirsted after his Blood? *Yelverton* reply'd, *Never any; but I was set on to do what I did, by a Power I could not withstand.* Then the Duke ask'd him, *by whom? By the King your Master*, said *Yelverton*; *who hates you more than any Man Living; which you might well understand, when in his Speech to the Parliament, he said*, He would not spare any; no, not any that were dearest to him, or lay in his Bosom; *by which he pointed them to you. Well*, said *Buckingham*, *I see you have dealt like a Friend with me, by many other Concurrences, as well as by this: Give me your hand*, which he did; *Henceforth* said he, *you are my Friend, and I am yours; and will raise you higher than I have cast you down.* Which he had made good, had *Yelverton* liv'd: For he was instantly releas'd, and the next Preferment had a Judges Place; and also had had the Keeping of the Great Seal, had not Death Seal'd upon his Eyes, and so prevented it. And if there were no other Reason, but this Change, from a mortal Enemy to so firm a Friend, it were sufficient to confirm the truth of this Story. But the Person from whom I had this Relation, had it from *Yelverton*'s own Mouth. And these were the true Causes of *Buckingham*'s hatred to the King, and the King's to *Buckingham*: The King indeed had the most Power to revenge, but had the less Courage; whereas *Buckingham*, who had the least Power, had the most Courage, sharpened with Revenge. And however the World did believe the Kings Inclination was out of a Religious Ground, that he might not Revenge; yet it was no other but a Cowardly Disposition, that durst not adventure. But tho' the King lost his Opportunity on *Buckingham*, yet the Black Plaister and Powder, shew'd *Buckingham* lost not his upon the King; and also, that it was no Fiction, but a Reality which *Padre Maceira* had formerly told the King.

And now to return from this Digression, (which, besides that it is a great Secret, has not been altogether impertinent) the Prince returns from *Spain*, and throws off the *Spanish* Match, when it was absolutely concluded; being in this last Scene, even with the *Spaniards*, for as they had held the King long in hand with the Treaty, without any Design of bringing it to effect; so, after the Prince came into *Spain*, and they thought he was like to turn *Roman Catholick*, and thereupon began to be in Earnest, the Prince returns into *England* again, and turns it all to a Jest. For tho' when he left a Proxy, or Procuration with *Digby*, for the Consummation of the Marriage, as soon as the Dispensation came from *Rome*, which the Prince had both Sealed and Sworn to; yet when the Prince was come to St. *Andera*, where the *English* Navy

waited to carry him to *England*, he posted one *Clark*, a creature of the Dukes, back to *Madrid*, to command the Earl of *Bristol* not to deliver the Procuration for the Espousal, till he had further Order from *England*. And when the Prince and the Duke were arrived in *England*, and had given the King a plausible account of the *Spanish* Delays and insincerity, and also of *Bristol*'s Miscarriages, for whom the Duke had no kindness; which Account the King took upon the Prince's word, being back'd by the Dukes, without any strict Examination into the matter; it was thereupon resolved, by way of Retaliation for the *Spaniards* former delays, to have it delay'd on our side by degrees, and not to break off all at once: Upon which an Absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, was sent to *Madrid*, with all speed, to suspend the delivery of the Proxies, till *Christmas*, tho' the Dispensation came. In which Letter *Bristol* had Instructions (that the King of *Spain* might see that the edge of their eagerness was now taken off) to demand the *Restitution of the Palatinate* and *Electoral Dignity*: (Which had been both waved and neglected in the Conclusion of the Treaty.) The King giving this as a reason for it, *That it wou'd be a great Disproportion for him to receive one Daughter with Joy and Contentment, and to leave another at the same time in Sighs and Tears*; Which indeed was so good a Reason, that it ought to have been remembred much sooner.

But for the greater Affront to the *Spaniard*, this Power given to *Bristol*, to defer the Espousals till *Christmas*, was to be reserved to himself, and not to be made Publick, till the Dispensation should come to discover it. For in the Procuration left by the Prince, there was a Clause that the Power therein granted, shou'd be in force but till *Christmas*, and then to Expire: So that by this Order to *Bristol*, the Execution of it was to be suspended, till it was altogether invalid. Which the *Spaniards* not knowing, made all Provision ready for it. And the truth is, it will be a little diversion to the Reader, to let him know what a deal of do was made to no purpose; and which *Bristol* knew wou'd be so, yet was not to discover it. For the King of *Spain* sent into *England Don Mendoza de Alcorcana*, to King *James*, to Congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage into *Spain*, and his safe Return into *England*; and from thence he had Instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes and Potentates, Allies to the King of *Spain*, how near the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *England* and the Infanta of *Spain*, was, to be consummated. Insomuch that the *Polonian* Ambassador at *Madrid*, that Solliciteed to have the Infanta for the Prince of *Poland*, when he saw such Preparations for the Match with *England*, fainted in his hopes, and return'd home. And as soon as the Dispensation came from the New Pope (which was in the beginning of *December*, Bonefires were made throughout all *Spain*, for joy; and the great Ordnance every where Thunder'd out the Noise of

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it. The Ninth of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage-Day, a Tarras being erected between the Court and the next Church, almoſt a Quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapeſtry for the greater Magnificence; and all things appointed in the higheſt State for ſo great a Solemnity. Preſents were provided in the Court of *Spain* for the King and Prince; the Infanta's Family (to take into *England*) was ſettled and eſtabliſhed: She had uſed her beſt Skill among the Sweets of *Spain* as one of the Principal of them, to cloath her Lord and Husband with ſome Suits of perfumed Amber-Leather, ſome embroider'd with Pearl, and ſome with Gold; ſhe had alſo practis'd the *Engliſh* Tongue, to make it Natural, by the help of her two Jeſuite Tutors, *Wadſworth* and *Boniface*; and began to draw the Letters which ſhe intended to have written, the Day of her Eſpouſals, to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law: Her Journey into *England* being reſolv'd on about the Beginning of *March*.

In this State of Readineſs for the Conſummation of the Marriage, were the Affairs of *Spain*, when King *James*'s Commands, like a Cloud, over-ſhadow'd the Brightneſs of 'em: For *Briſtol* had freſh Orders ſent him to declare poſitively to the King of *Spain*, *That without the Reſtitution of the Palatinate, and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhou'd proceed no further.* And this was back'd by Four Meſſengers one after another; which rais'd ſuch a Duſt of Diſcontent among the People at *Madrid*, that they wiſh'd they had broken their Necks by the way; the Commonalty of *Spain* being as much for the Match as thoſe in *England* were againſt it. And if the Commonalty there were ſo diſturbed at the Influence of this Cloudy Meſſage, no doubt but the King and the Infanta were much more ſo; the one to loſe her Lover, and the other to loſe his Honour: For if the Infanta was diſturb'd, becauſe her Heart was affected; the King was no leſs ſo, becauſe he found himſelf affronted. But the King's Anſwer to *Briſtol*, was, *That the* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the* Electorate *was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to Reaſon, he would arm himſelf on the King's Part againſt them.* But this wou'd not do; for now fair Promiſes had loſt their Vertue. Which the King of *Spain* perceiving, ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to demand no more Audience of him, nor deliver any more Letters to the Infanta; and gave Command, That none ſhould hereafter call her Princeſs of *England*. And thus ended the *Spaniſh* Treaty, which had been of above Seven Years length: In which, for all the Subtilties of *Olivares* and *Gundamore*, the King at laſt came off a Conqueror, and paid the *Spaniards* in their own Coin, tho' with the Breach of his Oath and loſs of his Honour.

But that the Prince ſhou'd go into *Spain* privately, and with ſo much Hazard, to bring this *Spaniſh* Match about, and there having made ſuch large Conceſſions to all the *Spaniards* Demands, and with the King of *Spain* had ſolemnly ſworn to accompliſh

compliſh the Marriage; having alſo been ſo Royally treated by the King of *Spain*, and parting with ſo much Satisfaction, both with reſpect to the King and the Lady Infanta; the King telling him, *That nothing in the World could more oblige him than the Confidence he had of him, to put himſelf into his Hands, being unuſual with Princes: But he that valu'd his Honour above all Earthly things, was the more endeared to him, in that he gave him, by this Acceſs, an Opportunity to expreſs it; and proteſted, he earneſtly deſired a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection with him, for the more entire Unity betwixt them*: And the Prince replying to him again, *That he was very ſenſible of thoſe high Favours he had found during his Abode in his Court and Preſence; which had ſet ſuch an Eſtimation upon his Worth, that he knew not how to value it; but he would leave a Mediatrix that ſhou'd make good his Defects, if he would do him the Honour, and make him ſo happy, as to preſerve him in the good Opinion of her, his moſt Fair, and moſt Dear Miſtreſs.* And yet after ſuch a Parting as this, that the Prince ſhould ſend a Private Inſtruction to the Earl of Briſtol, to ſtay the Delivery of the Proxy, till further Order, even before he was got out of *Spain*, does not only manifeſt the Ingratitude and Diſſimulation of the Prince, but his Want of Wiſdom alſo. And ſince there was no other Reaſon for this, but the Breach between the Duke and *Olivares*, it too evidently manifeſts the great Aſcendant that the Duke had over the Prince: And not only over the Prince, but over the King too, ſince he cou'd ſo eaſily turn him from the *Spaniſh* Match, upon which his Heart was ſo fixed, that he himſelf declar'd, That *like the higheſt Orb, it carried all his Raccalta's along with it.* Which, ſince I have mention'd, it will not be amiſs to tell you the Occaſion of his ſaying it; it being, beſides, to the preſent purpoſe.

The Prince's going into *Spain*, was not only kept Secret from King *James's* Council, but from the Lord Keeper *Williams* too; tho' the King confided in his Abilities above all the other of his Council: But when it had taken vent, the King ask'd the Keeper, *Whether he thought the Knight-Errant's Pilgrimage*, (meaning the Prince's) *wou'd prove Luckey to win the* Spaniſh *Lady, and convey her into* England? *Yes, Sir*, (anſwer'd my Lord-Keeper) *if the Marquis* (for *Buckingham* was no more when he went firſt into *Spain*, the Title of Duke being ſent thither after him, to ſet him on a Level with Duke *Olivares*) *will give Honour to* Conde *Duke* Olivares, *and remember he is the Favourite of* Spain; *or if* Olivares *will ſhew Honourable Civility to my Lord Marquis, and remember he is a Favourite of* England; *the Wooing may be proſperous: But if my Lord Marquis ſhou'd forget where he was, and not ſtoop to* Olivares; *or if* Olivares, *forgetting what Gueſt he hath receiv'd with the Prince, bear himſelf haughtily, and like a* Caſtilian, *to my Lord Marquis; the Provocation may be dangerous to croſs your Majeſty's good Intentions; and I pray God* (continu'd he) *that neither the one nor the other run into that Error.*

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This Answer of the Keeper took such an Impression upon the King, that he asked the Keeper, *If he had writ to his Son and the Marquis clearly, and upon what Ground he should stand? Yes*, said the Keeper, *and to that Purpose I have dispatched some Parquets. Then continue*, said the King, *to help me and them in these Difficulties, with your best Powers and Abilities, and serve me faithfully in this Motion; which, like the highest Orb, carries all my Raccalta's, my Counsels at present, and Prospects upon the future, with it, and I will never part with you.*

But notwithstanding all the Advice that the Lord-Keeper gave to the Duke, yet he split the whole Business upon this very Rock which he had been fore-warn'd of, both by the King and the Lord-Keeper; and at last of all (as the Detector of the Four last Reigns well observes, discover'd his Temper and Dissimulation, in so strange a manner, at his taking leave of *Olivares*, as is without all Example, as well as without the least Care of the Prince's Safety: For the Duke told him, after he had deliver'd the Instrument to stay the Delivery of the Proxy, *That he was obliged to the King, Queen, and Infanta, in an Eternal Tie of Gratitude; and that he won'd be an Everlasting Servant to 'em, and endeavour to do the best Offices for concluding the Match, and strengthning the Amity between the Two Crowns: But as for himself* (Olivares) *he had so disoblig'd him, that he cou'd not, without Flattery, make the least Profession of Friendship to him.*

'Tis true, when the King understood that the Heats and Contraventions of the Duke with *Olivares* and *Bristol*, was like to make a Rupture in the Treaty, he then began to consider with himself the fickle State he stood in, both at Home and Abroad, if the Marriage succeeded not; for all the Two Subsidies he had granted him by the Parliament, and the Benevolence he had rais'd afterwards upon the People by his own Authority, was expended, and a great Debt contracted besides; and, which was more, he stood but upon ill Terms with his Subjects, for petitioning him against this very Match, and asserting their Privileges; for which, after he had dissolv'd the Parliament, he imprison'd several of them; the like whereof was never done before by any of his Predecessors. And yet for all this, now *Buckingham* had so violently caused a Rupture of the Match, wherein he plac'd his sole Felicity, he had not Courage so much as to frown upon him; nay, so much was he over-awed by him, that notwithstanding the Duke had spoil'd *all the Raccalta's of his Counsels, and the Prospect of his future Happiness*, which he had plac'd in this Match, yet he becomes the Duke's Advocate herein, and magnifies his Fidelity, Constancy, and Conduct, in breaking it off: And afterwards sent back the Earl of *Bristol* from coming to the Parliament, that he might not spoil the fine Tale the Duke had told there. For however the Duke had disoblig'd the King thereby, yet he now began to value himself so much upon it, that he sets up for a Patriot upon the Credit thereof, and nothing less will serve him than

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to be the Darling of the Commons; for finding how much the People were againſt the Match, as we have before noted, the Duke makes, what he at firſt did only out of Spight to *Olivares* and *Briſtol*, become now the Means of his own Safety; and in the Banqueting-Houſe at *White-hall*, before the King and both Houſes of Parliament, aſcribes to himſelf the ſole Glory of breaking the *Spaniſh* Match.

It will now be high time to have done with this Match; only let me obſerve Two things more from it, which ſhew the King's both want of Care and Inſincerity: The Firſt is, That to propagate this Match, he left his Son-in-law to conteſt with Powerful Enemies, without aſſiſting him; whereby he not only loſt the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, expoſing the Proteſtant Intereſt there, to Ruine and Deſtruction; but alſo ſuffer'd the Palatinate, his Hereditary Patrimony, and the Electoral Dignity, to be raviſh'd both from him and his Children; whilſt by only ſending Ambaſſadors, he made himſelf and the *Engliſh* Nation ridiculous all over *Europe*: So that in the King of *Spain*'s own Towns, even whilſt the Treaty was on foot, they preſented in their Comedies, Meſſengers bringing News in haſte, That the *Palatinate* was likely to have a very numerous Army on Foot, for the King of *Denmark* would furniſh him with a Thouſand Pickle-Herrings, the *Hollanders* with a Hundred thouſand Butter-Boxes, and *England* with a Hundred thouſand Ambaſſadors; picturing the King in one place, with a Scabbard without a Sword; and in another place, with a Sword that no body cou'd draw, tho' divers Perſons ſtood pulling at it. In *Bruſſels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and never a Penny in them; and his Purſe turn'd up-ſide down. And in *Antwerp* they pictur'd the Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Iriſh* Mantler, with her Hair hanging about her Ears, and her Child at her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her: And every one of theſe Pictures had ſeveral Motto's, expreſſing their Malice; ſuch Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him upon the whole Nation. And all this while the King pretended that this *Spaniſh* Match was the only way to preſerve the *Palatinate*, (for ſo he was perſwaded by *Gondamer*) tho' during the Time of the Treaty, it was actually taken away.

The Second thing I have to obſerve, is, That tho' the Occaſion taken to break this Match (after it was ſo ſolemnly agreed upon, and ſworn to by both Kings and the Prince, and that the Marriage ſhould be conſummate within Ten Days after the Diſpenſation came from *Rome*, which it did about the Beginning of *December*, 1624.) was the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and the Reſtoring the Palatine to the Electoral Dignity; yet in all the Treaty for this Match, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* was laid aſide: For the Earl of *Briſtol*, in his Defence againſt the Duke's Charge, ſays, That his Inſtructions from King *James*, bearing Date the 14th of *March*, 1621, were expreſs,

expreſs, *That he ſhould not make the Buſineſs of the* Palatinate *a Condition of the Marriage*: And that he had other Letters from the King, fully to the ſame Effect: And yet after all was concluded and ſolemnly ſworn to, all muſt be daſh'd again, without the Reſtitution of the Palatine to his Countrey and Electoral Dignity; which being perplex'd with ſuch Variety of Intereſts, as the Duke of *Bavaria*'s having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the *Upper Palatinate*, and the Reſtitution of the *Palatine* being an Act of the Emperor and Empire, was not in the King of *Spain*'s Power: Nay, the Proxies left with the Earl, would not ſo much as admit of a further Treaty, for the Marriage was to be conſummate within Ten Days after the Arrival of the Diſpenſation from *Rome*. This certainly argu'd the greateſt Inſincerity in the King, of any thing in the World; and made it appear to all thinking Perſons, to be only a Sham Pretence to come off with a little Credit at laſt: Notwithſtanding the Flouriſh the Duke makes in his Narrative to the Parliament, wherein he tells 'em, 'It is fit to obſerve this Paſſage, which is the Thing whereupon 'all his Highneſs's the Prince's ſubſequent Actions did depend: 'He had never ſtay'd a Sennight longer in *Spain*; he had never 'left any Proxy with *Briſtol*; he had never taken the Oath at the 'Eſcurial; nor ever ſo much as have written a Letter of Com-'plement to the Lady, but that he had ſtill before his Eyes, as 'his Cynoſure, the Promiſe made by the *Conde*, for the Reſtitu-'tion of the *Palatinate*. But if the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* were the Foundation upon which the whole Treaty moved, why was it not ſo much as mention'd in all the Treaty, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by both Kings, the Prince, and *Buckingham* himſelf? Nay, why ſhould King *James*, by two ſeveral Expreſſes to the Earl of *Briſtol*, command him, that he ſhou'd not make the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* a Condition of the Marriage? The plain Truth of the Matter, after all, is only this: When the King writ to *Briſtol*, he was afraid the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* wou'd have ſpoil'd the Match; but when the Match was to be broken off, he knew, that to inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* was the ready way to do it.

But there muſt be a Match however; only the Bride muſt now be had nearer home; but ſhe muſt be a Catholick ſtill: So that the Proteſtant Religion is like to get nothing by it, but a Queen that will govern her Husband, bring up her Children Papiſts, and Embroil the State; and this was *Henrietta Maria*, the youngeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*; but this Match went on more ſmoothly; for *Lewis* the 13th was as earneſt for it as King *James*, telling my Lord *Kenſington*, That he took it for an Honour that he ſought his Siſter for the ſole Son of ſo Illuſtrious a King, his Neighbour and Ally; only he deſired that he might ſend to *Rome* to have the Pope's conſent for the better ſatisfaction of his Conſcience. Cardinal *Richlieu*, was now Chief Miniſter in *France*, and ſat at the Helm of Affairs there, managing all Tranſactions with a ſupreme Dictatorſhip;

torſhip; being a quite other Miniſter of State than *Olivares* was in *Spain*. *Richlieu* (for all the *French* King's Fondneſs for this Match) had his Eyes in ev'ry Corner of the Court of *England*; and very well knew how eager the King was to have this Match concluded; and he knew as well likewiſe, how much he was an over-match for *Buckingham*, who was to have the Tranſacting of it, and therefore how much ſoever it was deſired in *France*, yet in the Treaty *Richlieu* was reſolv'd to make the *Engliſh* Court to lower their Topſail, and bring 'em to his Bow. To which end, he inſiſted upon the ſame Articles of Religion, and Liberty for Popiſh Recuſants, which were granted in *Spain*; and was ſo far from abating an Iota of them, that he rais'd 'em higher; for he alledged, that it was not fit that his Maſter, who was the Eldeſt Son of the Church, ſhould abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholick King. And yet for all theſe high Terms, her Portion was but Eight hundred thouſand Crowns, (which was not one Tenth of what the Infanta's Portion was) Altho'yet the Conſideration of it muſt be Eighteen thouſand Pounds *per annum* Joynture; which (as if it was not half enough) her Son afterwards increas'd it to Fourty thouſand: Beſides which, the King was to give her Fifty thouſand pounds in Jewels, whereof ſhe was to have the Property, as much as of thoſe ſhe ſhou'd bring from *France*. King *James* was alſo obliged to maintain her and her Houſe; and ſhe was alſo to enjoy her Dowry and Joynture, which was to be Aſſign'd in Lands, Caſtles, and Houſes, whereof one was to be furniſh'd, and fit for Habitation: and the ſaid Joynture to be paid her where-ever ſhe ſhould deſire to reſide: She was alſo to have the free Diſpoſal of all the Benefices and Offices belonging to the ſaid Lands; whereof one was to be a Dutchy or County. And in Caſe ſhe ſurvive her Husband, her Dowry was to be return'd to her intirely, whether ſhe lived in *England*, or not, And in Caſe ſhe dy'd before her Husband without Children, the Moiety of her Portion to to be return'd. And yet after all theſe large Proviſions, her Portion, ſuch as it was, muſt be paid but one half the year after the Marriage, and the other half the year after that. Theſe were the Temporal Articles for this *French* Match. It will now be worth our while to ſee what was agreed to in thoſe which referr'd to Religion.

## The Articles of Marriage of the King of *Great-Britain*, with Madam *Henrietta Maria* of *France*.

"THis Negotiation was ſo happy, that it cauſed the King to "conſent to all the Articles demanded for the Catholicks, "and that His Majeſty gave charge to His Ambaſſadors to "agree them; which they Signed with the Cardinal at *Paris*, "the 10th of *November*, 1624. With theſe Conſiderations.

"That

" *That Madam, the King's Sister, ſhould have all ſort of Liberty*
" *in the Exerciſe of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman* Religion; *and*
" *all her Officers and her Children: And that they ſhould have for this*
" *purpoſe a Chappel in all the Royal Houſes, and a Biſhop with Twen-*
" *ty eight Prieſts to adminiſter the Sacraments, and the Word of GOD,*
" *and to do all their Offices.*

" *That the Children which ſhould be born of the Marriage, ſhould*
" *be nouriſhed and brought up by Madam in the Catholick Religion un-*
" *til the Age of Thirteen years.*

" *That all the Domeſticks which they ſhould carry into* England,
" *ſhould be* French *Catholicks, choſen by the moſt Chriſtian King;*
" *and when they died, ſhe ſhould take other* French *Catholicks in their*
" *Places, but nevertheleſs by the conſent of the King of* Great-
" Britain.

" *That the King of* Great Britain, *and the Prince of* Wales *his*
" *Son, ſhould oblige themſelves by Oath, not to attempt, by any means*
" *whatſoever, to make her Change her Religion, or to force her to any*
" *thing that might be contrary thereunto: And ſhould promiſe by Writ-*
" *ting on the Faith and Word of a King and Prince, to give Order*
" *that the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, who have been*
" *Impriſoned ſince the laſt Edict againſt them, ſhould be ſet at Li-*
" *berty.*

" *That the* Engliſh *Catholicks ſhou'd be no more Enquired after for*
" *their Religion, nor Conſtrained to take the Oath, which contains*
" *ſomething contrary to the Catholick Religion: That their Goods*
" *which have been ſeized ſince the laſt Edict, ſhould be reſtored to*
" *them.*

" *And generally, that they ſhould receive more Liberty and Graces*
" *in favour of this Alliance with* France, *than had been promiſed*
" *them in conſideration of that of* Spain.

I have ſaid before that *Richlieu* was ſo far from abating the leaſt Iota of the *Spaniſh* Articles, that he rais'd 'em higher; and the before-recited Articles ſufficiently makes it out: For in the *Spaniſh* Articles the *Infanta* was to have but 24 Prieſts and Aſſiſtants; but the *French* Lady is to have 28. In the *Spaniſh* Treaty the Children which ſhould be born of that Marriage were to be brought up by the *Infanta* only *ten years*; and even the Pope deſired the time to be enlarged only to *Twelve years*; but in this *French* Treaty, they are to be nouriſhed by their Mother, and inſtructed in the *Catholick* Religion, till the Age of *Thirteen*. And what Proficients they were in the *Popiſh* Religion by being ſo early and ſo long brought up in it, the two laſt Reigns has ſufficiently ſhewn us. And what Fruit the *Roman Catholicks* Expected from this Match, will appear from the Deputation of Father *Berule*, Superiour General of the Oratory, to his Holineſs, to obtain the Diſpenſation for the aforeſaid Marriage.

" The

The Inſtructions which were given to Father *de Bernle*, were, " To render himſelf with all diligence at *Rome*, to ob-
" tain the Popes Diſpenſation; and to this effect, to repre-
" ſent to his Holineſs, That the King of Great *Britain* ha-
" ving demanded of the King, his Siſter: His Majeſty hear-
" kened more willingly to this Propoſition, in that he Eſteem'd
" it very profitable towards the Converſion of the *Engliſh*,
" as heretofore a *French* Princeſs married into *England*, had
" induced them to Embrace Chriſtianity; but the Honour
" which he had vowed to the holy See, and particularly to
" his Holineſs, who baptized him in the Name of Pope
" *Clement* the Eighth, did not permit him to Execute the
" Treaty without having obtained his Diſpenſation. That
" his Marriage ought to be look'd upon, not only for the
" benefit of the *Engliſh* Catholicks, but of all Chriſtendom,
" who would thereby receive great Advantage: That there
" was nothing to be hazarded for in Madam, ſeeing that ſhe
" was as firm in the Faith, and in Piety, as he could deſire:
" That ſhe had a Biſhop and 28 Prieſts to do their Duties:
" That ſhe had not a *Domeſtick* that was not *Catholick*; and
" that the King of Great *Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*,
would oblige themſelves by Writing and by Oath, not to
ſolicit her directly or indirectly, neither by themſelves, nor
by Perſons interpoſed, to change her Religion: On the
contrary, having nothing to fear for her, he had great
" cauſe to hope that ſhe being dearly beloved of the King,
" who was already well enough diſpoſed to be a *Catholick*,
" and of the Prince of *Wales*, ſhe might by ſo much the
" more contribute to their Converſion; as Women have won-
" derful Power over their Husbands, and their Fathers-in-
" Law, when love hath given them the Aſcendant over
" their Spirits: That ſhe was ſo Zealous in Religion, that
" there was no doubt but ſhe wou'd Employ in this Pious
" Deſign, all that depended upon her Induſtry: And that
" if GOD ſhou'd not bleſs her Intentions in the Perſon of
" King *James*, and of the Prince of *Wales*, it was apparent
" that their Children would be the Reſtorers of the Faith,
" which their Anceſtors had deſtroyed; ſeeing ſhe wou'd
" have the Charge to Educate them in the Belief, and in the
" Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion, till the Age of Thir-
" teen years; and that theſe firſt Seeds of Piety being laid in
" their Souls, cultivated with care at the time where they
" ſhould be more ſuſceptible of Inſtructions, would infallibly
" produce ſtable and permanent Fruits; that is to ſay, a Faith
" ſo firm, that it might not be ſhaken by Hereſie in a riper
" Age. That after all, the Catholicks of *England* would receive
" no ſmall profit at preſent, ſince the King of *Great Britain*,
" and the Prince of *Wales*, wou'd both oblige themſelves upon
" their Faith, and by Writing, no more to Enquire after them,
" nor Puniſh them when they ſhould be diſcovered: To En-

" large

" large all those that had been Imprisoned. and to make them " restitution of Money and Goods, that had been taken from " them since the last Edict, if they were yet in being; and " generally to treat them with more favour than they could " have Expected from the Alliance with *Spain*. And fur- " ther he had Orders to let the Pope understand, that to " render more respect to the Church, it had been agreed " that Madam shou'd be Affianced and Married according " to the *Catholick* Form, and agreeable to that which was " follow'd at the Marriage with *Charles* the Ninth, made " of Madam *Margaret* of *France*, with the late King *Henry* " the Fourth, then King of *Navarre*. All these things spoke " themselves, and appeared so visibly, that they would ad- " mit of no doubt.

Thus we see what hopes the *Roman Catholicks* had of Set- ting up Popery again in this Kingdom; And at the same time the little Care King *James* had of the Protestant Re- ligion, and his great insincerity and gross Prevarication with the Parliament; to whom he declar'd in the 18th year of his Reign, *That if the Treaty of the Match with* Spain, *were not for the Benefit of the* Established Religion *at Home, and of the Reformed Abroad, he was not worthy to be their King*: When that the Sun shines at Noon Day, is not more visi- ble, than that the Design of that Treaty was, the bringing in of Popery, and the suppressing of the Protestant Religion, which the Prince was positive in, both for himself and his Father, that he would infallibly bring it about in three years; and that to Effect it he wou'd run all hazards both of his Estate, and even of his Life: And yet the King tells his next Parliament, even whilst this *French* Match is treating, *That as for the Toleration of the* Roman Religion, *as surely as GOD shall judge him, he never thought nor meant, nor never in words Expressed any thing that favoured of it.* The very reading of which, is enough to make one tremble! That any one shou'd, be so given over to a reprobate sense, as to declare with such Asseverations, what his own Conscience, as well as his Actions, testified to him, was a Lye! If Religion, Truth, and Justice, Supports the Thrones of Princes, what shall we think of those that having wholly abandon'd these Vertues, seek to Establish themselves by Falsehood, Lying and Deceit! Sure he that reflects upon these things, and considers the woful Cata- strophe that befel his Unfortunate Family, cannot but own, that as there is a Reward for the Righteous, so there is a GOD that Judgeth in the Earth. For whatever Asseverati- ons the King made to the Contrary, it plainly appear'd soon after, what dismal Effects this *French* Marriage had; for the Protestants in *France* were ruin'd by the King's len- ding the *French* King his Fleet. In recompence whereof the *French* were to permit *Mansfeldt* who had rais'd an Army of 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horse in *England*, to land at *Calais*,

where the *French* ſhould joyn him with another Body of Horſe and Foot, for the Recovery of the Palatinate: Which was only a Jeſuitical contrivance to render thoſe Forces of no uſe, as the ſequel made evident: For this Army being ſhipt at *Dover*, and put over to *Calais*, were there deny'd Entrance; and having no other Inſtructions, and wanting Proviſions, they lay neglected at Sea; and in this diſtreſs, a Peſtilence raged among them, ſo that they were forc'd to ſail to *Zealand*; where having no Orders, they were denied Landing there; and this being the moſt terrible ſeaſon of the year, in *December*, what by Hunger, Cold and Peſtilence, above two thirds of them periſhed before leave could be obtained to land them in *Holland*: So that they never did the King of *Spain* ſo much hurt, as they had done in *England* before they were ſhipt, living upon Plunder and Free-quarter. And this was the firſt Fruits of our Treaty with *France*, and a Specimen how well *Lewis* the thirteenth wou'd make good his Promiſe to King *James*, to render him all good Offices in his own Perſon, whenſoever King *James* wou'd deſire him.

But tho' theſe were ſad Preſages of what might be expected from the deſigned Marriage, yet theſe things no ways diſcompos'd the quiet Repoſe of our Pacifick King: Who if he could but ſee his only Son married to a Daughter of *France*, it was all he deſir'd; nor did he trouble himſelf with what might be the Conſequence: Which yet he never liv'd to ſee; for the thread of his Life was ſpun out before the Marriage was conſummated.

The King, according to his wonted Cuſtom, going his Hunting Journey, which he always ended in *Lent*, was ſeized on by an Ordinary *Tertian Ague*: Which at that Seaſon, according to the Proverb, was *Phyſick for a King*; but it prov'd otherwiſe to him; for what was but Phyſick to any other, was made mortal to him. Yet, to ſpeak the truth, the *Ague* was not that which prov'd ſo fatal to him: For the Duke of *Buckingham* did upon *Monday* the 21ſt of *March*, (when in the Judgment of the Phyſitians the *Ague* was in its Declination) apply a Plaiſter to the Wriſts and *Stomach* of the King, and did alſo deliver ſeveral quantities of Drink to the King, contrary to the will of his Phyſicians, who refuſed to meddle further with the King till the ſaid Plaiſter was removed: And that the King himſelf, as patient as he was in his Sickneſs, fear'd ſome foul play, appears by what he ſaid to a Servant of his, who cried, *Courage, Sir, this is but a ſmall Fit, the next will be none at all*; at which the King, looking Earneſtly on him, ſaid, *Ah! it is not the* Ague *afflicteth me, but the black Plaiſter and Powder given me by* Buckingham, *and laid to my Stomach*: And in truth the Plaiſter ſo tormented him; that he was glad to have it pull'd off, which yet could not be done without bringing away the

the Skin alſo. Nor was it indeed fair dealing, to bring in an Emperick to apply any Medicines while the Phyſicians appointed to attend him were at Dinner: This was ſuch a Daring as was not Juſtifiable; and ſome of the King's Phyſitians mutter'd againſt it; others made a great Noiſe, and were forc'd to fly for it; and tho' the ſtill voice was quickly ſilenc'd by the Dukes Power, yet the Clamorous made ſuch deep impreſſions, that his pretended Innocence cou'd never wear 'em our. And King *James* was ſo afraid of foul Play, that he wou'd often ſay to *Montgomery*, (whom he truſted above all Men in his Sickneſs) *For* GOD's *ſake look I have fair Play.*

Now that which made the King ſo afraid of foul Play from *Buckingham*, was a Letter that he had receiv'd from *Inioſa*, which *Buckingham* had writ to the Queen of *Bohemia* with his own hand, in anſwer to a Letter writ to him by that Queen, deſiring him to take care of her Intereſt in the *French* Treaty of Marriage, which was then going forward: In which Letter of *Buckingham*'s to that Queen, there was theſe words, *Madam, Be confident that whatſoever hath not been compaſs'd in* Moſes's *time, may be perfected in* Joſhua's; *altho' not in the Old Man's Days.* Which Letter by a ſtrange Facality was intercepted before it got over, and was carried in to the Marqueſs *Inioſa*'s hand, who found means to import it to King *James*: Now altho' what he receiv'd from *Inioſa* by *Padro Maceſtrio*, was that which gave him very much Diſturbance at firſt, yet upon *Buckingham*'s pleading his Innocence, he began to be pretty well ſatisfied again; but this Letter was the thing that ſtuck with the King, as being matter of fact. It was alſo generally thought that the Duke had dealt ill with the King, or elſe he had never been tax'd ſo home by one of the King's Servants as he was: For *Buckingham* coming into the King's Bed-Chamber, even when he was at the point of Death, an honeſt Servant of the Kings, Cried out, *Ah! my Lord! you have undone us, all his poor Servants; tho' you are ſo well provided, you need not care.* At which *Buckingham* kick'd at him; but he caught him by the Foot, and made his head come to the Ground: Whereupon *Buckingham* preſently riſing, run to the dying King's Bed-ſide, and cried, *Juſtice Sir, I am Abuſed by Your Servants, and wrongfully accuſed:* At which, the poor King Mournfully fixed his Eyes upon him, as who would ſay, *Not wrongfully*: For after the Application of that Plaiſter, and the Drink that was twice given him by the Duke's own hand, (and which he refuſed to take the third time) he found himſelf much worſe; and that a Drought, Raving, Fainting, and an Intermitting Pulſe, follow'd thereupon: And when the Phyſitians, to comfort him, told him, That this ſecond Impairing of his Health proceeded from Cold, or ſome other Cauſe, *No, no*, ſaid the King, *it proceeds from that which I*

*had from* Bukcingham. And for this, the Duke was Impeach'd by the Commons in the Reign of his Son: And if any ſay, This was but a Charge; I acknowledge it; but ſay withal, It was a Charge by the Commons in Parliament; who tho' they may be miſ-inform'd, yet they ſeldom accuſe any upon a falſe Rumor, or bare Suggeſtion; and therefore it will be a hard Task for a Man to excuſe his Succeſſor for diſſolving that Parliament, to preſerve one that was accus'd for Poyſoning his Father: And there is one thing more, which makes it next to a poſitive Proof; and that is; That tho' that Parliament had voted him four Subſidies, and four Fifteenths, yet as much as the King wanted Money, rather than this Charge ſhould be brought to an iſſue, he diſſolv'd the Parliament, before it was paſs'd into an Act, and thereby loſt the Money.

But however that was, a little before his Death, he called for the Prince his Son, who riſing out of his Bed ſomething before Day, and preſenting himſelf before him, the King rouzed up his Spirits, and raiſed himſelf up, as if he meant to have ſpoke to him; but Nature being Exhauſted, his ſtrength was not ſufficient to Expreſs what he intended, but ſoon after Expired, dying on *Sunday-Morning*, March 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, in the Nine and Fifteenth Year of his Age, and the 22th Year of his Reign compleat. And was buried at *Weſtminſter* the 7th of *May* following, with great Solemnity.

This King was the firſt of the Name of *James* that ever rul'd in *England*, and it had been well for the Nation if he had been the laſt of it too; it being the opinion of many, that it had been much better if there had been neither Firſt nor Second: For as the firſt came in with a Plague upon our Bodies, ſo the laſt went out for Endeavouring to bring a Plague upon our Souls. But as to *James* the firſt, as he incourag'd Flatterers, ſo they Encourag'd him to think himſelf more than he ought, by Stiling him what he knew he was not, that is, *Sacred*; nay, *Moſt Sacred*; an Appellation ſcarce ever given to any of our Kings before him: He was alſo often Stiled the *Solomon* of his Age; tho' without the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon; for never were two Kings more unlike, unleſs it were in their Sons, *Roboboam* and *Charles*; for *Solomon* died the Richeſt of all the Kings in the World, and King *James* the Pooreſt: *Solomon* excelled above all other Kings for Wiſdom; being divinely inſpired, and his Proverbs were ſo many Divine Sentences for the Improvement of Vertue and Morality; whereas this Kings Learning was not only without Wiſdom, (tho' ſo much boaſted in by himſelf and Flatterers) but was alſo a Scandal to his Crown; and wanted moſt what *Solomon* was moſt ſolicitous for, to wit, Wiſdom to govern his People: Addicting himſelf moſt to Senſual Pleaſures, whilſt he neglected both the Foreign

and

and Domeſtick Affairs of his Kingdom: Being only Great, in making himſelf Little; at Home, not belov'd; and Abroad, Contemptible: A Prince who Squander'd away the ſacred Patrimony of the Crown amongſt his Flatterers and Favourites; and thereby became unable to ſupport the Honour of the Nation Abroad; and neglecting the increaſe and repair of his Navy Royal, not only render'd the Nation in an unſettled and dangerous Peace at home, but notwithſtanding the Treaty with the *Dutch* for Licenſe to fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, he ſuffer'd them with Men of War to guard their Fiſheries, and do it whether he wou'd or no: A Prince that treated his Parliaments like School Boys, and made greater Invaſions upon their Freedom and Priviledges even in the firſt Parliament that he Call'd, than many of his Predeceſſors had done in their whole Reigns: And how the Laws and Liberties of the People of *England*, and the Priviledges of Parliaments, were intrench'd upon in the begining of his Reign, will beſt appear by two Remonſtrances made by two of his Parliaments, one in the Second, the other in the Seventh year of his Reign, to which I refer the Reader. He introduced alſo an Unpreſidented way of getting the Judges to make Laws to his Humour, when the Parliament would not: For tho' the Parliament rejected the Union between the two Kingdoms; and that the Judges could not pretend to go ſo high as to do that, yet they could Naturalize a whole Nation at once, as in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati:* So that the King had ſome Experience of the Truth of that ſaying of his, *Let me make what Judges I will, and what Biſhops I will, and I will have what Law and what Goſpel I will.*

But in the Twelfth year of his Reign, ſome of his Courtiers pretended to have ſuch an Intereſt in every County and Burrough, as to procure Returns of ſuch Members as ſhou'd do what the King pleas'd; but they found themſelves miſtaken; for inſtead of Contributing to the King's Wants, which was all the King wanted, they laid open his Profuſeneſs, and enquir'd into the Cauſes of the unexpected increaſe of *Popiſh* Recuſants ſince the *Gunpowder Plot*, and into many other Miſcarriages of Government: Which the King willing to have conceal'd, not only ſtop'd their Courſe by a Diſſolution, but alſo afterwards committed ſuch of them as were moſt active for the Publick Good, to the Tower and other Priſons; and then to ſupply his Neceſſities, ſet on foot a Benevolence, by which he got a very little Money, and loſt a great deal of Love and Affection. But certain it is, that tho' his Extravagance was inſupportable, yet becauſe the Parliament was backward in furniſhing him with Money to Squander away as he pleas'd, that he conceiv'd a great Averſion to Parliaments, and had thoughts, if poſſible, to lay them aſide for ever: And as certain it is alſo, that the ſame Averſion to Parliaments deſcended upon his Off-ſpring, who proſecuted the ſame Deſign

of Ruling without Parliaments, as was ſufficiently Evident from that Twelve years Receſs from Parliaments which was in his Sons Reign; of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards. Nor is it any wonder that thoſe Princes who are fond of Arbitrary Power, and for advancing their own Prerogatives, ſhould be Jealous of Parliaments, which are the only Bulwarks of the People's Liberties; and by which *England* has ſtill preſerv'd theirs: When as almoſt all the reſt of Europe is over run with abſolute and Deſpotick Power. —— But to return again to King *James*'s Character.

He was a Prince that wou'd make a great deal too bold with GOD in his Paſſion, curſing and ſwearing, and ſometimes even verging on Blaſphemy; yet in his better temper wou'd ſay, he hop'd GOD wou'd pardon him, and not impute them to him, becauſe they proceeded from Paſſion: But I think he had need of great Aſſurance, rather than Hope, that would dayly make ſo bold with GOD: Eſpecially ſeeing by his diſſolute Life and prophane Converſation, he debauched and Effeminated the Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation: Whereby it became more ſcandaliz'd for Swearing and Drinking, than in any Age before. He was a Prince, that inſtead of going on where his Predeceſſor left off, broke all the meaſures by which ſhe and her Father became the Arbitrators of *Chriſtendom*. A Prince fearful of all his Enemies abroad, to that degree, that he wou'd rather ſuffer the Loſs of any thing, than contend with 'em for it. And hence it was that he quietly paſt by the Barbarous Uſage of his Subjects at *Amboina* by the *Dutch*, who durſt never have done what they did, had *England* had a Martial Prince: But they knew well enough who they had to deal withal: He was only great, by Exerciſing a Tyrannical Arbitrary Power over his Parliament and People at Home: He only ſtood looking on, while the *French* in a manner ſuppreſs'd thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *France*; and ſuffered *Ferdinand* the Second to over-run and almoſt ſubdue the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, as well as his Son-in-law.

After the Diſſolution of the *Spaniſh* Match, he as Earneſtly proſecuted a Match with *France*, as we have ſhew'd before; and tho' he dy'd before it was conſummated, yet he liv'd to ſee the Army rais'd under *Count Mansfeldt* for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, ruin'd by truſting to the *French* Faith, in this very Treaty. And when he died, he not only left an Empty Exchequer, but a vaſt Debt upon the Crown; and tho' he was ingag'd in a Foreign War, yet the Monies given by the Parliament for the Carrying it on, were Squander'd away in carrying on the *French* Treaty, and the Nation Embroil'd in Inteſtine Feuds and Diſorders.

To conclude, At his Death, he left a Son and Heir, who ſucceeded him, and one Daughter: But as to his Son, he ſaw him over-rul'd by his Favourite, againſt his determi-

nate

nate Will and Pleaſure, and his Son's own Honour and Intereſt; which doubtleſs was a great mortification to him; and which he often complain'd of, but had not the Courage to redreſs: And ſo ſtrongly was this Favourite poſſeſs'd of his Power over the Prince, in the King's Life, that the Son little minded his Father's Precepts, or the Counſels of any elſe, after his Death; whereby he increaſed the Feuds, Jealouſies and Animoſities of the Kingdom; which at laſt ended in a ſad Cataſtrophe, both of the Favourite and the King: All which might have been prevented, had he but made a timely uſe of one of his own Apothegms; which was, *Let that Prince which would beware of Conſpiracies, be rather jealous of ſuch whom his Extraordinary Favours have advanc'd, than of thoſe whom his Diſpleaſure hath diſcontented; Theſe want means to Execute their Pleaſure, but they have means at Pleaſure to execute their Deſires: For Ambition to rule, is more vehement than Malice to revenge.* This ſhews he had good Notions in Conception, but cou'd bring few of 'em into Action, tho' they tended to his own Preſervation. Before his Death, his Daughter with her Husband and her many Children, were driven into Exile and Poverty, in the Dominion of the States of the United *Netherlands*: Where they were more relieved by the States, the Prince of *Orange*, and ſome Biſhops and Noblemen of *England*, than either by their Father, or his Son, King *Charles* the Firſt: The True Secret Hiſtory of whoſe Reign, is next to be conſider'd by us.

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*The End of the Firſt Volume.*

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THE END.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM